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45. 1614.

THE
USAGE OF THE CHURCH,
IN
CLOSING THE MORNING SERVICE
WITH
THE SERMON,
WHEN THERE IS NO COMMUNION,
VINDICATED,
AS AGREEABLE TO THE INTENT OF THE RUBRIC.

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1845.



THE
USAGE OF THE CHURCH,

&c.

THE peace of the Church in some places having lately been disturbed by dissensions between the Clergy and their Congregations, the Congregations desiring the public service may be performed without any change from what they have always been accustomed to, their Clergy feeling it a matter of conscience to resist this reasonable desire from a supposed necessity of obedience to a Rubric, it would be an acceptable thing to both parties, as cutting off the very ground of dissension, if it could be shown that the Rubric in question does not lay the Clergy under any such obligation; but that, when it was agreed to in 1661¹, the Convocation could not have intended to alter the acknowledged usage of those times, thence handed down to us, closing the

¹ Our Prayer-book was adopted and subscribed by Convocation December 20th, 1661, and was ratified by Act of Parliament, receiving the royal assent May 19th, 1662.

Morning Service with the sermon when there is no Communion. It must be confessed, indeed, the Rubric "upon the Sundays and other holy-days, if there be no Communion, shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, until the end of the general prayer [For the whole state of Christ's Church Militant here in earth,] together with one or more of those collects last before rehearsed, concluding with the blessing," this Rubric seems clear and express against what is proposed to be shown: but if this be really so, we have a practice in direct opposition to it, established certainly for very many years, as far as our memories will carry us, not in parish churches alone, but in cathedrals also, and therefore necessarily well known to the Bishops, who during that time governed the Church. It cannot but be unsatisfactory to any one to ascribe this apparently open opposition between the law and the practice to any supposed negligence in these distinguished men: all must wish to account for it otherwise: and surely, when we consider the complaints formerly made against the length of our Morning Service, it appears highly probable, that what has grown up as "the use of the Church," originated in a *designed adaptation*, by common consent, *of our Morning Service* (when the three services are read at the same time) *to the feelings of the country*; and that the Rubric was still retained as a rule for those places where morning prayer was at an earlier hour, and the second service of the day was only the Litany,

with the Communion Service and sermon; or, as it may appear on inquiry, as the rule to be followed whenever part of the Communion Service should be read, and there should be neither Communion nor sermon. As to the first of these suggestions, it should be considered that no rubric directs the three services to be read at the same time; and the public convenience which requires this to be done in parish churches, requires some such adaptation; for which no special rubric would have been necessary, as the public practice of our Church would become at once her rule and the record of it.

In the first Prayer-book of Edward VI, 1549, the prayer for the Church Militant stood between the Trisagium and the Consecration prayer, and the Exhortation to the Communion before the Offertory sentences; and after the Offertory, when there was no Communion, was said one of the collects with the blessing. But there was also this remarkable Rubric, "If there be a sermon, or for any other great cause, the Curate, by his discretion, may leave out the Litany, Gloria in Excelsis, the Creed, the Homily, and the Exhortation to the Communion." That this Rubric was not reprinted in 1552, we cannot be surprised; but it shows great considerateness that the service should not be felt too long. It was evidently borrowed from the injunctions by the king two years before: "ITEM, When any sermon or homily shall be had, the prime and hours shall be omitted." The prime

and hours are the short services in Henry the Eighth's Primer of the preceding year, appointed for the prime or first, the third, the sixth, and the ninth canonical hours. In 1552 the prayer for the Church Militant was placed where it now stands, and the words "to accept our alms and" were inserted, and a rubric directed it to be read with one or more of the collects after the homily *on the holy-days*, when there was no Communion. So this Rubric stood unaltered till 1661: of the alterations it then received, I merely notice at present that pre-eminence given to Sunday, which always appears in our Church's documents, the further we get from the Romish doctrine of considering all holy-days equal, as being all alike appointed by the Church; an error to which, perhaps, some others also still cling. The Prayer-book of 1552 being adopted in 1559, to read after the homily or sermon the prayer for the Church Militant and one or more of the collects with the blessing, when there was no Communion, was the rule during Elizabeth's reign: but then came the demands at the Hampton Court Conference, "that the longsomeness of the service be abridged;" and afterwards at the Savoy, "that the Liturgy be not too tedious in the whole."

It is said, however, that a compliance with this Rubric does not lengthen the service, for that the sermon ought to follow immediately after the Nicene Creed, without any psalm-singing, and without any prayer in the pulpit, and ought to be preached in the

surplice, in order that the Minister may return to public prayer. If the use of the surplice in the pulpit were really enjoined by our Church, it would afford a strong presumption in favour of a literal compliance with this Rubric; but as one compares the 25th Canon, enjoining the use of the surplice and hood "*at the times both of prayer and preaching*" in all *cathedral and collegiate churches*, with the 58th Canon, instructing Ministers to wear a surplice when "saying the public prayers, or ministering the Sacraments or other rites of the Church," one feels compelled to the opposite conclusion: and if any one should say, preaching is one of the rites of the Church, let him look to the title of this 58th Canon; it is impossible at that day preaching should have been described as "*reading* Divine Service, or administering the Sacraments." In the Universities, Oxford at least, the statutes require the Preacher to wear the habit belonging to his degree, *i. e.* (except in the case of Doctors) the black gown and hood. Clergy then educated there would naturally in their *parish churches*, when they had finished the prayers, during which the surplice is enjoined, lay it aside, and preach in their black gowns, their proper full dress. That the surplice was ordinarily worn over the gown in that age, is clear from an expression Shakespeare puts in the mouth of the clown in "All's well that ends well," (I. 3.) "Honesty" being "no puritan,"—"will wear the surplice of humility over the black gown of a big

heart." The *Book of Canons* signed by all the Bishops in Convocation, 1571, ordered Preachers "to wear, whilst preaching, a dress most sober and grave, such as may become and may grace a Minister of God, and of such sort as is described in the little book of Advertisements." As these Canons, which are in Bishop Sparrow's Collection, are not in the hands of all, I give the very words as they stand under the title *Concionatores*, "Inter concionandum utantur veste quam maxime modestâ et gravi, quæ deceat atque ornet Ministrum Dei, qualisque in libello admonitionum descripta est." The "Advertisements, partly for administering the Sacraments, partly for apparel of ecclesiastics," issued by the Queen in 1564, describe the gown to be worn by the Clergy: a full account of them is found in Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, b. ii. ch. 20, and in the Appendix a copy of them, as the Archbishop's ordinances. In them the poorer Clergy who have not the ability to buy them long gowns, are instructed to wear short ones, just as Bishop Cosins afterwards instructed all such in his diocese to preach in the surplice which the parish provides: but the proper dress of a Clergyman in *the pulpit of a parish church* was the long gown.

Then, again, as to the assertion that there should be no prayer in the pulpit before the sermon, how can this be reconciled with the 55th Canon giving the form of bidding to pray, and directing us always to conclude with the Lord's Prayer? It

has been said, I believe, this Bidding prayer was intended for afternoon sermons. The answer is obvious: first, that it is in the *Morning Service* this Bidding prayer is used in cathedrals to the present day: secondly, that the 45th Canon appoints one sermon only on a Sunday, and this of course would be in the morning, as directed by the Rubric: we read, indeed, in the *Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws*, tit. 19, sermons are appointed in the afternoon, and not in the morning, in cathedrals; and in parish churches in the morning, and not in the afternoon, except in large parishes, that the people may not be drawn away from their proper place of worship: but the rule could not have been long or generally acted upon; for even so late as 1689 the question is proposed to Dr. Tillotson, then Dean of St. Paul's, "Whether some express allowance be not convenient of several things which are *now* in many places *grown customary*; such are *sermons in the afternoon*." A third answer we find at the end of South's second sermon on Eccles. v. 2,—an answer not to this point only, but decisive of the whole question, as showing from the practice of the day just after the Rubric was made, how it must needs have been then understood. Dr. South, born in 1633, and Prebendary of Westminster in 1663, probably preached this sermon a little after the Savoy Conference: hence its great importance in its bearing on the present Rubrics. The Puritans were in the habit of exercising their gift (as

they used to say) by long extempore prayers in the pulpit, which the Bishops in 1661 designed to suppress by appointing some constant forms of prayer to be used before and after sermons, but from prudential reasons did not fulfil their intention. Of these extempore prayers South is speaking, for which, he says, the Church is not responsible, having "appointed a form of prayer to be used by all before their sermons." Having censured the practice of the Puritans as setting aside this rule of the Church, he asks, "Can there be any sense or propriety in beginning a new tedious prayer in the pulpit, *just after the Church has, for near an hour together, with a great variety of offices suitable to all the needs of the congregation, been praying for all that can possibly be fit for Christians to pray for? Nothing certainly can be more irrational.*" Now, it is just impossible that South, who is evidently speaking of the Morning Service, could have so expressed himself from the pulpit, unless to close the Morning Service with the sermon had been the long-established and well-known use of the Church in his day. So the present practice is proved to have existed for two-thirds of the period of our Reformed Church's existence; and such a long-established practice ought not to be set aside without giving the subject the fullest consideration.

The last of Archbishop Secker's Sermons on the Liturgy, preached when he was rector of St. James's, leads us to understand such was the general practice

in his day; though, it must be confessed, all he says is to intimate that the practice is contrary to the Rubric. Let the following extracts be considered. "After the Creed another Psalm is sung; and then the Minister who is to preach, moves the people by direction of the 55th Canon to join with him in a short form of prayer." Having spoken of the importance attached to the Bidding prayer just after the Reformation, on account of the acknowledgment of the King's Supremacy, he proceeds, "And hence it hath continued to our days, though it is frequently shortened into a collect and the Lord's Prayer." "Some put the whole into the shape of a distinct address, but most keep to the old way, and the intention being the same, neither custom should give offence." Certainly there could have been no offence, except to such as may have had unreasonable notions of uniformity. Whether it was used as a bidding to pray, "ye are to pray for," or as an invitation, "let us pray for," or as a direct prayer, "we pray for," all these are alike sanctioned by the Canon, which instructs Preachers to speak in this form *or to this effect*, as briefly as conveniently they may.

But these expressions of Dr. Secker, who was nearly of age at the beginning of the reign of George I, and rector of St. James's in that of George II, clearly show that the order issued in the reign of George I, by the Bishops, under royal directions, (their prohibition of the use of a collect with the Lord's Prayer before sermons,) affords no sanction at all to an

innovation of the present day, the omission of prayer altogether in the pulpit before the sermon. Had such been its aim, their order could not but have been noticed here by Dr. Secker : his words plainly give us to understand, it was an instruction to use the form in the 55th Canon, which was, therefore, shortened into a collect, and used with the Lord's Prayer, as that Canon directs. It was, no doubt, to prevent extempore prayer, of which he speaks in the first of this set of Sermons, and which the Bishops in 1661 also, as has been observed, desired to check.

To continue the extracts from his remarks on this part of our service. "After the sermon, one or more of the sentences on alms-giving, as also the prayer for the Church Militant, are *appointed to be read*, if there be no Communion, before the congregation be dismissed, neither of these things being ever unsuitable." He proceeds, however, to speak of *both* as "*more peculiarly proper to the Communion.*" We have, then, set before us in these extracts, the *practice* as to the Psalm-singing and the shortening of the Bidding prayer into a collect, but only the *appointment* as to the Offertory and prayer for the Church Militant, except when there was a Communion : the practice only in the one case, because there was no such appointment ; the appointment only in the other, because there was no such general practice.

As to the Offertory there can be no doubt ; the alms collected were for the poor alone. In both Prayer-books of Edward VI and in that of James I, they are

directed to be put into the poor men's box, and these "devotions of the people," so described in the Rubric, the 84th Canon directs to be distributed by the Curate and churchwardens, amongst "their most poor and needy neighbours." These, then, it is probable, were not collected every Sunday, after that legal provision for the poor neighbours, the poor of each parish, had been made about the close of Elizabeth's reign: accordingly we find in the Prayer-book of James I the words "to accept our alms and" inclosed in brackets, as was not done in that of Edward VI, showing that thenceforth the ordinary course would be to omit them whenever that prayer should be read when there was no Communion nor alms: the marginal direction is in both these Prayer-books the same as it is in our own. The forms of prayer for the State-days, which may be regarded as authoritative illustrations of the rule, confirm this view, appointing one, and one only, of the Offertory sentences to be read, and that *not especially* referring to *alms*. In the committee appointed by the House of Lords, in 1641, it is complained of as an "innovation in discipline," that an Offertory had been introduced before the Communion, "distinct from giving alms to the poor." At the revision in 1661, this innovation was so far sanctioned as it appears to be in our present Prayer-book. The words in the Rubric before the Offertory sentences, representing them as an earnest exhortation "*to remember the poor,*" were erased, and the Rubric was added, directing the money

given at the Offertory to be applied "to such pious and charitable uses as the Minister and churchwardens shall think fit:" but they, we should remember, were "the keepers of the keys" of the "poor man's box." At this time, too, the words "and oblations" were added in the prayer for the Church Militant. In former liturgies the *offerings* to which some of the sentences expressly refer, were directed to be paid to the Curate on the offering-days, and therefore were not noticed in this prayer, intended for other days also: *Oblations*, then, some say, means the offering the bread and wine, placing them on the Lord's Table, (whether from another part of it, or from a credence, surely matters not,) placing them reverently on the table, for the purpose of consecration. If this be so, it follows that the letter of the Rubric now is against the use of this prayer *for alms* when there is no Communion; it leaves no discretionary power; it directs us to pray for the acceptance of our alms and oblations, or to omit both; but the truth is, not the bread and wine alone are here called oblations, but the alms also, as being also placed by the Priest on the Lord's Table: alms as given to the poor, oblations as so given to Christ: in fact, what the people put into the chest for their poor neighbours, is called "their oblation and alms," in the Injunctions of Edward VI, 1547.

In the proceedings of the House of Lords' committee in 1641, it is suggested that the Rubric "be mended, where the churchwardens are strictly:

charged to gather *alms for the poor* before the Communion begins ; for by *experience it is proved* to be done better when the people depart." 'The Communion' here is evidently that part of the Service more properly so called : but as the Rubric¹ has not

¹ In the *Order of the Communion*, 1547, after the Exhortation, "Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the Holy Communion," &c. the Priest thus addressed the Congregation ; "If any man here be an open blasphemer, adulterer, in malice or envy or any other notable crime, and be not truly sorry therefore and earnestly minded to leave the same vices, or that doth not trust himself to be reconciled to Almighty God and in charity with all the world, let him yet a while bewail his sins and not come to this holy table, lest after the taking of this most blessed bread, the devil enter into him, as he did into Judas, to fulfil in him all iniquity, and to bring him to destruction both of body and soul." Then the Priest was to "pause a while, to see if any man would withdraw himself," before he proceeded with the service "Ye that do truly and earnestly repent," &c. The harshness of this proceeding was somewhat softened in the Prayer-book of 1549, by inserting the above sentence in the Exhortation and placing it just before the Offertory ; after which all "that minded not to receive the Holy Communion" were directed by a Rubric to "depart out of the quire." In all subsequent Prayer-books this Rubric has been omitted, and the Exhortation placed where it now stands, with the sentence so inserted almost in the very words in which it was removed in 1661 into the warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion. Since 1552, then, there has been no instruction by Rubric, at what time they who do not receive the Communion, are to depart. From the above remonstrance one would infer it had been attempted at that day to fix upon the existing Rubrics on the Offertory the sense of those in the Prayer-book of 1549.

been altered in this respect, the remonstrance seems to have been levelled against some forced interpretation put upon it at that day: the practice, however, of persons, who did not receive the Communion, departing before the Offertory, exactly agrees with the practice of closing the Morning Service with the sermon, of which we have such unquestionable proof in the extract from South's sermon.

But the State-day services having been mentioned as authorized examples of what the Church designed, it may be thought they clearly point out the use of the prayer for the Church Militant, &c., as the proper duty on every holy-day. They, of course, set out the service *in full* for all places where it is to be so performed, but they do not require the three services (Morning Prayer, Litany, and Communion Service,) to be read at the same time; and in considering them we ought to consider also the evidence of "the use of the Church," afforded by South's sermon, contemporary with at least two of them. And let it not in the teeth of this evidence be supposed, that they assume the three services to be read at the same time, because a Rubric directs notice of these days to be given on the previous Sunday at *Morning Prayer, immediately after the Nicene Creed*. *Morning Prayer* is evidently here used loosely for the principal service of the day: the Nicene Creed is no part of *Morning Prayer*, strictly so called. The letter of the Rubric in two of these services would be exceedingly inconvenient to follow, as it directs an *Act of Parlia-*

ment to be read *after the Nicene Creed* on the Sunday before the 29th of May, *after preaching* on that before the 5th of November ; a difference as to the time appointed for reading the Act, which arose from a change in a Rubric of the Communion Service at the last revision, very important in its bearing on the question before us.

In the former Prayer-books, the second of Edward VI and that of James I, a Rubric directed notice of holy-days and fasts in the week to be given *after the sermon or homily* ; then followed after the Offertory and prayer for the Church Militant, one or other of the two Exhortations to the people on the Holy Communion ; but there was not in these Prayer-books any form of notice on a previous day of an intention to administer it. In 1661, a change was made in this Rubric. *Immediately after the Nicene Creed*, the Curate is now directed to give notice of holy-days and fasts, and also (if occasion be) of the Communion. And yet the notice of purpose to administer it, which was at this time prefixed to one of the Exhortations, this warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion is directed to be read *after the sermon or homily ended*. A distinguished lawyer once told me that these two Rubrics are consistent with each other, taking a distinction between *notice* and *warning*, as if the *notice*, in any words the Curate chose, was to be given *before*, the *warning*, *after* the sermon, in the prescribed form. No Clergyman will believe such an useless repetition

of notice can have been intended here. The inconsistency stands as a monument of party struggle: the one party probably thought they had secured the warning, as of old appointed for other notices, *after the sermon*, since where this was to be done, there could be no occasion of notice *before it*: the other was satisfied to have obtained a Rubric directing notice of the Sacrament to be given *before* the sermon, as the general practice of so closing the Morning Service evidently required.

And here we see why the first sentence, and no more, of what now stands first of the two Exhortations, (for in 1661 they were transposed,) is commonly read as notice of the Holy Communion. It is often asked what authority there is for reading so much and no more. The first sentences of these two Exhortations are the only authorized forms of notice; and the whole first sentence of the first of these was brought back again in 1661, being slightly altered from that in *the Order of the Communion*, 1547, and was prefixed, as I said, to the old Exhortation. This newly restored sentence, then, was especially *the authorized form*, a fact, which at once shows the authority for, and the antiquity of, the practice.

The sentence in *the Order of the Communion*, and in the Prayer-book which came out two years afterwards, is as follows: "Dear friends, and you especially upon whose souls I have care and charge, upon —— day next, I do intend, by God's grace, to offer to all such as shall be then godly disposed, the most com-

fortable Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, to be taken of them in the remembrance of his most fruitful and glorious passion, by the which passion we have obtained remission of our sins and been made partakers of the kingdom of heaven ; whereof we be assured and ascertained if we come to the said Sacrament with hearty repentance for our offences, stedfast faith in God's mercy, and earnest mind to obey God's holy will, and to offend no more. Wherefore our duty is," &c. &c., nearly in the words of our present Prayer-book, though some alterations have been made in this Exhortation. But in 1547 this Rubric was prefixed : " First, the Parson, Vicar, or Curate, the next Sunday or holy-day, or at the least one day before he shall minister the Communion, shall give warning to his parishioners, or those which be present, that they prepare themselves thereto, saying to them openly and plainly as hereafter followeth, or such like." In 1549 the Rubric prefixed, without desiring it to be done on any day before, merely directs the Priest, " if the people be negligent," to exhort them " to dispose themselves to the receiving of the Holy Communion more diligently, saying these or like words unto them." The latitude allowed by the last words of both these Rubrics seems to show it was expected the Preachers would exhort the people to communicate, and would give notice always of the Sacrament in their sermons ; and thence probably the form of notice came to be omitted for more than a century, from

1552 to 1661, when it was restored with the two inconsistent directions as to the time of using it.

Another change made at the last revision deserves consideration. The Bidding prayer having been (to borrow Dr. South's expression) "put out of use and out of countenance," the substance of its last clause, praising God for them that are departed in the true faith, and praying that we with them may rise again, was now added to the prayer for the Church Militant. They, then, who think the Rubric directs this prayer always to be used when there is no Communion, should consider, whether it is likely that while the one party objected to the length of the old liturgy, the other should actually have made it longer. "Too tedious in the whole," was the language of the objectors: they did not, they could not think it tedious in its several parts, in the services read separately, or any two of them combined, but *tedious in the whole*, i. e. when the three services were read at the same time. It is but justice, then, to the majority who prevailed on that occasion, to suppose this lengthened prayer for the Church Militant was not designed to be used when the three services, performed in full with a sermon, were taken together as *one whole*, except for the special service of the Holy Sacrament. And so, in process of time, from its reasonableness, the practice of closing the service with the sermon came to be introduced into cathedrals also, with a return to the discountenanced, but authorized, bidding to pray; a form which, it seems,

could in no place be used before the sermon with the prayer for the Church Militant, as it now stands, after it, except for the actual administration of the blessed Eucharist.

There yet remains for us to consider, what has been before alluded to, an alteration at the last revision in wording the very Rubric proposed to be explained. In the Prayer-books of 1552 and 1603 it ran thus: "Upon the holy-days, if there be no Communion, shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, until the end of the homily, concluding with the general prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant here in earth, and one or more of these collects before rehearsed, as occasion shall serve." It was then an instruction for the course to be followed when there was a homily or sermon. At the last revision in 1661, all mention of homily or sermon was struck out, and it cannot be said the words "until the end of the homily" were omitted, merely because, the Clergy in general having become preachers, the homilies ceased to be read: the words "sermon or homily" might as well have been used in altering this Rubric, as in framing the new one at the same time prefixed to the warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion. Observe, it is not merely that the Rubric now does not mention the sermon: it omits the mention of the homily or sermon it before made. For more than a century, however, the use of it had been interrupted by the ascendancy

one while of Popery, another while of Puritanism, still from 1552 to 1662 the Rubric had directed what should be read to the *end of the homily*, then concluding with the prayer for the Church Militant and a collect: in 1662 the Clergy found all mention of the homily or sermon omitted. Was it not, then, natural for them, with these facts before their minds, to understand it as an instruction for the course to be followed when there was no homily or sermon, but as not intended to interfere, when there was a sermon, with the usage of the day? And such in both respects is the very practice which has been handed down to us: in all churches, I believe, this Rubric is complied with to the letter when there is no sermon, as for two hundred years it has been the general practice, when there is a sermon, with it to close the service. And if the practice of the Church may be taken as a fair interpreter of the Rubric with which it has been coexistent, surely a compliance with this general and long-established usage is entitled to be regarded as at least as regular a course as a departure from it, under an idea that we now understand the meaning and design of a rubric better than they did, who lived in the very time when it was enacted.

The Rubrics in our Prayer-book sometimes require careful consideration, that we may see the course intended for us to follow. For instance, if Epiphany fall on any day of the week except Saturday or Sunday, the collect for Epiphany is read during the

remainder of that week; yet no Rubric expressly directs this, but only that the collect for Circumcision, read on the Sunday, is not to be read after Epiphany; and except we take what is here implied, no collect at all is appointed for the remainder of the week. Again, if, as this year, there be twenty-seven Sundays after Trinity, it is not immediately apparent that the Church has appointed any Proper Lessons for a twenty-seventh Sunday: but if we consider the Rubric after the Gospel for the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity, we find, it directs *the Service* of Sundays omitted after the Epiphany to be taken in to supply so many services as are here wanting; but *the Service of a Sunday* is its Proper Lesson as well as its Collect, Epistle, and Gospel: since, then, the services of four Sundays after Epiphany will be read in their regular course next year, what may be wanting for Sundays after Trinity this year should be taken from the services of the fifth and sixth Sundays after Epiphany. On this point, indeed, it is to be regretted that the Rubric is not more explicit: it might have secured uniformity, by ruling what it has left to each Minister's discretion: and the word "here" may seem to restrict the rule to Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, yet certainly it may mean, in this Prayer-book, or in these Rubrics, and so include the Rubric for the Proper Lessons. It cannot, then, be said, that the Rubrics are a complete and perfect guide; but much consideration is necessary in some

of them, that we may rightly understand what has been really designed.

It were much to be wished those Clergymen who think themselves bound in conscience by the Rubric, to read the Offertory sentences and prayer for the Church Militant after their morning sermons, would bear in mind the alterations made in 1661, as they calmly consider what the Rubric really says to them. According to their interpretation, all these alterations have been wholly uncalled for: according to their interpretation, when many desired the service should be shortened, it was actually lengthened by adding the prayer for the Church Militant, and the time for giving notice of holy-days and fasts was altered, and the mention of the homily or sermon in this very Rubric¹ was omitted, without any cause at all: but if the interpretation contended for in these pages be allowed, the reason of all these alterations becomes at once apparent and to be approved. And if we consider also the evidence of party struggle afforded by the inconsistency between the Rubrics

¹ It may be said, indeed, this Rubric was altered to express more accurately, that one or more of the Offertory sentences is to be read, which, the Fifth of November service shows, was understood to be meant before: but if the alteration was a security for the practice in this respect, it was concession to the practice in the other; and so, no doubt, obtained a ready assent from all. It is obvious, the use of one or more of these sentences might have been enjoined without omitting all mention of the homily or sermon.

that appoint the time for giving notice of the Holy Communion, and the different objects which different members of the Convocation in 1661 may have had in view, many probably desiring the Offertory sentences and prayer for the Church Militant to be always read in places where only the Litany and Communion Service were read at the same time, and there should not happen to be present communicants, not even Clergy, enough for the celebration of the Eucharist; we shall cease to wonder how it has come to pass that the Rubric has been left in its present form, indistinct indeed as to that, which the usage in South's day, just after it had become law, seems to demonstrate as a part of its real intent and meaning. But supposing all that has been here advanced have only thrown a doubt on the right interpretation of it, surely it will not be thought proper for the sake of a Rubric, the meaning of which may be questioned, to give unquestionable offence to congregations by departing from the long-established usage of our Church. If, however, such doubts as to the meaning of the Rubric appear likely to lead to any unseemly breach of uniformity in the manner of performing the service before different congregations, with all humility and with all respect, but with much earnestness, I would submit it to the Most Reverend the Primates and the Right Reverend the other Prelates of our Church, whether it is not high time that what long-established usage shows to be an interpretation the Rubric at least admits of, should now

receive legal sanction, by removing all ambiguity, and making it plain, that the Offertory sentences and prayer for the Church Militant are not to be read when the three services are taken together, and there is a sermon but no Communion: there can be no great difficulty in obtaining regular legal sanction for what is in accordance with the wishes and feelings of nearly the whole country: and so will be prevented all uncalled-for lengthening of the Morning Service, the present length of which is often felt by delicate persons of unquestioned piety as a serious inconvenience: so too will be preserved an uniformity between our Morning and Evening Services, each alike ending with the sermon, an uniformity which, coming continually before the same congregation, seems more important than that the service should be performed in precisely the same manner before different congregations, which the Rubric does not even attempt to prescribe, leaving in many cases a choice to each Minister's discretion; yet an uniformity which some would violate for the sake of a Rubric, which was first made near three centuries ago, and ratified only in an age when there were no sermons at the Evening Service, and which, if the interpretation here given of it be not allowed, has certainly fallen into general desuetude ever since it has existed in its present form.

THE END.

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2

HEADS OF CONSIDERATION

ON THE

CASE OF MR. WARD.

BY THE

REV. JOHN KEBLE, M. A.,

LATE FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE.

OXFORD,

JOHN HENRY PARKER;

LONDON, RIVINGTONS.

MDCCCXLV.

.



OXFORD: PRINTED BY I. SHRIMPTON.

HEADS OF CONSIDERATION,

&c.

THERE appear to be three questions which Members of Convocation have to answer for themselves, in order to determine what course they should take in respect both of the charge and sentence, to be proposed on the 13th of February.

1. "*Is it expedient to entertain the question at all ?*"
2. "*Is Mr. Ward proved guilty of that which he is charged with, by the passages alleged in the charge ?*"
3. "*Supposing him guilty, is it legal, or otherwise desirable, to affirm the sentence of degradation ?*"

To some, perhaps, an additional question may occur, between the second and third as here stated; viz. "Is he proved guilty by other passages, or by the general tenor of his acknowledged writings?" But this question, I apprehend, is excluded by the wording of the charge itself: "*That the passages now read are utterly inconsistent with the Articles,*" &c. It is true that the special passages are not mentioned in the proposed vote of degradation itself: we are simply called on to affirm, that "the said W. G. Ward

has disentitled himself to the rights and privileges conveyed by his degrees." But this second proposition must stand on the first, else it will be a sentence without specification of crime. And the first proposition again must stand on the alleged passages: for it were against all rules of judicial equity to bring in a verdict of guilty, not on the evidence adduced by the prosecutor, but on other supposed evidence, confined to our own breasts, and therefore impossible to be met and answered by the defendant. Plainly it will be our duty (as judges say to jurymen) to dismiss from our minds all extraneous matter, all that has not been both alleged and proved by those who prefer the charge. Should any Member of Convocation vote for Mr. Ward's degradation, upon any other ground than the very passages cited against him, he will be committing the same injustice, of which a jury would be guilty, who should convict a prisoner upon their own supposed knowledge of some other felonious act of his, not mentioned in the indictment.

It might be otherwise, had the measure proposed been simply a doctrinal censure, or declaration of want of confidence. But *bad faith* and *degradation* are such serious matters, and involve such heavy penalties, that the person so threatened is surely entitled to every protection and safeguard, which law and equity provide in analagous cases.

Leaving therefore out of consideration whatever else Mr. Ward may have written (except so far as it may be needed for interpretation of ambiguities or obscurities in the words actually quoted), we may confine ourselves to the three questions set down above, which between them seem practically to exhaust the subject.

I. The first of the three, *Is it expedient to entertain the*

case at all? is clearly a very relevant and a very important one. It is relevant and within our cognizance; for Convocation is not a court of justice, bound to dispose judicially of causes and persons regularly brought before it, although if we do try any cause, especially one involving such highly penal consequences, we are bound to guard ourselves by those rules which courts of justice find needful for their guidance. But in itself, as hardly need be stated, Convocation is a deliberative body, and may be likened, in such proceedings as the present, to the House of Commons debating a question of impeachment. No wonder, in such a debate, if many whose impressions are unfavourable to the accused person, should yet vote against penal proceedings, as judging them on the whole inequitable, or simply undesirable. And obviously in this case there are very grave reasons for quashing the proposition altogether, reasons quite independent of particular statements in theology, and apart from all question of Mr. Ward's guilt or innocence.

1. It is unnecessarily harsh and cruel, and also undignified on the part of the University, to blend with what is meant to be a grave ecclesiastical decision, and to put on record, the saying, That "the passages . . . are inconsistent . . . with the *good faith*," i. e. the honesty, of the person supposed to be in error.

2. The condemnation, if passed, will indirectly, and *pro tanto*, have the effect of a new Test: for it will affirm the following propositions to be so contained in the Articles as to exclude honest subscription on the part of any one denying them.

- a. That the English Reformation, *as a movement*, has claims on our sympathy and regard. (Neither of this, nor of any other of these sayings, is the *truth* here in question;

the only point is, *Are they palpably contained in the Articles?*)

β. That there was no great sin on the part of the English Church in our separation from Rome: no connivance at sacrilege, for example; no slighting of established authority and visible unity; no unworthy truckling to secular tyranny and injustice. What is there in the Articles about this, one way or the other?

γ. That the "spirit" of certain of the Articles is not contradictory to that of the Prayer-Book. For example, that the saying, "We are justified by faith only," has no appearance or air of contradiction to St. James ii. 24. (which the Prayer-Book orders to be read in Church three times a year) and to the last verse of the Creed of St. Athanasius.

δ. That the Reformers could not have intended so to frame the Articles, as to make it possible for Roman Catholics to sign them.

ε. That the 12th Article in particular may not be signed in any sense, but that which would naturally be given to it by a person versed in the controversies of the sixteenth century.

Of these five statements, three at least are obviously irrelevant to the substance of the Articles themselves.

Unless however we are prepared to affirm that no one, dissenting from any of these propositions, can honestly sign the Articles, we shall be voting against our own convictions in saying *Placet* to the first question; and if we do affirm it, we make (as far as one precedent goes) a virtual addition to the test of Church membership at present required by the University.

3. The proposed decree being in the nature of a *privilegium*, or law passed *ex post facto* for a particular case, is in its own nature invidious and unfair, and can only be

justified by great necessity, and strict impartiality in the enacting body. But both the necessity and the impartiality are in this case negated by the palpable fact, that at this very time persons are allowed to go on unquestioned in the University, who take at least as great liberties with the five first Articles, and with the letter of the Prayer-Book, (the Baptismal and Ordination Services, and the Catechism,) as any one is now charged with respecting some of the later Articles. And the impartiality in particular is made questionable by this other obvious fact, that at the Board from which this censure proceeds sits one, of whom the University has declared her suspicion on the ground of his theological opinions, without his "good faith" being questioned, and without any proposal to degrade him. If the "Via Media" is to be defended by something like the sword of excommunication, at least it should be two-edged, and cut both ways. Indeed it seems highly scandalous, that any degree of what is called Romanizing should be visited more severely than heretical statements affecting the foundations of the Faith, the Trinity, and Incarnation.

4. It is very undesirable that the University should hastily depart from the regular traditional policy of this branch of the Church, which has always been to tolerate all who could subscribe the Articles in their literal and grammatical sense, enduring great latitude both on the right hand and on the left, while by her Canons and the voice of her greatest Divines, as well as by the spirit of her other Formularies, she has ever held up the consent of Antiquity as the best interpreter of what might be ambiguous in them.

5. It is especially uncharitable and unwise at present to narrow the ground of Anglicanism, and that on the side of Rome exclusively; both as increasing the relative

power of the Latitudinarian and Rationalistic schools which exist among us, and as adding force to any doubts, which may be reasonably or unreasonably felt concerning our Catholicity.

6. Nor ought it to be overlooked in this question of expediency, that in driving this writer and such as think with him out of our body, we are parting with a set of persons most willing and able, as large experience has shewn, to work within and under the Church of England in all charity, patience, and self-denial, against the common enemies of us all—vice and unbelief. All that has been and is said about bearing with unsound *Protestant* opinions, because of the practical excellency and usefulness of their maintainers, ought to tell, one should imagine, against harsh dealing in the present case.

7. On the other hand, valuable as their services are, they are so few in number, and so little likely to increase, that scarce any thing would be gained by excluding them. So painful a matter as a formal punishment ought not to be urged except of necessity, and for some great end. What is the great end in degrading Mr. Ward? Hardly one or two agree with him, in thinking all Roman doctrine compatible with the Thirty-nine Articles. This being so, the measure reduces itself to a mere unmeaning wanton attack, almost upon an individual. Others, who have been struck at, did at least represent a school: but can this be said in the present instance? Or will it be maintained that Convocation is an ordinary judge, to come forward whenever any private M.A. does wrong?

Here again one is tempted to long for a little impartiality. There has notoriously been for some time a School of Oxford Divines, maintaining (to speak plainly) Sabellian opinions. Why has no censure upon them been proposed?

The only excuse which suggests itself is, their being supposed few, and little likely to spread. I wish the supposition were correct: but being, as it is, the only creditable account of the omission to censure in that and in some other instances, it makes the present attempt appear the more inexcusably partial and one-sided.

I would put it most respectfully, but most earnestly, to those Members of Convocation especially, who for various reasons feel indignant toward Mr. Ward, whether on grounds like these it be not desirable that the proposed measure should be stopped *in limine*? whether, if it came before them as questions do in the Houses of Parliament, they would not be disposed to move the "previous question?"

II. In the next place we have to consider, how far the passages cited from "the *Ideal*" bear out the charge of "bad faith." If we do but think it *possible* that the error we may suppose contained in them may be attributed to obliquity of judgment, incautious reasoning, or anything else short of conscious and deliberate dishonesty, we are bound by every obligation of charity and justice to say *Non placet* to the charge.

On this head I submit as follows:—

1. No person who knows Mr. Ward believes him at all likely to be guilty of conscious and deliberate dishonesty: the mistake which his friends and acquaintance of all parties seem rather to dread on his part is what may be called excess of frankness: as though he thought it necessary to state his opinions at every possible disadvantage, and to shock as many persons as he can, lest he should seem hereafter to have beguiled them.

2. Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakeley have produced no small quantity of historical evidence to prove the admissibility in

the English Church, since the Reformation, of certain views more or less like their own : and those who do not think that their precedents quite bear them out, may yet easily understand how they might innocently and in "good faith" rely upon those precedents.

3. If after considering all this, people yet feel themselves constrained to pass so very severe a sentence, by parity of reasoning they must be prepared to denounce, as *dishonest*, the whole body of those who declare their adherence to the Prayer-Book, denying at the same time or explaining away the doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism.

All that can be said against Mr. Ward of inventing "strange, incredible hypotheses," "going against the spirit of our Formularies," "breaking the letter of solemn engagements," "denying authority to the Church," and (in many cases) using language concerning her which sounds disrespectful—may be said at least as truly of the writers and preachers of the schools referred to : and all that can be said in their behalf, of high general character and usefulness, of seeming warrant for the liberties they take, to be found in other parts of our Formularies, or of the toleration shewn to them in various ages of the Church ;—may be said, with quite as much cogency, in behalf of Mr. Ward. If *his* words convict *him* of "bad faith," so do *theirs* convict *them* : if *their* pleadings may but be listened to, *his* ought not to be overruled.

And here it may not be superfluous, distinctly to call the attention of Members of Convocation to the real position in which they will stand on the 13th of February. It will be, I scruple not to say, an unpardonable mistake, if we allow ourselves to suppose that we come to affirm or deny an abstract opinion : to record our own adhesion to this or that school within the Church. Whatever may be

involved in the result, our direct business, that for which we shall be responsible, will be to try a Master of Arts and Clergyman on a special and defined charge. Whatever we may think of his opinions, however dangerous we may account his party,—unless we believe him guilty of the whole of that charge, still more unless we believe him guilty of the most stringent portion of it, the breach of “good faith,” we *cannot*, as the proposition is framed, *honestly affirm it*. And better it were to miss of a great good, than to obtain it by a mean so wicked as a dishonest verdict.

III. Suppose now, what I am most unwilling to imagine, the sentence of “bad faith” carried, a very material question remains: *Has the University power to degrade for such an offence?* We are not, many of us, lawyers enough to answer this; but it is understood to be matter of grave doubt, at least, among persons of high professional character, and not likely to be blinded in this case by sympathy with the accused. Is it dutiful and respectful to the University, to aid in committing her to a verdict, not unlikely to be hereafter annulled?

On this part of the subject, even persons incompetent as I am may be able to understand the following suggestions, for which I am indebted to an experienced legal friend.

We seem to be members of a great corporation: we have the power of conferring degrees, and these degrees are not merely titular or of value among ourselves; they are requisite for the enjoyment of many valuable rights and franchises, not only in Oxford but in the world at large. We have the power also of making bye-laws, or statutes, within certain limits, and of inflicting punishments for the breach of them: some of those punishments, but very few, involving degradation.

If Mr. Ward's offence, *as it stands in the charge*, supposing it proved and affirmed, is to subject him to this punishment, either our present statutes must point it out, or we must make a new statute for the purpose, or we must inflict it without authority of any statute.

Now, first, it is not pretended that any existing statute imposes this punishment for this offence.

In the next place, (setting aside the odiousness of an *ex post facto* law of punishment,) it is enough to say that the present proceeding does not affect to make a new statute. For the Hebdomadal Board, and the House of Convocation, are not alone competent to make a new statute. See Tit. x. s. 2. § 2.

Lastly, it would seem hardly maintainable that Convocation has a discretionary power of punishing, to the extent of degradation, in cases not provided for by statute. If it has, we live under this strange condition: that whatever the majority may vote to be a crime becomes so, and being so, the same majority may vote it punishable by the loss of a degree. This would be a new kind of law, I believe, for any other corporation. It surely behoves us all, of whatever party, to consider well, before we lend our help to introduce it among ourselves.

Even if the sentence were legal, there are circumstances attending this punishment of degradation, which would make us all most unwilling to inflict it, except in very extreme cases of deliberate moral guilt.

I have not felt myself at liberty to dwell here on the positive merits of the Author of the *Ideal* towards the Church of England, and many perplexed consciences within her, in respect both of large portions of that work, and of some former and more elementary publications: although

for both (amid serious disagreement from some of his principles, if I understand them rightly) I cannot but feel deeply grateful. Of course, to such as sympathize in this feeling, and appreciate also the many noble traits of character which Mr. Ward's writings disclose, it must be simply impossible to find him guilty of "bad faith;" or to think of his being degraded, without a deep sense of wrong and dread of retribution.

But judging of his case by those measures only which I have endeavoured to apply above, I can imagine few things more unfair and cruel in themselves, or more likely to be ruinous under our present circumstances, than his condemnation, should it unhappily be carried.

Hursley, Jan. 16, 1845.

Maynooth

"THE REFUGE OF LIES."

"— blasphemous fables, dangerous deceits," "fond things, vainly invented."

"Be these THY GODS, O ISRAEL?"



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THE REFUGE OF LIES.

The question that now agitates the public mind is one that deserves to be approached with the most anxious care ; for, when one considers that the whole strength of the Deliberative Government is pledged to carry their point, and that the defeat of the Minister may be the signal for a change in the Ministry, a thing involving in it all those contingencies, of which only the beginning is seen, it must be admitted that nothing but a case of the gravest necessity could justify such an appeal to the public, and to the Deliberative Body, as might involve such a result. Nevertheless, it is believed, that the emergency has arisen, which makes the duty of every man, positive and distinct ; and that that duty is, for every man to do his utmost, *coute qui coute*, to hinder the Minister from endowing,—to deter the Deliberative Bodies from co-operating with him in his determination to endow, the College of Maynooth in Ireland with a *fresh* endowment. The following pages

are committed to type, in order to promote a right view of the subject, in the handling of which there is, on the one hand, a great deal of mystification,—reasons made effective only by a bold assertion of purpose; and, on the other, a timid withholding of the only argument that *can* overpower and overwhelm the assumed effrontery of the Ministerial supporters of the measure. In discussing the subject, no hostility to the Premier or his supporters is intended. The circumstances of the times are peculiar to the common observer; doubtless, perplexing; most perplexing. To those who look deeper, there is a shade of awfulness in them. To all, it is verily believed, they are perilous. “Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased,” we are told. “Many shall be purified and made white and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand.” I should be very sorry to think that all who vote for this measure, know the extent of the wickedness of their act. But, as I believe they *will* act wickedly, if, after being shown by a wiser and better than I am, what they are doing, they shall persist in their vote, and will involve us with themselves in the consequences of their act, I venture to put before them my view of the case and of their case.

This People is called upon, by their representatives, to pay so much money a year, to pay so

many men to teach Lies to so many young citizens, that they, after a certain number of years learning how they are best to effect this, may go forth, in the name of the Government and people of England, and teach Lies to eight millions of our brethren.

Now, that is just the long and the short of the matter. If you talk till doomsday, you will make no more of it as to *the fact*; nor can the wit or sophistry of Man, or the ingenuity or malice of The Devil, even if it were his policy to do so—*which it is not*, (Rev. xii. 10.)—make less of it.

And is this what this *religious* nation is come to? Have we been emancipated from the tuition of the Jesuit, but to prove the efficacy of our *Protestant* Faith, to enable us to exceed him in the profligate daring of asserting that it is *right*, “to do evil that good may come?” In truth, these silly men, then, have, in vain, been at great pains to cloak the word of God from the eyes of men; for they were afraid that St. Paul’s words would, when read by the baptized, be the explosion of their system of Fraud and Lying. Poor calculators! *We* also have learned to read and *not* to heed;—to read, and to *despise* God’s Instructions;—to read, and to dare Him, Whose servant has said on this subject, and in these words, “whose damnation is just” (Rom. iii. 8.);—“to do evil that good may come;”—to incur boldly, wantonly, boastfully, the damnation of God:—

to teach lies that truth may abound ;—to sacrifice, in short, to The Spirit of Lies—which is, The Devil (St. John viii. 44.); and to use him, to do the work of God, to *help us* to make Peace upon Earth! to promote “ Good will amongst men !”

“ ‘Lies,’ do you say? What ‘Lies?’ Who are you, to accuse so many millions of your fellow creatures, with believing and teaching lies?”

Hey day! what insolence is this? You, members of the Legislature, some of You, Graduates of a University, where you have sworn—*sworn!*—that you believed the system of Rome to be a compound of “fond inventions,” “blasphemous lies and dangerous deceits,” do *you* now turn round, *dare to turn round*, upon those of whose feelings and *knowledge* you were, for years, the professedly sympathising advocates, and ask us thus indignantly, “Who are *you* who thus speak?” Oh! the consummate impudence of Might against Right!

But since we *are* put upon *proof* in this matter, You, Conservative Gentlemen, sent to Parliament by your Constituents, who thought that you *did* believe there were “blasphemous lies and dangerous deceits” in the Romish system, as *they* KNEW there were,—You, must understand now, that, which it is a pity You did not understand before; viz., that the Creed, for the teaching of which to eight millions of citizens, you are going to provide, contains, besides the Nicene Creed, twelve

additional Articles, *added*, (you will observe by the way, in the year 1564,) to the *old* faith; which old faith, we, your constituents hold, and which bears the date of 325. Now, as a good Bishop of Rome, St. Cœlestine, said, in 431, that “the Catholic Church suffered from every novelty;” and, as another, St. Agatho, in 682, declared, that the *then* existing Definition of the Faith was incapable of amendment, either by adding to or subtracting from it, You will not be surprised when You are told that the twelve *additions* to the Creed above named, have fully justified the assertions of these good bishops; that, in short, the twelve novelties embody not only as many false doctrines, which are Lies, but, involve all the miserable consequences that subtle disputants can make and prove to be the due corollary to each proposition; each corollary itself a component postulate of five hundred others, sequents or consequents; all as false as the premises from which they are made to spring. And it is for the teaching of these, *all these* to the people, that you are going to provide! And is it possible that we seek to secure the peace of the Country by such means? Is this our refuge? Then is our refuge a “Refuge of Lies,” and we must see to it.

But, to say nothing of the dogmas of eleven of these Articles, and out of which may be taken abundant justification of the language of the 31st and 22d Articles of the Church of England,

already quoted, touching "fond inventions," "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits," I call your attention to one, the 23rd, of which "the fable" is manifest, and the "deceit, dangerous" indeed; *politically* "dangerous." I waive consideration of all the other Articles, and the points in them, no less for brevity's sake than because they go to matters of Conscience in the Romanist, with which here I have nothing to do, not now writing for them but for You: and I confine myself to *this* article, because, not even a Romanist can deny, that *one* of its assertions is a "Lie";—because, also, the most zealous partisan of this measure, now before the public, will not otherwise affirm, than that the other is, a "dangerous deceit."

The first ten Articles of this *new* Creed, after disposing of the points of

1, Papal Tradition, and the Constitutions of the Roman Church, Art. xiii.;—2, Papal Interpretation of Holy Writ, Art. xiv.;—3, The asserted doctrine of the Seven Sacraments, Art. xv.;—4, the absolute Authority of the Council of Trent concerning Original Sin and Justification, Art. xvi.;—5, the doctrine of the Mass, and Transubstantiation, Art. xvii.;—6, the fitness of intermitting the use of wine in the Lord's Supper, Art. xviii.;—7, the Value of Purgatory, [and the efficacy of money here to free souls from torture there,] Art. xix.;—8, Relics of the

Dead, Art. xx.;—9, the sanctity of Images of the Dead, Art. xxi.;—and, 10, the excellence and power of Indulgences, Art. xxii.;—bring us to the Twenty-third Article, which informs us that, “the Holy Catholic and Apostolic *Roman* Church, is The Mother and Mistress of all Churches.”

We need go no further. This line contains more than enough for our purpose: viz. these *manifest* Lies,—Rome, The Mother of all Churches, —Rome, The Mistress of all Churches. The first statement is simply “a lie”; absurd in itself, and contemptible, but for the corollary which cunning has contrived to hang on to it—viz., that Rome is, as the Mother, the *Mistress* also, of all Churches. A statement that is mischievous in the highest degree. And this is the Lie, *one* of the Lies, that we are preparing *to teach* to our population.

But I don't desire so much to speak of the *mischief* of *such* a lie. It is “Lying” in the abstract, that is such an abomination—the *teaching* of the lie. I, therefore, content myself with merely asking, WHAT RIGHT WE HAVE, to endow a college with *any* money, with *any* thing, TO TEACH A LIE? *this* lie for instance—viz., that “Rome is the mother of all Churches”? “Jerusalem, which is above, is the mother of us all,” (Gal. iv. 26), says St. Paul. But who cares now for what St. Paul says? He says of those

who "do evil that good may come," that their "damnation is just" (Rom. iii. 8). But who cares for St. Paul or "damnation" either, *now*? Conservatives and Churchmen, Representatives of Churchmen, *say* they don't:—that is, they say by their deeds, which are more speaking than words, that they *don't* care for "damnation." Do those whom they represent, or *misrepresent*, say so? That remains to be seen: for, as the act of our Representatives involves us all, in itself and in its consequences, unless we resist it, it is right that we should be consulted in so grave a matter; and that *we*, either by address to the Queen, petition for a new election, or, by some other means, be heard. Are then Englishmen, *English Christians*, willing to be represented by men, who make it a boast of braving the "damnation" of God, by avowing and acting upon the Principle,—It is right "to do evil that good may come!" God forbid that they should. I am sure *they* won't feel indifferent in this matter, however the heedless sycophants of the ruler choose to feel,—however *they* may choose to act on the occasion; and they will surely, should the House of Lords throw them over, which God forbid! contrive some means, as above, either successfully to resist the measure, or, to absolve themselves, in the sight of God, of the guilt it involves. For, though the Conservative Representatives in the Maynooth majority may think, at the bidding of their Chief,

that "Rome is the mother of all Churches,"—for they must think this, *for the occasion at least*, or, be self-convicted of lie-teaching to the People,—their constituents will believe with St. Paul that "Jerusalem which is above is;" and that, therefore, the statement of this Creed, that "Rome is the mistress of all Churches" is a lie; and they know, and will see that it is a lie, which we are going to teach men to teach to eight millions of our citizens.

Does any body say—What signifies if the poor people think so? That is another question. Have we a *right*, in the sight of God, to teach a lie to the people, knowing it to be so? Let this question be distinctly answered by every man.

Have we a *right* to teach a lie to the people?

It is expedient to do so, we are told.

Why?

Because the people are to be pacified by being taught their favourite lie,—their favourite *lies*.

And so, because the "people love to have it so, and will not consider," we are to encourage them in "their folly,"—in their sin against God. And we are, so, to make friends with a lie! that is, with "The Father of Lies;" that is—The Devil. And this, because we have not the courage to do right and to rely upon God, whom we have come to think *can't* "restrain the madness of the people:"—that is, we do homage to Satan, and refuse to trust and serve God. We will *not*

commit our case to God's keeping, but commend ourselves to Satan's favour, and make for ourselves and people "a refuge of lies." In short, for *Expediency's* sake, we sell our souls to The Devil! This then, is the bare issue of providing a lie for the people, and of making provision *efficiently* to teach it. Shall it be done?

But turn we now to the *policy* of so doing. This lie-direct has the lie-corollary, that, Rome is the Mistress of all Churches, attached to it. To the full reception of these lies-conjunct, *with all their deep and wide-spread consequences*, every member of the Church of Rome, and every Schismatic in this Country who partisans with the Bishop of Rome, when he goes to the Confessional, is bound; and he may be called upon, at all times, "to promise and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter,—[another sordid lie]—Prince of the Apostles,—[a grotesque and blasphemous absurdity]—and *the* Vicar of Jesus Christ on Earth." And how do we know that every one who goes to the Confessional, there swears, or is obliged to swear, allegiance to the Bishop of Rome, if he be tested on this point? Because of the rider to the Creed; which rider is the Bishop of Rome's means of making the rest of the Creed efficacious for his purpose; it being the test of the Priesthood when they are ordained, as abroad, or, supposed to be ordained, as by suppositious Pre-

lates, amongst ourselves, to Holy Functions. The words are these :—" This true Catholic Faith, out of which none can be saved, which I now freely confess and truly hold, I, N. or M., promise, vow, and swear, most constantly to hold and profess the same, and, as much as in me lies, to procure, *by virtue of my office, that all under me, shall hold, teach and preach the same, whole and inviolate, with God's assistance, until my life's end. Amen.*"

Here then we find that, every one of the men, for whom we are about to provide Education at Maynooth, whose *religious tuition*, either now or at any time, is *not to be interfered with*, is to be bound, on oath, at his suppositious Ordination, to procure, as much as in him shall lie, that, *by virtue of his office*, all under him shall hold the same whole and inviolate. Hold *what?* This, *inter alia* ; that " Rome is," and ought to be, " the *Mistress* of all Churches." Pretty Traitors, Ye ! who dare, with the full cognizance of such things, and,—with the cognizance of the boast of Rome that she never changes, never was wrong, never can be, and with the present proof of her inflexibility of purpose before you,—are going to, are *most willing* to, hand us over, Church and State, to the contingencies involved in the dedication of some 200 men yearly, to the *sole* purpose of inculcating, in the minds of Eight Millions of the most turbulent, most excitable population in the known world, the alleged fact, as a truth *taught by our-*

selves, that Rome is the Mistress of the Church of England, and that *we* ought to be, as *they* are, her vassals. Let rebellion break out, ye ruthless, reckless Traitors! Traditors of the church which gave you being and standing but to disgrace and betray her! let rebellion break out, and see what will be the result of this doctrine. Let agitation be fostered as heretofore, and, undefended by the arms of England and Englishmen, the Church and witness for God in Ireland is gone! But, rebellion, treason, the dismemberment of the Empire, God knows, little I care for them all in comparison with the bare fact that 100 English *Churchmen* should have been brought to admit that it is just, *in the sight of God*, to teach lies to men. Oh! how is the beauty of Israel sullied in our high places! How have the lofty degraded themselves! *Tell it not in Gath—publish it not in the streets of Askalon; lest the Heathen rejoice, lest the daughters of the [] circumcised triumph!* But, God help us! It seems to be, almost, a part of the same system as already acted upon: and, when we have raised the crucifiers of Christ our Lord, to the high places of our Christian Land, what wonder that His disciples should show the circumcised that they are unfit to legislate *over* them: for, when *Christian Legislators* rule by LYING, surely they ask their Master and Maker, whom they personally degrade, and whose Gospel of TRUTH they disgrace and malign,

to take the rod of power out of their hands, and to give it to the men, His Enemies, who, from hatred to Him, await but the opportunity to scourge those who have the wickedness, unrepentant, as well as weakness, to call themselves, His.

But, God forbid, Brethren, that *this* should be. Rather retrace Your steps, and confess, as indeed, what must, I would fain hope, be, the fact; that, You did not know what you were doing; that, You neither knew the Papal creed, nor the consequences of voting for its being taught to the People. If there be any real practical belief of God, in Truth, and in Divine Revelation, left in You,—if “the god of this world” hath not so wholly “blinded” You, as to cause You to close your eyes to all evidence of reality and fact, I will shew You not for *what*, but for *whom* You have been voting; and what *must* be the consequence to Yourself, as well as to the nation, unless, repenting of your act, and with penitence and humble supplication for forgiveness, You retrace as much as You may the steps You have taken, and endeavour to neutralize your former vote, by opposing, when and how You may, this fatal, this infidel, as well as senseless, measure. In the meantime, I leave You to consider of these words, following, and of Him who spake them, and heartily pray that it may please God to make

them the instrument to bring You to a sense of your danger:—

“ Wherefore hear The word of the Lord, Ye scornful men, that rule this People which is in Jerusalem. Because Ye have said, ‘ We have made a covenant with Death, and with Hell are we at agreement, when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us ; for We have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have We hid ourselves ;’ therefore, thus saith the Lord,—‘ Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation stone : He that believeth shall not make haste. Judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet ; and the hail shall sweep away the Refuge of Lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding place. And your covenant with Death shall be annulled, and your agreement with Hell shall not stand ; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then shall Ye be trodden down by it.”

Look *You*, therefore, Brethren, to this, in TIME, that You have it not to answer for in ETERNITY.—Isaiah xxviii. 16, 17, 18.

APPENDIX.

IN page 14 it is asserted, that the declaration, that, the Bishop of Rome is a successor of St. Peter, is "a sordid lie." This may displease many and surprise more. That it is "a lie," and a sordid one, is true notwithstanding.

Cardinal Bellarmine, who was at great pains to prove that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome, asserts first of all that he was *at Rome, because*, in *Ep. c. 5, v. 13*, he writes, "the Church that is at Babylon saluteth you;" and, by Babylon, he affirms, that St. Peter must have meant Rome, since, in the Apocalypse, Rome is typified under the name of Babylon. Rather an awkward proof of a supposed fact, to prove it by the identity of "the eternal city" on its seven hills, with that "great city, Babylon, the great, the mother of harlots, &c.," and which is, we are told, seated also on seven hills. Supposing that the Cardinal is at least as good authority on the subject as the late Mr. Sydney Smith, or some who undertake to instruct the House of Commons on the subject, it may suffice to leave the duration of the Papacy in the hands of the Cardinal, as we know that Babylon, wherever it is, is to come down with a mighty overthrow; which, therefore, it is probable, Bellarmine thought Rome might at some time do, notwithstanding all he wrote about her being "The Rock," and all that.

In the meantime, however, the Cardinal's *proof* of St. Peter's being at Rome is *no* proof. The apostle wrote, as he said he did, from Babylon. Besides, how was *he* to know, when he wrote, that The Spirit would instruct St. John, years after, to call Rome by the figurative name of "Babylon?"

And this is the *proof* that St. Peter was at Rome ! Had he had any *good* proof, would he have relied upon such a broken reed as this ? Beside which, it is proved in many ways, that St. Peter *never* was Bishop of Rome, and *proved* in none that he was. Yet upon this *assumed* fact, but real fiction, the whole system of Papal Pretension is based !

Verily the Vision is real ; but, base it has none, other than but a LIE.

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IMMEDIATELY.

ENGLAND'S NEW ALLY,
WHO ?

"The mother and mistress of all churches; and I do promise and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, successor of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth."

ART. XXIII. CREED OF P. PIUS IV.

Crowned, consecrated, and inaugurated in these words:—

"Receive this tiara, adorned with three crowns, that you may know yourself to be the Father of Kings and Princes, Governor of the World, and Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth."

WHO RUNS MAY READ.

. JOHN OLLIVIER, PALL MALL.

4

REVISE THE LITURGY.

BY A PEER.

Preces
==

REVISE THE LITURGY.

BY A PEER.



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REVISE THE LITURGY.

THAT disunion and discord exist in the Church of England, has been for some years so apparent, that it is unnecessary here to adduce proofs of the fact.

The consequently diminished power of the Church to fulfil the purposes for which she was instituted, has been the more severely felt, because at no previous time has she been so practically useful or so attentive to the discharge of her duties, as at the period when these differences first arose. Whilst all, therefore, regret the existing disunion, there is a general feeling of surprise that the authorities of the Church have not taken some effective steps to put an end to a state of things so detrimental to the diffusion of true religion. Why do not the bishops interfere? This question is in every body's mouth. It is to answer this question, and to suggest a remedy, that these few pages are written. Why do not the bishops interfere?

For the simplest and plainest of all reasons, because they cannot of themselves interfere effectually. But it will be said by many, here is an active party in the

Church diffusing Roman Catholic doctrines ; is it possible that the authorities of the Protestant Church of England have no power to stop the promulgation of such tenets by professing members of that Church.

It is very possible, because taking our Liturgy into consideration, there is no doubt but that the Tractarian creed is more in accordance with its offices than that of the Evangelical or High Church clergy. This idea may appear new to many members of the establishment who have not hitherto fully considered the subject. And it would most probably not yet have been forced upon the public mind, had it not been for the Tractarian movement. As there may be many who doubt the truth of what I state, let us consider and see what are the doctrines contained in our Liturgy. In the first place, it contains the doctrine of the spiritual regeneration of infants in baptism ; for in her catechism it is expressly stated, that by baptism the child " is made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." And in the baptismal service there is this expression : " I certify to you that in this case all is well done, and according unto due order, concerning the baptizing of this child, who being born in original sin, and in the wrath of God, is now by the laver of regeneration in baptism, received into the number of the children of God and heirs of everlasting life." Again, " We yield Thee most hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant by Thy Holy Spirit." Now this is manifestly unscriptural and delusive ; I am aware that much argument has been used in mitigation of these expressions ; but to me one fact is more conclusive as to their in-

tended meaning, than all the arguments that can be adduced. The fact is this ; that if a child just lives to be baptized and then dies, the burial service is read over its remains, which service declares, "That it has pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed." But on the other hand, if the child, owing to the accidental absence of the minister, dies before the rite of baptism is performed, the Church forbids this service being read over its remains ; thereby distinctly implying, that in consequence of the want of baptism, "Almighty God has" *not* "taken to himself the soul of our dear brother here departed ;" thus making the salvation of a soul depend upon the absence or presence of the minister. Thereby making God manifestly unjust, which is plainly most unscriptural. Moreover, St. Paul says, (1 Cor. i. 14,) "I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius." Now St. Paul would never have made use of this expression had he believed that by baptism alone "they were received into the number of the children of God and heirs of everlasting life."

Having just alluded to the burial service, let us now take that portion of the Liturgy into consideration. This service is to be read over all who are baptized, and it boldly declares that all over whose remains it is read are received into heaven, whatever may have been their previous life and character. For in that service we find the words, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed, we commit his body to the ground in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life." It has been argued in defence of this

service that the words, "certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life," refer to the resurrection generally, and not to the "resurrection to eternal life" of the person whose body is committed to the ground. But this is paltry reasoning, because if "God has in his great mercy taken his soul to himself," surely his body will obtain a resurrection to eternal life. Again we find the following expression,—“ We give thee hearty thanks that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world. We humbly beseech thee, oh Father, to raise us from a death of sin, to a life of righteousness, that when we shall depart this life we may rest in him, as our hope is this our brother doth.” Now whatever may be the circumstances of a man's death, whether he has died in a duel, or a brothel, or a drunken fit, by the 68th canon the clergyman is obliged, under the pain of suspension, to read the Burial Service over his body, and the Church requires him to say, that “ Almighty God of his great mercy hath taken to himself the soul of this our brother”—and “ to give him hearty thanks that it hath pleased him to deliver him out of the miseries of this sinful world.” And she does not even except those of whom she says, “ Without doubt they shall perish everlastingly” who do not “ wholly” believe the Athanasian Creed.

This appears to me to be neither consistent nor scriptural, for “ the soul that sinneth, it shall die ;” (Ezek. xviii. 4 ;) and St. Paul says, “ Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God.” (1 Cor. vi. 9.)

Let us now turn to the form for ordaining priests :

here it is plainly and openly declared that the bishop (himself of course possessing it) confers the Holy Ghost upon the ordained minister ; for we there find these words, " Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands." And this is not said in the spirit of prayer, as was the manner of the apostles, " who when they were come down prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost." (For as yet he was fallen upon none of them, only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus.) " Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost." (Acts viii. 15.)

On this I will make no remark.

In the subsequent portion of the bishop's address to the priest we find the following words, " Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained. If this be indeed true, then is our salvation in jeopardy, subject to the whim and caprice of erring man. Surely this doctrine is not scriptural, for " who can forgive sins but God only." (Mark ii. 7.) Further, if the Church assumes this power because our Saviour committed it to the apostles, to be consistent she ought also to assume " authority over all devils, and to cure all diseases," which power was also equally given to the apostles by our Saviour. (Luke ix. 1.) Gerson, the celebrated Chancellor of the University of Paris, in the fourteenth century, thus speaks on the subject:—

" What folly to allow that a poor mortal, a child of perdition, a miser, a liar, a fornicator, a wicked profligate

gate, should assert that what he binds on earth is bound in Heaven."

Let us now proceed to the order for the Visitation of the Sick, in which this power of the priest to forgive sins is asserted in a still more unscriptural and objectionable manner, for it is apparently joined with auricular confession. One of the rubrical directions in that service is as follows: "Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, (if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter); after which confession, the priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort." "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences, and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins in the name of the Father," &c. This absolution proves that the words used by the bishop in his address to the priest, "Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained," are to be understood in their full sense. This is evidently unscriptural: "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." (1 Tim. ii. 5.)

I will now shortly recapitulate the doctrine set forth in the different services of our Liturgy. In the first place comes the doctrine of spiritual regeneration contained in the catechism and baptismal service, and confirmed in that for the burial of the dead. Next comes the declaration that the priests and bishops are the depositories of the Holy Ghost; and immediately after, it is asserted, that they have the power of both forgiving

and retaining sins. Lastly, in the order for visiting the sick is contained the principle of confession and absolution. Which, then, of the three, the Tractarian, the High Churchman, or the evangelical minister, appears most in conformity with the Liturgy? The Tractarian accepts all these doctrines; the High Churchman none of them, except perhaps a small and undefinable fractional part of baptismal regeneration; the evangelical minister rejects them all. Surely, then, as far as the Liturgy is concerned, the Tractarian is the most correct in his creed. I cannot but think, therefore, that the other two parties in the Church, rejecting as they do the doctrines to which I have alluded, must feel themselves placed in a most painful position, in being obliged to make use of forms to which they object; and would, therefore, rejoice to see the Liturgy revised and brought more into accordance with the Scriptures.

Thus it appears that as long as the Liturgy is suffered to remain as it is the Tractarian has an ostensible warrant for the doctrines which he holds, opposed, though they be, to the Thirty-nine Articles. It does, therefore, appear to me that nothing short of a scriptural revision of our Liturgy, and the bringing of the Canons and Rubric into accordance with that revision, can ever effectually put an end to the existing disunion in the Church. Should the authorities of the Church object to such a revision, it is evidently the duty of her lay members to use all possible means to attain this object. The Church was first instituted for their advantage, that vital religion might be diffused amongst them, and that all might be led into the way of salvation through Christ. But so long as these differences have existed, those ener-

gies which should have been given to the spiritual education of the people have rather been applied to discussions upon the Offertory and the Surplice, and the progress of real religion has been checked. Should the proposed revision of the Liturgy be successfully opposed, and the present differences temporarily healed, I foresee clearly that before many years are over Tractarian doctrines will again be forced forward with greater zeal and with strength increased by their present triumph (for in this case they would, in fact, have obtained a triumph); the consequence will be, that there will either be a large secession from the Church, or an irresistible demand will arise for a greater and more fundamental change in her constitution than would be conducive to the advancement of the spiritual interests of the country. On the other hand, were the Liturgy revised, I entertain no doubt, but, that as great numbers have seceded from the Church on account of the unscriptural tendency of her different offices, so, many would rejoin her on the objectionable doctrines being removed. I am aware that it will be objected that there will be great difficulties in the way. I myself can see none. Should the Episcopal Bench not be united in their opinions, as is suspected by some, I can only see in that fact an additional argument for an immediate interference on the part of the laity, and for a general movement in favour of a revision of the Liturgy. Surely, if any Act of Parliament contained principles as opposed to each other as the Thirty-nine Articles are to the offices to which I have alluded, there would be no peace till such an act was repealed. How much more, then, is it our duty to see that conflicting and unscriptural doctrines do not enter into a Liturgy, the correct-

ness and purity of which is of such vital importance. For it must be remembered that these different forms, evidently unscriptural as they are, when read by the professed servant of God, must have a most dangerous effect upon the minds of the more ignorant and uneducated of our fellow-creatures. That there can be any serious difficulty in the way of this proposed revision, I cannot believe; for although there will always be differences of opinion on minor points, (and perhaps it is better that it should be so,) I cannot for a moment allow myself to think, that any body of christian men appointed to revise the Liturgy by the standard of the holy Scriptures, could for a moment allow differences on minor points to interfere with their endeavours to seek after and set forth essential truths.

I am well aware that when any proposal is made to alter anything connected with the Church of England, there are numbers ready at once to exclaim that such proposals must originate with an enemy of the Church, and from one who seeks to destroy her. I beg to call the attention of such persons to the commission issued by King William the Third, in 1689, which will be found at length at the end. The result of that commission was, that numerous alterations were made in the Liturgy, but which, from untoward circumstances, were not laid before the Convocation. These alterations having been made by such men as Tillotson, Burnet, Beveridge, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Sharpe, &c. &c., fully justify those who also advocate a revision of the Liturgy. No one can entertain a doubt of the attachment of these divines to the Church of England; their writings sufficiently prove the fact. I hope, therefore, this example having

been given, that it may be believed that these few pages are written by no hostile hand; but that it is from a sincere desire to see our Church rendered as pure as it is possible for a human institution to be, that I heartily pray that a similar commission may be speedily issued."

The Commission issued by the King in 1689 was in the following words :—

“ Whereas, the particular forms of divine worship, or the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged ; it is but reasonable that on weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place and authority, should, from time to time, seem either necessary or expedient.

“ And whereas the book of Canons is fit to be reviewed, and made more suitable to the state of the Church ; and whereas there are defects and abuses in the ecclesiastical courts and jurisdictions, and particularly there is not sufficient provision made for the removing of scandalous ministers, and for the reforming of manners, either in ministers or people ; and whereas it is most fit that there should be a strict method prescribed, for the examination of such persons as desire to be admitted into holy orders, both as to their learning and manners.

“ We, therefore, out of our pious and princely care for the good order and edification and unity of the Church of England, committed to our charge and care, and for the reconciling, as much as is possible, of all differences among our good subjects, and to take away all occasion for the like in future, have thought fit to authorize and empower you, &c. And any nine of you, whereof three to be bishops, to meet from time to time, as often as shall be needful, and to prepare such alterations of the Liturgy and Canons, and such proposals for the reformation of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and to consider of such other matters as in your judgment may most conduce to the end above mentioned.”

The names of the thirty commissioners, of whom ten were bishops, are as follows :—Dr. Lamplugh, Archbishop of York ; Dr. Compton, Dr. Mew, Dr. Lloyd, Dr. Sprat, Dr. Smith, Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Dr. Burnet, Dr. Humphreys, and Dr. Stratford, who were the Bishops of London, Winchester, St. Asaph, Rochester, Carlisle, Exeter, Salisbury, Bangor, and Chester. The others, Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Patrick, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Meggot, Dr. Sharp, Dr. Kidder, Dr. Aldridge, Dr. Jane, Dr. Hall, Dr. Beaumont, Dr. Montague, Dr. Goodman, Dr. Beveridge, Dr. Battely, Dr. Alston, Dr. Tennison, Dr. Scott, Dr. Fowler, Dr. Groove, Dr. Williams.

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THE NEW STATUTE AND MR. WARD.

A LETTER

TO A

NON-RESIDENT MEMBER OF CONVOCATION,

BY THE

REV. FREDERICK D. MAURICE,



CHAPLAIN OF GUY'S HOSPITAL,

AND PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

OXFORD,

JOHN HENRY PARKER:

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MDCCCXLV.

in their present position, not seeking violently to introduce the Roman Catholic system into their own Church, careful, however, by no act or language to censure it ; they are to cherish the hope that it will ultimately establish itself amongst us.

Now I am not addressing myself to those who approve these doctrines, or any of them, or any modification of any of them. I am writing to you who, I am well assured, are thoroughly agreed with me respecting them all. You believe this notion of Subscription to be an immoral one, and you think that the University should, by all reasonable means in its power, prevent the spread of it, because it must have a demoralizing effect upon all persons, lay or clerical, who entertain it. You believe that the Articles were drawn up by honest men, for an honest purpose ; and that the purpose which they were intended to perform they are capable of performing, and do actually perform now ; you wish that the University, which has given this body of Articles as a guide to the thoughts of her pupils at matriculation, and again has required their assent to it when they take their degrees, should shew that she has not been for three centuries basing her education upon a lie. You believe that the introduction of the Romish system into the English Church would not diminish one of the evils under which we at present groan ; would destroy our catholicity ; would destroy our nationality ; would develop no seeds of good which are at present latent in our soil ; would introduce seeds of mischief which it is probable that nothing but a Divine judgment, perhaps taking the form of an infidel revolution, would extirpate. You think, therefore, that every Englishman is bound to pray that he may be enabled, so far as in him lies, to oppose the invasions of this system, even to the death, and you

desire that the University should use all the strength which is given her to the same end.

Having settled our premises, we may proceed to consider whether the course which the Heads of Houses have followed on this occasion be one which is likely to defeat Mr. Ward's objects, and to promote those which you and I have at heart.

First. They appointed a Committee of Doctors to sit in judgment upon his book. The only character in which they could consider it was that of a work written by *a* member of the University. Mr. Ward, as a Clergyman, as a Fellow of Balliol college, was not within their jurisdiction. Consequently, by this act, they claimed a right of censorship over every work written by any person, lay or clerical, whose name appears in the University Register. I venture to think that this is a power which, in the present state of society, cannot be asserted; which, in some other state of society, might be very mischievous. It may be granted by Statutes; but the question is, whether the exercise of it now can in the slightest degree help to check any rising evil, or sustain any good principle.

The Heads of Houses cannot suppress a book upon which they pass a sentence; they cannot hinder a single Undergraduate in Oxford from reading it. If they denounce it, their judgment has weight just so far as it conspires with a public opinion previously expressed; if it happen to come into collision with that opinion, it is trampled upon. In such a mode of dealing with a dangerous theory, I can see nothing but a confession of present impotence, and the introduction of a precedent which might be turned to fearful account if the system which Mr. Ward longs for did actually gain a footing amongst us.

Secondly. It has been resolved that the case should be referred to Convocation. So far as Mr. Ward himself is concerned, this proceeding is quite fair. He and his friends have pleaded strongly for what they call the Constitution of the University; for the rights of its democratic assembly over Vice-Chancellors and Heads of Houses. But can any one who knows the worth of this assembly as a deliberative and judicial body, with what knowledge of the evidence the votes of its members upon any great question are given, what party influences are at work to sway them to the right or to the left, seriously believe that the interests of truth and honesty will be materially promoted by any decision which it pronounces? Beside the interruptions which its meetings and the preparations for them occasion to the proper business of the academical body, and the bad passions which are carried back from them to the different provinces, I do not know what immediate results have proceeded from any act of Convocation during the last ten years, and I must think that many of its acts have been precipitate, unjust, and likely by degrees to undermine the character of the University; certainly not likely to make it more powerful for the counteraction of any mischiefs from which the land may be suffering. Though I conceive that a Committee of Doctors is apt either to be inquisitorial or quite feeble, I do not know any theologian or any man of science who would not prefer that his words or acts should be tried by it, than by a miscellaneous mob of gentlemen from London clubs and country parsonages.

Thirdly. The Heads of Houses present certain passages from Mr. Ward's book, as grounds for the censure which they wish the Convocation to pass upon him. These passages express his opinions on the three points of which I have spoken. I do not see that Mr. Ward or his friends

can complain that they have been chosen unfairly, or that more of the context was necessary to make them intelligible. In this respect they are very different from the extracts which were made from Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures, with a view to his punishment; they are still more different from the fragments of quotations out of Möhler's Symbolik, the Edinburgh Review, and the collator's own readings in part of the Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, by which Mr. Ward hopes that his readers will form their opinions of the life and character of Martin Luther. But though this *argumentum ad hominem*, nay, though a fair consideration of the object for which the extracts in the statute are made, may justify them against the objections of opponents, I do not know that they can be equally defended against the complaints of friends. Mr. Ward will be greatly the gainer by them. For while it is probable that the Members of Convocation will be content with these samples of the book, and will be too busy to look at the book itself, the case will be otherwise with the younger students of the University. In spite of its bulk, they will read at least a great portion of a volume which has had the honour of an official condemnation: and when they do read it, the mischief to them of having received their first impression of it from these extracts will be evident. They will come to it, supposing that it is merely a collection of bold reckless utterances, illustrating the last developement, as the Edinburgh Reviewers express it, of Puseyism. They will be surprised to find many of the most offensive characteristics of the system which has received that nickname, many of those by which you and I have been most disgusted, nearly all of those which have been most denounced in Newspapers and Reviews, and which have been regarded as its essential peculiarities,

utterly wanting in this its most finished and ultra advocate. Admiration of an antiquarian rule, a tendency to substitute outward formalities for inward religion, indifference to the movements and changes of our time, contempt of dissenters, whether rightly or wrongly attributed to the writers of the Oxford Tracts, cannot with the least show of reason be attributed to Mr. Ward. He acknowledges the impossibility of adapting ourselves to the maxims of the Fathers, complains of the English Church for its dry, hard, ritual spirit, and for its ignorance of what is passing in the world, pleads for the sanctity of an hereditary faith, and extends the benefit of the principle to the English sects; declares the authority of conscience to be supreme, asserts the salvation of the soul to be the one object to which all Church discipline, rites, order, as well as all theological study, should be subservient. His denunciations of the present state of English society are justified by the strongest evidence, and by the statements of persons of the most unexceptionable Protestantism; nor do I think that any clergyman who is really humbled by what he sees around him, and by the sense of his own responsibilities and sins, will wish to shift upon the government or people the blame which Mr. Ward heaps upon him, and upon the system to which he belongs. Moreover, the author declares that he is inwardly loyal to the English Church, that he struggles against any tendency to be contented with the paucity of its means of grace, and that he should consider it a mortal sin to leave its communion. Such words, spoken to all appearance with much sincerity, a generally quiet tone of writing, evident logical ability, with that which makes it more esteemed, a continual attempt to disparage reasoning, as insignificant compared with the testimonies and demands of the moral nature; above

all, his disclaimer of any wish suddenly to introduce continental novelties, his desire that each man should merely pursue for the present his appointed course of duty, his confidence that all who do pursue it, will eventually be instruments in bringing their Church into entire fellowship with the Churches abroad,—his assurance however, that the full adoption of the Latin system, ‘the whole cycle of Romish doctrine,’ will not involve the loss of our Teutonic peculiarities and prejudices, or compel us to receive any thing we specially abhor in Spain or Belgium, seeing that it is a system wisely adapted to every variety of race and climate,—will unquestionably produce an effect upon young men, which will be much deepened by their previous expectation of something altogether different. And need I remind any person who has watched himself, or other men, that the statements which would have been startling enough greatly to weaken, if not to destroy, all agreeable impressions, if they had occurred to any one in the course of his reading, will come with quite blunted force, when he recognises them again, as those which had been given him as the characteristical features of it. He will indemnify the author for the injustice which he thinks he did him at first, by not allowing these passages to bear their plain obvious meaning. Or else he will think that that meaning, proceeding from a writer so thoughtful and cautious, must be an innocent one. ‘He says he has studied the Articles and the intent of those who composed them, and he is quite certain of his conclusions about them. Can we, who have not studied them, venture to dispute his authority? And doubtless, if the Reformers are such scoundrels, there is no harm in our playing a trick upon them in return. Probably, after all, he signs the document about as honestly as the rest of the world.’ Such reflections will prevent the rising of the

thought, which would have presented itself almost inevitably to an ingenuous young man, studying the book under other circumstances ; ' Well—he desires me to follow my conscience, to let no man's reasonings interfere with its testimonies. He tells me that it is one of the chief sins of Protestants that they set up free enquiry against hereditary faith. And yet he invites me to a course of dealing with these Articles which shocks my conscience ; he desires me to throw aside all the faith which I have entertained from my childhood in the piety and honesty of those who drew them up.' A suggestion so natural and so directly bearing upon practice, would have told with wonderful force upon any one's mind who was not zealously setting himself to overcome what had seemed to him an unfair prepossession. On such a one I fear it will operate very weakly. Nay, even the thought, ' This champion of hereditary faith calls upon me to believe that the doctrine of justification by faith, which our fathers, with tears in their eyes, have told us had been the staff of their lives, which, on their death-beds, they have bid us hold fast as the anchor of our souls—is a doctrine of devils,' if it does strike upon the heart for a moment will be thrust aside, and the reader will suppose, as in the former case, that a person so civil and courteous could not have committed himself to language of such ferocity, if he had not been impressed with a deep conviction that this particular principle, however deeply rooted in the hearts and attachments of Englishmen, must be rooted out at once, as being an insuperable obstacle to the religious Reformation which we need.

You may think that I speak too strongly upon this point ; but I have seen so many violent re-actions in the minds of young men—I have felt them so often my-

self—brought about by the discovery that the reports of newspapers and reviewers had given a false view of some work or person; above all, that the passages given with much pomp of accuracy in the very words of the author were just as deceitful from their perspective as the others from their colouring; and it seems to me so certain, that these re-actions will be tenfold stronger when the criticism appears in a statute, and the critics are persons who can inflict an outward as well as a mere moral punishment, that I would earnestly entreat you to consider whether I have in the least overrated the danger. And if you should answer, ‘But it could not be helped: the Heads of Houses must give some reasons for their propositions; it would have been far more unjust and very foolish to refer to the book *passim* as containing dangerous and schismatical statements,’—I fully admit the justice of the plea: only it convinces me the more strongly that no measures of this kind can be of the least avail in effecting the objects which we agreed that the University ought, by all reasonable means, to promote.

Fourthly. I come to the first clause of the Statute itself. By it Mr. Ward is declared not to have subscribed the Articles in good faith. You can hardly suspect me of intending to negative this proposition. Whether a statute have any business to assert it or to deal with the subject of it, seems to me a very different question. For supposing it be granted that Mr. Ward is *confitens reus*, (an admission which would not be true, since he maintains, however absurdly, that he has a moral right to sign in a non-natural sense,) still can it be said that confession is the only admissible evidence in such cases? When you begin to legislate about honesty, how can you hinder some member of each party in the country from

bringing forth his own instance of what he believes to be the want of it in his opponents, and demanding that it shall be investigated? How will you hinder the Calvinists from raising the old question about the bad faith of Arminians in signing the Seventeenth Article? How will you prevent the retort, that those must be guilty of bad faith who deny the connexion between Baptism and Regeneration, and yet can sign articles which give *renati* in the Latin, for *baptized* in the English? If you are prepared for this tempest of recriminations, by all means pass the censure upon Mr. Ward. Personally I have no interest in checking it. I do not sign the Seventeenth Article in the Arminian sense, I cheerfully acknowledge the relation between Baptism and Regeneration. I have a *theological* interest, if I may use a Germanism which I greatly dislike, in maintaining that neither of these opposing views alone will square with the strict and full language of the Articles. And I should rejoice to see men entering upon a full, earnest, manly investigation of the purposes for which subscription exists and of the conditions under which they may lawfully subscribe. If then I thought truth would be furthered by these party oppositions, if I thought we should be made one whit more honest by them, I would say, 'Let them come on, the ill blood which they will generate signifies nothing in comparison with such results.' But believing that every attack of this kind which a man makes upon his neighbour leads him into less vigilance over himself, that it is used as a substitute for self-questioning respecting the fidelity of his own proceedings; believing that in nine cases out of ten the decision against either party will be an unjust one, because however impossible it may seem to his opponents, it is possible for a person holding either of those views which I do not hold, with a real desire to be true

in the sight of God, to adopt these Articles; believing that if there be any human tribunal capable of even approximating to a righteous determination on such points, the Convocation of the University of Oxford is certainly not that tribunal; believing that the success of any one of our parties in this strife will tend to make it more proud, more malignant and therefore altogether more incapable of any honest act than it was before,—I do most solemnly and passionately implore you not to be tempted by your indignation at Mr. Ward's language to join those who are entering upon the most mischievous course, it seems to me, which the worst enemy of the Church and University could invent or desire for them.

Fifthly. The next clause of the Statute deprives Mr. Ward of his Degrees. This, it is said, is a very mild punishment for the offence which he has committed, and some punishment the University is *bound* to inflict for it. When I ask an explanation of the word 'bound,' I am told that faith in the Articles is the condition upon which a person is admitted into the University at all, and again, upon which he is admitted to the degrees of B.A. and M.A.; that the most obvious course would perhaps be to say that he who violates this condition ceases *ipso facto* to be a member of the body which enforces it; that the next and more moderate course is to deprive him of the outward and formal advantages which this body has conferred upon him.

Now I wish to enquire whether the practice of the University hitherto has been, in the smallest degree, in conformity with this doctrine? If she is 'bound' to a certain method of conduct, she must pursue it without respect of persons; she has no discretion as to the cases, in which she shall or shall not pronounce her compact to be broken, and enforce the penal consequences of its in-

fraction. But has she not the best reason to believe, that numbers have gone out from her, and do go out from her, who have no faith in the Articles whatever, many who never had any? Does she think herself 'bound' to search out such cases; bound, if they disclose themselves without her seeking, to take cognizance of them? When Frend, in the year 1793, was banished (not expelled or degraded) by the University of Cambridge for publishing a book which reflected on the Church, and contained Unitarian sentiments, he dedicated the account of his trial to the Members of the House of Commons; reminded them that they had most of them passed through one or other of the Universities, and asked them whether the great majority of them would not laugh if any one questioned them as to their belief in the Articles. The case may be considerably altered now; such a dedication might be thought very insulting by the House of Commons in 1845; but that such a sentiment could be uttered by an ingenious and well-informed man at any time, is sufficient proof that the Universities have not been used to regard unbelief in those who have subscribed as *necessarily* involving expulsion or degradation.

Is this to be attributed to the extreme laxity of our Academical bodies; a laxity which it is expedient by gradual and safe efforts to reform? Any one may support this hypothesis who pleases, and may explain likewise how the business for which a University exists, could go on if it were perpetually engaged in the investigations, deliberations, conflicts with the Common Law Courts, which the perfect carrying out of the scheme would involve. I venture to maintain that this so-called laxity is the conscious or unconscious recognition of a very much higher principle than that which your imaginary strictness would be

grounded on. The University says to her Members, "Here are my maxims of teaching. I believe they are good maxims. I believe they will help you on your way to Truth. At all events, if you learn of me you will learn according to them. If hereafter you shall cast these maxims aside, I shall be sorry, for I think it will be your loss. If now you do not mean what you say when you consent to them, I am sure you will be the loser; for you will not receive what I impart because we do not agree in our preliminary conditions, and your mind will suffer, as it must from every engagement into which you enter unconscientiously. These will be your punishments—they will be much severer, in my judgment, than any others you can endure, than deprivation of goods, tortures of body—I need not say than the absence of honours at College or reputation in the world."

I maintain—not that this is an easier method of proceeding than the other—not that it is the best under existing circumstances, but—that it is the method which if we could make our election would be the most befitting a learned body; which would explain to its own students and to the world at large the objects for which it exists. Of course the notion that spiritual penalties—the failing to find Truth—the decay of Truth in the inward parts—are the most dreadful, or are to be dreaded at all—is folly to the worldly man. Since, however, he is obliged to act upon it, even in his commonest transactions, and since he must understand it, if he is ever to take an interest in any other, there should be some voice to proclaim it in his ears. That voice cannot come from the Law Courts or from the War Office; each of these has its own function, and a worthy function to fulfil; but it is not this; it is altogether different from this. If Schools and Univer-

sities do not by their acts and words testify their faith in the truth, they cheat the country of the chief blessing which they are meant to impart: if they deny it by their words and acts, they and the country will suffer together.

Mr. Ward's punishment cannot then be looked upon as the acting out of a rule, but as the exception to a rule. As such it must be justified; and the gravity of the offence cannot constitute the justification. It must be shewn clearly that this punishment is likely to further the ends of justice and honesty; to make the Articles more respected, and subscription to them more sincere. Are these results to be expected? After the best consideration I can give to the subject, I am convinced that they are not; that others of a very opposite kind may be looked for.

Connecting this special act of interference with the ordinary practice of the University, men generally, will, I think, be almost sure to draw the conclusion, "Mr. Ward is not stripped of his degrees for subscribing the Articles dishonestly, but for his frankness in confessing what others do without confessing it. The House of Commons used to spend long nights in investigating cases of bribery when they chanced to become notorious, practically treating dexterity of concealment as the great virtue; making the awkward novice the chief criminal. The University has learnt the lesson, and wishes to hold out an awful warning to any one who shall not keep his dissembling to himself." 'Very likely,' you will say, 'this will be the talk of the streets, the joke of the clubs; what is that to us?' I answer, 'Let me see that the talk of the streets, and the jokes of the clubs are nothing to you, and I shall rejoice heartily.' But you must not say in one breath, 'We cannot justify ourselves in the opinion of the world,'

and in the next, 'We do not care for that opinion.' It is not worth while to go out of your course for the purpose of proving yourself honest in the sight of men, if they only think you the less honest for your pains. Waiving this point, however, what impression will these proceedings make upon the students of the University? for you are bound, not by considerations of expediency, but of duty, to have respect to them in all your acts. Is there any doubt that the punished man will be to them an object of sympathy, if not of admiration? Frend's trial at Cambridge took place a very short time after the Birmingham riots. The unpopularity of those who adopted his religious and political sentiments, would naturally have been not less but greater among the Undergraduates of an University superintended by Clergymen, represented by Mr. Pitt, than among the workers in hardware. Yet it is evident that a very considerable amount of feeling in favour of Frend was manifested by the young men during the course of his trial. Is it supposed by those who instigate these measures against Mr. Ward, that the class of opinions which he professes, is so very odious in Oxford, that a similar awakening of feeling is quite impossible in his case? If it be so, what means the general notion that the place is infected, that any one who comes from it has need to perform a quarantine? Supposing these suspicions reasonable, the consequence is almost inevitable. You will weaken the sense of indignation which the announcement of anything disingenuous excites in young men, even when their own actions are not consistently straightforward, even when their party inclinations might lead them to tolerate the offence; you will produce a counter irritation, pity for a man fighting single-handed against those who are in authority, a willingness

to believe that his error is inconsiderable, his objects noble, a preparation of mind to share the one for the sake of accomplishing the other. Are you ready to encounter these risks? if you are, at least shew us some one signal benefit which may be weighed against them.

Sixthly. The third clause of the new Statute enacts, that, in addition to the power which the Vice-Chancellor now possesses of calling upon any member of the University at any time again to subscribe the Articles, he shall be able to demand from the person so subscribing, a declaration that he takes them in that sense in which from his soul he believes that they were originally composed or promulged, and in which from his soul he believes that they are now imposed.

We are now clear of Mr. Ward. This new test does not affect him more than it affects you, and than it would affect me, if my name were on the books of the University. As I am not, under present circumstances, obnoxious to it, there is no courage in saying that I could not take it; that I shall look upon the existence of it as a perpetual exclusion from a University to which I feel the strongest affection. But as there may be many persons feeling as I do, who are eligible for offices in the University, who would fill them with honour to themselves and benefit to the country, I may perhaps be allowed to state why—just because I regard the Articles and their compilers with reverence and gratitude, and because I have wished to sign them simply and honestly, as in the presence of God,—I would not bind myself by this declaration.

It is made to ensure a strict and faithful subscription; it ought then to be itself construed strictly; to begin with seeking for convenient interpretations, possible evasions of it, would be a conscious transgression of its pur-

pose. Unless then I think that my sense of every Article is the same with that which, so far as I can ascertain by all the best means of information within my reach, was the sense of the Reformers; unless I am equally well convinced that my sense is that of the University in the present day, taking either the majority of its members, or the current opinion in Oxford, or the Heads of Houses, or the Vice-Chancellor for the time being, as representing the University; I dare not give the pledge which the Statute requires.

Now I am not clear upon either of these points.

First, as to the Reformers. I will give two instances (and they are only instances, for the principle which is involved in them, must, it will be seen, extend further,) of Articles which I have solemnly subscribed, which I most heartily believe, which I have found of the greatest profit to me in theological studies, and in the practice of life; yet which I connect with convictions foreign, as I suspect, to the habits of thinking which prevailed among the compilers. The first I will speak of is the seventh. "The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, for both in the Old and New Testament, everlasting life (*æterna vita*, Lat. Art.) is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard which feign that the old Fathers did only look for transitory promises. (*Quare male sentiunt qui veteres tantum in promissiones temporarias sperasse confingunt*)."

To this statement I subscribe in the very strictest sense. I use the superlative, because I take the words '*æterna vita*,' not as they are explained by any Doctor of the Church, by any Council, provincial or œcumenical, but as they are explained by our Lord Himself in His

last awful prayer, "This is life eternal, that they may know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ." Now that the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ was offered to men in the Old Testament, as well as in the New; that the sacred books make known the steps by which men were led into this wonderful knowledge; that the two parts of it are so intricately interwoven, that the knowledge of the absolute God without the knowledge of the Mediator would have been impossible; that this was the knowledge which all holy Jews felt to be their exceeding great reward, and in comparison of which all other rewards were as nothing; that all their expectations were therefore pointing continually towards a time when this knowledge should in some way be brought near to them, and they should be enabled to receive it; and that it is indeed 'feigning' to say that those who had such a faith and hope as this in Him who is, and was, and is to come, and in Him whose goings forth are from everlasting, and who should be the King of everlasting ages, were looking for transitory promises; all this I stedfastly believe. But I am by no means certain that the Reformers would have given that precise force to the words 'eternal life,' upon which my construction of the Article turns. I do not feel sure that they might not have been willing to take the words "Future state," as a synonym of the words 'eternal life.' If the Articles had been drawn up in the eighteenth century, there would have been no doubt about the question, one phrase would certainly have been looked upon as a perfect equivalent for the other. The men of the sixteenth were undoubtedly great Augustinians, and no one ever read a page of Augustine without perceiving that he (followed, in this respect at least, by the greater schoolmen) connected the words 'eternal life' most carefully with the knowledge of

God. Still I am not sufficiently certain upon the point to be the least justified in affirming that I take the words in that sense in which they were originally promulgated. And it would be an outrage upon my conscience to express assent or consent to any Article which did put "future state" in the Article for "eternal life." First, because nothing seems to be so important for the interpretation of Scripture, and for the establishment of a sound theology, as that the revelation of God, and not the notion of rewards and punishments, should be felt to be the end of the Divine dispensations; and secondly, because, with the case of Hezekiah before me, illustrated as it is by a multitude of other passages, I cannot persuade myself that "a Future state" *was* presented to the hopes and apprehensions of those who lived under the old covenant, as it is to those who live under the new*.

The next case is a stronger one; the Article which is the subject of it, is directly connected with the Romish controversy, and has been especially denounced by Mr. Ward. The 13th Article says, "Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of His Spirit, are not pleasant to God, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity, [*neque gratiam (ut multi vocant) de congruo merentur. Lat. Art.*] Yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed, and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin. [*peccati rationem habere non dubitamus. Lat. Art.*"]

* The prayer of Hezekiah (Isaiah xxxviii.) must, I should think, be acknowledged as the key to the solution of the whole question; most instructive it is in that point of view. 'I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord in the land of the living;' this was the fear of the righteous king. He trembled lest he might be going into a world in which the Lord would not be made known to him; lest when his eyes closed upon the cherubim and the mercy-seat, the vision which had been vouchsafed him of the unseen King should be withdrawn.

There are few Articles in the whole collection, which seem to me more important than this; it lays the axe to the root of that semi-Pelagianism, of which the Romish system is the embodiment; it denies the possibility of an act being good, which *originates* in the creature; it affirms the rectitude of a voluntary creature to consist in its dependence upon God; its sin (in other words, sin itself, since sin can only be predicated of a voluntary creature) to consist in separation from God. These principles seem to me to be the very elements of Christian morality; the forgetfulness of them to have been the cause of almost infinite confusions; the apprehension of them to be a blessing equally precious to the intellect and to the heart. But the earnestness with which I recognise them drives me to a conclusion which I am strongly inclined to believe that the compilers of the Articles would not have admitted, nay which a certain turn in the phraseology of this very Article would go far to convince most persons that they denied. Certain acts done by heathens, I conceive to be distinctly good acts, to have sprung from right feelings. You may tell me they were mixed with pride, ambition, what you please. Probably they were; it is not the pride or ambition I admire, but that which these qualities interfered with and defiled. If I confound the two, I am guilty of the sin of calling good evil, and evil good; I am outraging my conscience, I am perplexing all morality. But these good feelings I, utterly repudiating Pelagianism, and believing the assertion of this Article, say could not have *originated* in the minds of these heathens; they must have had a higher source, they must have come down from the Father of lights, the only source of good. They must have proceeded from the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of His Spirit. I believe further, that *faith* must

have been at the root of their good deeds, faith not of course in a manifested Christ, but still faith in Him who is the only Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world ; who must be recognised, under whatever shadows, and in whatever dimness, by every man who really seeks to be delivered out of his darkness and ignorance, and to find righteousness and truth^b. That the Reformers denied the existence of heathen virtue, I see no reason to believe ; if they had practically denied it, how could they have taken so much pains that heathen authors should be taught in their schools ? how could they have quoted so much from them in their writings ? And had they fairly set the question before themselves in this manner, ‘ Dare we, affirming as we do that all goodness of every kind must have Christ as its author—denying as we do the doctrine that a man can bring forth any right fruits from the root of his selfish, evil nature—refuse to believe as Clemens and Origen did about this matter, and so to give more glory to the Lord of all ;’ I think they would have felt themselves compelled as Christians, compelled as logicians, to acquiesce in the position which I have maintained. But there were many causes in operation at that time, which may have hindered them from thus stating the question clearly to themselves, and so from

^b In strict accordance with these assertions, I hold most firmly the doctrine of another (the 18th) Article, “ That they are to be had accursed that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.” I utterly deny that any sect, or any law, or any life framed in conformity therewith, can save a man. A light of nature is to me quite unintelligible. I receive, according to Scripture, Christ as the one Light of the world ; and believe that all must be saved by Him. But whether the Reformers meant to deny that men have been saved by Christ who did not know Him historically, I cannot tell ; if they did, accepting their Article, I do not accept their sense of it.

bringing their theological theory into harmony with their practical conviction.

It was the merit of the Reformation to bring out the facts of our Lord's life upon earth into exceeding prominence, not in their mystical significance, but in their direct import as establishing a new relation between the creature and the Creator. To exaggerate the worth of this side of Truth was impossible; to make it exclusive, and so practically diminish its worth, was easy. Oftentimes the men of the sixteenth century, through the exclusiveness of this tendency, were obliged to adopt forced and unnatural methods of explaining the position of the Jewish fathers, which their reverence for Scripture, nay, which some of their own especial tendencies, led them to regard as most sacred. Naturally, therefore, they would be still more incapable of conceiving the relation in which those may have stood to the Divine economy, who were beyond the bounds of the covenant. But what may be an innocent oversight and inconsistency in one age, even the effect of some strong conviction, may become a hindrance to the faith of another. I feel strongly that our current opinions about the heathen world are not merely parts of a theory to be rejected for its narrowness and uncharitableness, but that they lead us to deny Divine truths greatly concerning our well-being, that they confuse us respecting the dealings of God as set forth in Holy Scripture, and are continually driving young men of earnest minds into infidelity. Hence I count it a duty by all possible means, and especially when one is brought into connexion with those who are pursuing academical studies, to assert that doctrine which this Article is often supposed to deny, which in fact seems to me for the reasons I have given, not at variance with it but a necessary deduction from it. Therefore, with heart and soul I have

subscribed, and am ready to subscribe the Article; with heart and soul I should reject the new test, even if it contained only the one condition of accepting the sense of the compilers.

But it demands another condition which I can comply with still less. I have hinted at the difficulty of ascertaining what the sense of those who impose the Articles now is, and who they are. But as I would not willingly cavil with the words of a Statute when it is possible by any reasonable guess to arrive at its intention, I will assume that the sermons preached at St. Mary's on a Sunday by the Heads of Houses or by those whom they choose—leaving out any accidental interlopers from the country—may convey a sort of notion of the divinity which prevails in the University. It would be rather a hard rule, if we were called upon to subscribe again who have not heard these sermons, except at rare intervals, for many years. Still I really know no other way which I had of ascertaining the sense of the University at the time I took my degrees*. Now I think there was no one point of doctrine which I should more certainly have deduced from a consideration of these sermons, than this, that 'Eternal Life' means a 'Future State,' and that a Future State is the great subject of the Divine Revelations. Again, I could not have complained that heathen morality was not recognised as of real substantive value in the pulpit of St. Mary's; but I should have undoubtedly inferred that its value consisted in its being merely the

* The Lectures of the Regius Professor of Divinity might seem more formal and authoritative than mere sermons; but in Dr. Burton's time, (I know not how it is now,) these could be no guides in taking the B.A. degree, for undergraduates were not permitted, or at least encouraged, to attend them. More recently Oxford has taken some pains to affirm that the Regius Professor does not represent her theological mind.

fruit of human energies and human discoveries, unassisted by light from above, or any spiritual communication. These opinions may have been entirely changed since I was an undergraduate. If they have, it is surely a strange thing to insist that a measure which changes in twelve or fourteen years should be applied to a document which has lasted three centuries; if they have not, it would be obviously impossible for any person holding the view which I have expressed, to declare that he signs the Article in the University sense. Whether my Calvinistical friends who attended St. Mary's at the same time with me, would have felt themselves prepared to determine their sense of the Articles by the same standard, I will not venture to say. This I would entreat them to remember, that if they take this test they must mean something by the second part of it as well as by the first. They must not be content with saying—if they can say that,—‘We agree in all things with the Reformers.’ They suspect others of laxity; they must be most careful that they set no example of it. There is no choice between the two conditions of this Declaration; both must alike be binding: if there is any difference in authority, every court of law in the kingdom would decide that the last must ride over the other. And so would the court of conscience. For how can a person come before the Vice-Chancellor, and say, ‘I subscribe these Articles in the sense in which they were originally intended,’ knowing in his heart that the Vice-Chancellor or the University generally believes them to have been intended in a different sense, and knowing also that the Vice-Chancellor's or the University's sense of the original purpose is evidently fixed by the Statute to be the one to which he must conform? If he says, ‘I cannot reconcile the two—I must abide by my

own'—well and good ; but then do not take the Declaration, for that requires that you should reconcile them or else abandon your own.

All these arguments may perhaps be very ineffective, because this and that person is confident that he is not aimed at by the new Statute. 'It is obviously meant for Mr. Ward and his friends ; it will catch them ; the framers of it do not want to catch us.' I state the secret thought of men's hearts, the suppressed premiss of their arguments, openly, that honest men may be ashamed of it, that wise men may laugh at it. What ! are you not yet convinced that winks and nods and asides in legislation are most discreditable ? do you not yet know from experience that they are most untrustworthy ? Can you really with clear conscience pass a law which you mean only to fit a special emergency, which you know would be bad for your own case and for a thousand others ? Is this the example which you, the members of a learned Christian body, would set to the world ? Is this your way of shewing your horror of ill faith and of inculcating good faith upon the younger men ? And surely the trick is as poor a one as was ever played ! Because *you* do not mean that this Declaration should ever be used against yourselves, are you sure that your opponents do not mean to use it against you ? Have you such perfect confidence in their kindness and forbearance, that you believe that they will not try the effect of your own weapons ?

All this time I have assumed that this legislation for the nonce, will effect its own special purpose, that it will at all events prevent Mr. Ward, deprived of his degrees, from ever recovering them. But after considering the test carefully, it seems to me that this is the very thing which it will not do. I would not make invidious distinctions, but I believe there is one and only one person in the University

who can with perfect comfort to himself take this test, and that that person is Mr. Ward. One who cares nothing for the Articles, who believes them to have been imposed by knavish men for a knavish purpose, who thinks that it is just as likely as not that they may have been intended to make merely truistic statements,—cannot, I should suppose, have the slightest objection to declare that he subscribes them in the sense (i. e. in the no-sense) in which they were originally composed or promulged. Neither, I think, can one who holds his opinion of the state of theological faith and knowledge in the country generally, and in the University particularly, impute so much greater distinctness and definiteness of conception to his contemporaries, that he need fear to pledge himself to believe one of the senses which it is possible they may put upon the Articles, and, of course, if he supposes there are many, he will think himself at liberty to choose which ever is least offensive to him. I conclude, therefore, that this test being intended to assert the importance of conscientious careful subscription to the Articles, will exclude those especially who have subscribed them conscientiously and carefully; and will encourage the belief that they cannot be subscribed except in an ambiguous, double sense; that being contrived to assert the value of the teaching contained in the Articles, especially as subversive of the Romish system, it will lead men to believe that the Articles teach nothing, and that there is no refuge from their contradictions but in a system which promises infallible security; that being invented to check the progress of a particular theory respecting these Articles, it will embarrass those who hold every theory respecting them except that one.

Perhaps you will gather from these last remarks that I think the Heads of Houses might have devised some

Statute which would have effected the purposes they aim at, and that I blame them for having performed their task awkwardly. I should be very sorry if you imputed to me any such opinion. I have no doubt that they discussed the question seriously and carefully, listened to a number of propositions, weighed the arguments for and against each, and at last adopted the one to which they found the objections were fewest or least weighty. It is easy to criticise their legislation ; I believe if you or I, or much wiser and more experienced men than either of us, tried our hands at it, we should expose ourselves far more than they have done. The impression I would fain make on your mind is this, that legislation is not the main business of our University, that in attempting it she has at all times only had the use of her left hand, that in this day even her left hand is maimed. It may be a mournful consideration to some persons that the mere decrees of a learned body can now effect so little in England. I trust I have a loyal and filial attachment to Oxford, yet I confess that this is a circumstance which makes me rejoice. For as long as people—English people especially—feel that they can obtain the least shadow of influence by judgments and enactments, they will busy themselves in that kind of work to the injury of every other, which they might preserve with honour to themselves and good to their country. They must learn to despair of their imaginary power, that they may find where their real power lies. The fret and fuss of Hebdomadal Boards and Convocations, wearisome always, was never more wearisome than now, when a thousand indications shew that the power which an individual man possesses over the minds of those who will form the next generation, when he can understand some of their feelings,

enter into their discontents, share their cravings, is one which the force of real, to say nothing of mock, legislation, cannot compete with. By such influences, often most mischievously directed, the University must be overpowered if she have nothing of the same kind to set against them ; if she do not call upon her different sons, scattered through the country, to bring all the moral strength and wisdom, which, in part at least, she has been the instrument of endowing them with, to sustain and carry out her efforts. Grievous indeed it is that she should only summon them to vote ! When you go up to Oxford on the 18th of February you will give an honest and a silent placet or non-placet, which will be worth just as much as that of the noisy coxcomb who has come up because he has nothing better to do with his time, or because he wishes to 'floor' the Puseyites or the Dons. But if it be the main object of the University to form the minds of young men, to shew them how the history of the past explains the present, to arm them for the times to come ; how much may you,—with the gifts you possess for attracting those who have some twenty years less experience than yourself, for taking part in their thoughts and hopes, in their admiration and their indignation, even in their vagaries and confusions,—even at your present distance from Oxford, co-operate with her. Nay, any one who has blundered sadly himself, and has reflected a little upon the cause of his blunders, upon blessings by which he might have profited, and upon blessings which a merciful Providence has not permitted him wholly to lose, may supply some suggestions and warnings, not altogether unsuitable to the perplexities of this time. A few thoughts upon *this* way of making subscription more conscientious, of defending the Articles

from attacks, of hindering the approaches of Mr. Ward's system, will form, perhaps, the subject of a future Letter. Meantime believe me,

Affectionately yours,

F. D. MAURICE.

P. S.—Since this Letter was written I have met with Mr. Winstanley Hull's honest and manly pamphlet on the subject of it (1845, January in Oxford, Seeley and Burnside). It touches upon many points upon which a lawyer must be better informed than a clergyman, and it supplies an important correction to my statement of the nature of the new test. I have spoken of the Vice-Chancellor as having at present the power to call upon any Member of the University again to subscribe the Articles. Mr. Hull observes, and I have no doubt truly, that this power, in respect to laymen, is for the first time conferred by the new Statute. There are several statements in Mr. Hull's pamphlet to which I could not—as there may be many in mine to which he will not—assent; but it is a great pleasure to find one's opinion on the main question sanctioned by the authority of a person so accurately informed, so remarkably conscientious, and so strongly opposed to the sentiments of Mr. Ward, and of the school out of which he has arisen. Mr. Hull asserts even more strongly than I have done, how entirely free a person who conscientiously subscribes a document according to his judgment of the grammatical sense is from any obligation to rule himself by the supposed opinions either of compilers or of imposers.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

RULE OF CONSCIENTIOUS SUBSCRIPTION,

&c.

6

THOUGHTS
ON THE
RULE OF CONSCIENTIOUS SUBSCRIPTION,
ON THE
PURPOSE OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES,
AND ON
OUR PRESENT PERILS FROM THE ROMISH SYSTEM:
IN
A SECOND LETTER
TO A NON-RESIDENT MEMBER OF CONVOCATION,

BY THE
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P R E F A C E.

THIS Letter was at first connected with the one which was published two weeks ago, under the title, "The New Statute and Mr. Ward." I thought it better to separate what referred directly to passing occurrences, from reflections, suggested indeed by those occurrences, but belonging, if they have any worth, to all times.

The greater part, therefore, of what is here written, was in the printer's hands before I had read any of the pamphlets which have appeared on the subject of it; the whole, before I had seen Mr. Ward's "Address to Members of Convocation in Protest against the Proposed Statute." I am anxious to make this remark, because many passages of my Letter might seem to be intended as an indirect answer to statements which, as they come from writers of character and eminence, and some of them from a person pleading ably in his own defence, ought, if I had been acquainted with them, to have received more respectful treatment.

The Letter addressed by Dr. Tait, of Rugby, to the Vice-Chancellor, would have been noticed more properly in my former pamphlet. The part of it which pleads for the clause of Degradation, must derive weight from the character and position of the writer, from the general moderation of his tone, and from his personal attachment to Mr. Ward. But his arguments seem to me most unsatisfactory. Those which refer to the compact between the University and its members, and the consequences of its violation, I have considered already; the other two, upon which Dr. Tait dwells with most confidence, are Mr. Ward's Challenge, and the advantage which Balliol College will have over him, if it can deal with

him as a person in *statu pupillari*. On the first topic I have spoken largely at the beginning of this pamphlet. I have urged, that a Degradation is *no* answer to Mr. Ward's Challenge, or, at least, to that part of it which most deeply concerns the honour of the University, and of us its members. He says, indeed, 'You cannot cast me out for what I have done;' but he says also, 'You have done the like—prove that you have not.' If we are tender of our reputations, let us attend to this part of his cartel first; let us free ourselves from the imputation upon our honesty; then, if we find it necessary, we may answer the one upon our power. I contend, that we shall not find it necessary; that when our consciences are clear in this matter, and when we have shewn the students of the University how they may keep theirs clear, all the ends which punishment aims at accomplishing will be accomplished; and that, if Mr. Ward likes to retain his present position, he will harm no one by doing so but himself; nay, that he may stand as a profitable sign and warning to young men how they begin to tamper with the meaning of words, or dally with a system which encourages them in such courses.

With respect to the other point, I would ask in what way is it probable that the authorities of Balliol College will be called to exercise discipline over their new pupil? He is not likely to commit any ordinary irregularities; he will not appear in the streets without his gown, or absent himself from chapel; he has declared his dislike to innovations upon ordinary practices in public devotion. Is it, then, over any books which he may write, that a censorship may be more conveniently established, when he is an Undergraduate? How easily may this danger be avoided, by the expedient to which Mr. Ward's earlier practices shew that he has no moral objection—of writing anonymously; and how much may the whisper, that such a pamphlet or article is undoubtedly his, though, of course, it must not be mentioned, increase its interest and circulation. The only other kind of college government which occurs to me as possible, is one which I must almost apologize, to a person of Dr. Tait's high and honourable character, for even hinting at. I mean one which would rest upon reports of

Mr. Ward's conversations among his friends. Every one who knows any thing of the confidence and gentlemanly feeling which are necessary to University discipline, and which, I am sure, are exhibited on all occasions towards the students of Balliol College by those who preside over it, will feel that such surveillance would be perfectly monstrous. But, if so, what is the use of the Degradation? how will Mr. Ward be less dangerous in *statu pupillari*, than as a Master of Arts?

And if those opinions upon the illegality of the Degradation, which have proceeded from such eminent professional men, should happen to be true, in what a strange position might Balliol College find itself, if it did avail itself of Mr. Ward's new position, to send him into rustication? Suppose an election occurred while he was under sentence; a mandamus from the Queen's Bench might bring him back in triumph to Oxford, and all the other Undergraduates would feel that the discipline to which they are subjected had been set at nought. Could college authority be more practically weakened than by such an event?

Concerning that portion of Dr. Tait's Letter which refers to the Test, I need not say much; first, because we are agreed in our conclusions; and, secondly, because the Test itself has been abandoned. But as he has done me the honour, in one passage, to rank me among the disciples of a school, the principal characteristics of which, if I understand him, are a comparative indifference to the teaching of the Articles and of the Prayer-Book, I may be permitted to say one or two words, for the purpose of disclaiming a compliment (a compliment it must be, to be placed even in a low form of a school, containing, we are told, the most eminent poets and metaphysicians of the day) which I have not the smallest right to appropriate*. Ten

* The more accidental characteristics of these strange people are, that their sympathies extend 'from Mr. Carlyle on the one side, to Möhler's Symbolik on the other.' Herein, perhaps, I may, though in a very humble and modified way, be their imitator. If they are in love with any system which they discover, or think they discover, in Mr. Carlyle's writings, I certainly am as far as the poles asunder from them; if they desire to profit by the earnestness and reality of his writings, and by the many warnings which they contain against some of the worst temptations to which we, the clergy especially, are at this time exposed, I would gladly learn with them. If they prize Möhler because he strives to set

years ago, when the proposal was made to abolish Academical Subscription, I ventured to defend it, and to maintain the excellence of the Articles themselves, upon precisely the same grounds which I have asserted in this pamphlet. As parties, during that time, have entirely changed their places; as I was then fighting as a volunteer by the side of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman against Dr. Hawkins and Dr. Hampden; and, as I believe I have never put forth any opinions, in the interval, which, on these points, at least, are not strictly in conformity with those which I expressed in the year 1835, and which I am expressing now,—I think Dr. Tait may perceive, even without that ‘attentive consideration’ of my writings, for which his other duties can leave him little leisure, that, if I belong to the school he has described, I must be its most ill-taught and refractory pupil.

Such egotism as this I hope the reader will believe is as disagreeable to me as it can be to him; but it is partly called for not merely by the unexpected allusion which Dr. Tait has made to me, but also by the language in which Professor Garbett, in his Letter to the Bishop of Chichester, has spoken of all who do not approve of the (now defunct) Test. I accord with so much of Mr. Garbett’s general reasoning respecting the use of the Articles, and the dangers of Romanism, that it is particularly painful to find him denouncing all of us who have said that we could not take the Declaration as necessarily either Latitudinarians or Romanists. What ground is there for this heavy charge? Mr. Garbett tells us that there is a certain mind in the Church which is to interpret the Articles, and that the mind of the Church is the mind of the University. Well—I acknowledge this Church-mind and this University-mind. And I find it in the Articles and the Prayer-Book. To these Articles and that Prayer-Book I have set my hand, believing them to contain sound, wholesome, godly teaching. But you require something more of me. You will not let me discover the mind of the Church in

aside and grossly misrepresents the teaching of Luther and Calvin, I have not one feeling in common with them; if they are ready to honour Möhler, or any zealous Roman Catholic, who will not abandon his own position till he has endeavoured to realize what is good and true in it, we are at one.

the documents themselves; but because some one has said that the mind which he discovers in them is a foolish and deceitful one, you insist that we who think it to be wise and true, should go and search elsewhere, we know not where, to ascertain what it is. You tell us to consult the compilers and imposers. We say, that often we do not know how to consult them; that when we do, they often return a much more vague and unsatisfactory answer than the words to be interpreted; oftentimes an answer entirely different from that. We say that the Articles do seem to us to be a protection against the Romish system, and that the other words of the Reformers—still more the sense of modern doctors,—often seem to us to afford no such protection. And yet we are to be called Latitudinarians or Romanisers; and it is to be fancied that we must wish to escape from the strict honest meaning of the Articles because we think we should not get that strict and honest meaning by the course you propose to us. But the words must be spoken boldly. We crave these Articles for our defence against ancient and modern doctors and their systems; against Cranmer, against Parker, against Davenant, against Laud, against Tillotson, against Warburton, against Dr. Whately and Dr. Pusey; above all, against the current theological notions of the day as they are delivered to us in sermons, pamphlets, newspapers. And that they may serve this purpose we are anxious, they should be interpreted accurately, not loosely, according to themselves and not according to the thoughts of other people, in their grammatical sense and not according to the notions of compilers or imposers. The question is too serious for any trifling. Tell us about ideal minds at other times if you please; but not when our business is with actual solemn subscription. The less at such a time we let in any vague thoughts about the conscience of a society, and the more we ask for a clear light to guide our own, the better I think it will be for us. And so the sound and true feelings of Englishmen have decided; for to these feelings, not to a vulgar clamour, which was on the other side, the Heads of Houses have submitted. They were told by the men whom they could most depend upon for a sound, matured, honest judgment, that they were laying snares for the con-

science by the measure which was intended to assert its obligations, and they had the wisdom to receive the counsel.' I must rejoice that Mr. Garbett, from the most honourable feelings, has determined not to support the degradation of an individual when he cannot unite it with what seems to him the affirmation of a principle. I must regret that he does not see how weak that affirmation was, and how little either measure can serve the cause of the University or of the Church.

Of Mr. Ward's pamphlet I need not speak much, for my whole letter is, though unintentionally, a reply to it. I cannot be sorry that he has written it, and I wish that it may be read by those to whom it is addressed. He calls upon Evangelicals—upon Low Churchmen—upon High Churchmen, to consider in what sense they are subscribing the Articles; he wishes to convince them that they cannot cast stones at him, for that they are not without the same sin. I have maintained in this pamphlet that Evangelicals, Low Churchmen, High Churchmen, *may* all sign the Articles, and may sign them honestly. I hope, in my heart, that they *do*. I have shewn wherein I believe the spirit in which Mr. Ward has subscribed differs from that in which (as far as I can judge from their statements) they have subscribed, and I have spoken the more confidently of this difference, because I have urged that it is *not* a reason for his formal condemnation. But I would at the same time implore them to consider why there seems to be that inconsistency in their conduct, which their skilful adversary has dwelt upon with so much cleverness. That consideration, earnestly, devoutly carried out, might, I believe, do more to bring each of these parties into an understanding first of itself, then of its opponents—more, that is to say, for the destruction of the parties and the preservation of the treasures which are hidden in them, than any other in which they could engage. And surely we could never commence such a heart-searching, humiliating enquiry at a better season than that upon which we are about to enter. I have spoken in my letter of the difference between a Church *system* and a living *Church*. I have dwelt perhaps too much upon the opposition as it affects our *prospects*; I could have wished to say more of it as it would affect our present *conduct*. A system may furnish ascetical rules obeyed with torment by

one conscience, evaded with a continual sense of dishonesty by another. The feeling of belonging to a Church, the longing that it may be worthy of its name, and we of our position in it, would prompt to sacrifices of time and outward enjoyment as real as those which men make habitually and almost without consideration, in fulfilling their ordinary callings. The dryness of a rule would be exchanged for the vitality of a principle; the routine of an earthly machinery for the growing sense of a Divine order. If then we really set ourselves to meditate what may be the causes of our party strifes, I believe we might arrive at a state of mind more deeply humbled, less inclined to fleshly indulgences, more disposed to charity, than any rules for keeping Lent could give us. If Mr. Ward can help us in this work, let us be thankful to him, and if we should find at the end of the season that partly through his help we have learnt to prize our formularies more, to recognise in them a bond of union which we did not expect, to see how little we have used them for this end hitherto, and how much they may conduce to it hereafter, we shall have more reason to be thankful than if we had made the first act of our penitence his punishment.

I am afraid that in some passages of this letter I may have used language which, if he should read it and care any thing for it, may give pain to Mr. Ward. I cannot speak otherwise than I have spoken of the effect which such a mode of dealing with language as he justifies, would produce on my mind; I cannot warn others less earnestly against the slightest tolerance of it in themselves. But I have wished most truly to separate these remarks from any imputations on his own character. Having no personal acquaintance with him, I yet should have inferred from his book—offensive, often disgusting as it is to me—that he deserves the praise which his friends and opponents have, without any exception, bestowed upon the frankness and manliness of his character; and I cannot express the delight with which I read, or the entire sympathy with which I adopt the following passage in Mr. Garbett's letter; "I do not charge Mr. Ward—God forbid—for if I may judge from his book, he is of a generous and candid, as well as ardent nature,—with what every simple mind but his own, regards

with vehement and spontaneous disapprobation. But I do charge the system, the fatal *economic* system, the canons and science of double-dealing, imported in an evil hour from the volumes of Escobar and Mariana, and now all but naturalized in the Church of England. Of this Mr. Ward is the victim, and so are other once noble and ingenuous natures—nay, ingenuous and noble still in all but this.”

I will add one word on the addition which has been made, within the last two days, to the New Statute. That addition must, I conceive, lead to the acquittal of Mr. Ward. To degrade a pupil for the offence which is only censured in a master, is a proceeding so repugnant to every notion of English justice, that the majority of Convocation cannot possibly sanction it. Yet every one feels that it would have been still more monstrously unjust to pronounce a sentence upon Mr. Newman within one week of the time it was first proposed, and at the instigation of the very persons who are to try the cause. And yet indifferent observers must feel that it is most weak and foolish merely to assert an opinion which every one ought to assume that the University holds, though she do not assert it, without following it up by some further measure. To such contradictions, to such ridicule, is our Academical body reduced, by its attempts to mimic the Courts of Justice or the Common Council. May we not hope that the lesson which these events afford, will not be lost, and that henceforth she will earnestly apply herself to her own quiet tasks, whatever newspaper advisers may urge her to abandon them for the noisy courses which they understand so much better?

A LETTER,

&c.

MY DEAR FRIEND.

IT is evident that the questions which Mr. Ward has raised, deeply concern the well-being of the whole country, but chiefly of the University. If his doctrine of Subscription be true, her Members have been cheating each other and cheating the world for three centuries. If his doctrine respecting the Articles be true, she has been putting forward, during all that time, a document in the very front of her teaching which could cause only confusion to all that learnt of her. If his doctrine respecting the Romish system be true, she has been during all this time, solemnly warning us against that which could alone work out any good for us individually or nationally. His charges put our Colleges upon their trial before this land, and before all lands ; if our professions of acknowledging a higher judge be true, they put us upon enquiring whether they are right in His sight. What I am anxious is, that we should not evade this trial, that we should court it. I think it is a poor satisfaction to punish the accuser ; poor to the feelings of those who preside over the University, poor to those who have studied in her and who love her ; poor to those who in ten thousand ways are better or worse for her lessons and her examples. But I know that

there is vagueness in the words, 'The University is put upon her trial;' where is the bar? in what form is she to plead; who are to pronounce sentence? I hinted in my former Letter that these questions would be best answered by considering in what shape the charge comes, and who are likely to be affected by it. The appeal is practically made to the students of the University; they are told that a certain unnatural mode of Subscription is lawful; that the Articles contain a mischievous doctrine; that the Romish system is worthy of their esteem and love. They, if any, will hear the words; they, if any, will act upon the practice which is suggested, will despise that which they have been taught to revere, will long for that which they have been taught to fly from; they will diffuse this spirit through the country. To them then the defence should also be made; the University should be ready to explain to them what has been the method and meaning of its proceedings hitherto, why that is demanded from them which, on Mr. Ward's shewing, is ridiculous and wicked, why they are admonished against that which in his judgment is above all things to be desired.

Now if it be so that the University cannot do this, cannot explain its own mind to its pupils, the confession should be made honestly, and the reason of it carefully investigated. For this would be a defect indeed, and one which must require a speedy reform, and which no punishment of particular members could possibly redress. If there be neither a formal communication from the University to her pupils, of the principles upon which she acts, through the medium of professors, nor yet such a familiar habitual intercourse between these pupils and the tutors of their respective Colleges, as might remove difficulties, meet special cases of conscience,

encourage hopes, give kindly warning of shoals and pitfalls, connect the teaching of books with the education of life, there must be some failure in the great ends for which she exists, accounting, indeed, most naturally for her eagerness to grasp at powers which she is unable to wield, but only making it more a duty on the part of those who care for her welfare to testify against such attempts, and to exhort her, at whatever cost, to devise means for rendering her own proper resources effectual. That she has these resources, that she might carry on at least the personal and practical education of those who are placed under her government better than any University in Europe, her own apologists have often maintained, and the valuable testimony of Professor Huber seems to confirm their opinion. Institutions which according to our boast, and according to his honest and impartial confession, are specially contrived to form the character of Englishmen, should not proclaim it to the world that this is what they cannot do, that when some clever man propagates doctrines which tend to undermine that character and their own, they can only answer him or counteract his influence by pains and penalties.

So much I think we have all a right to say. I hope I should say more if I were resident at Oxford, and directly sharing the responsibility of its doings. We who are not, have a duty of our own to perform. We also are upon our trial. Each one of us has subscribed the Articles, has passed through the University course to which they were the introduction, has protested against the Romish system. Did we mean any thing by our own acts? Have we any thing to say respecting the effect of this theological teaching upon ourselves? Can we defend our protest?

Mr. Urquhart, and the writers of the Portfolio, maintain that any private who was concerned in the Affghan war may be brought to trial and executed for murder. This kind of law one does not quite understand ; but, I suppose, if a private chose to consider himself involved in a charge brought against his regiment, he might demand a hearing, and ask a competent tribunal to declare whether he had done lawfully or no. I do not insist upon a specially competent tribunal ; I do not even challenge its fairness. The Undergraduates of Oxford may not have any great theological learning ; they may have many prejudices ; if he is condemned they certainly will have many in favour of Mr. Ward. Nevertheless, I am anxious to defend myself before them. I have more sympathy with them than I have with most other classes. I would much sooner have an influence over them than over Doctors of Divinity. It would give me real pleasure if any one of these questioned me as to my own conduct and feelings upon these very solemn matters ; I should not be angry,—for when great interests are at stake, I care little about civil speeches— if he put his queries with plainness, even with rudeness. I know there is nothing so bad for him as that he should have a certain loose impression that all people about him are dishonest, and that dishonesty is in such a case almost inevitable ; that he should suspect the teaching under which his mind and heart are to be formed ; that he should have a ‘ burning hatred ’ for that which his fathers and his countrymen hold sacred. I will do that which in me lies, that with God’s help we may be saved from this calamity ; what I wish is, that those who can do immeasurably more through personal or official influence, would labour for the same end.

I. If you have read Mr. Ward's book, you are aware that he has not merely pleaded for his own right to subscribe in a non-natural sense; he has asserted that every one in fact does so. Happily he has not confined himself to generalities; he has taken an instance; he quotes the words of the nineteenth Article. 'As the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred; not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith, (non solum quoad agenda et cæræmoniarum ritus verum in his etiam quæ credenda sunt.'—*Lat. Art.*)

"It has been considered by some," remarks Mr. Ward, "that subscription to our nineteenth Article requires the formation and expression of an opinion, that the formal doctrine of the Church of Rome is erroneous in some particular; but a very little consideration will shew that no one is at all committed by this Article, to so painfully presumptuous a sentiment."

Having argued from the use of the words Roman 'Church,' that the body so designated must, according to the previous clause of the Article, be part of the congregation of faithful men, &c., to which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments duly administered, &c., (an assertion which I am not concerned to answer*), he proceeds:—

"It then asserts that like other Churches, the Church of Rome hath erred 'not only in their living and ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.' Now without commenting on the significant use

* The Article neither affirms nor denies that the Roman Church is part of the visible Church. Each of the other Churches, namely, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, has certainly in some sense 'had its candlestick removed out of its place,' and some may hold if they please, that the Church of Rome has suffered the like penalty for its errors. Certainly no one is bound by the language of the Article to adopt such an opinion; and for my own part, I have no wish to adopt it; but no one is precluded, as Mr. Ward pretends, from holding it by any words here used.

of the word 'their,' which really seems to me at once to point to *members* of the Church of Rome, the general scope of the Article is quite sufficient for my purpose. For, as is plain, the Church of Rome is here asserted to have erred in matters of faith, exactly in the same sense as she is affirmed to have erred in living. Now there is literally no meaning in the assertion that the abstract Church of Rome^b has erred in 'their living;' it must by absolute necessity be *certain of her concrete members* who have so erred; *certain of her concrete members* then it is who are here asserted to have erred in matters of faith, i. e. of religious belief. . . .

* * * * *

"I subscribe then the Article in the following sense. I take it to affirm, that whereas the visible Church of Christ is a certain congregation of faithful men, &c., every local Church included in that body will contain members not only who act wickedly, not only who are superstitiously addicted to outward observances, but also who err in one point or other of religious belief. If this appears the solemn enunciation of a mere truism, I quite admit that it is so; but so far am I from allowing that a probability thence follows of its not having been the sense intended by the Convocation at the time to be admissible, that on the contrary nothing seems so natural, as that when a large number of persons meet together, of most opposite opinions, each protesting against what clashes with his own, the result of the various eliminations shall be a formula which gives no offence to any, because it contains no specific meaning whatever."

Having then renewed his often made charge of disingenuousness against the Reformers, "of their fully tolerating the absence from the Articles of any *real* anti-Roman determinations, so only they were allowed to preserve an *apparent* one," and having ventured a criticism upon the language of the Latin Article which I leave to the wonder of scholars; he goes on to say:—

"I am, of course, quite aware, that the whole of the present argument will be considered as dishonest special pleading by those who

^b 'An abstract Church!' what is that? What a key these words furnish to the whole of Mr. Ward's "Ideal." The Church is simply a logical conception, a formula. Those who compose it, are not living stones of a building, not members of a body; but a set of individuals altogether constituting an abstraction.

will not give themselves the trouble to look candidly at the wording of our Articles, and fairly to examine the charge of disingenuousness brought against their framers. Nor do I deny, rather I have plainly said, that the first part of the Article appears to imply some reflection on the formal doctrine of the Church of Rome; this indeed will make it a more unexceptionable evidence for the truth of the view which I maintain. *For I challenge* (the italics are Mr. Ward's) *any objector to give any meaning to the Article, word by word, which can by possibility bring the formal doctrine of the Church of Rome within its scope.* For example, if the phrase had been 'their *precepts*,' although the pronoun 'their' would still have been a difficulty, it might have been plausibly enough contended that the formal teaching of Rome on moral points is condemned in the first clause, and, by parity of reasoning, the formal teaching in doctrinal points in the second. But the phrase being 'their living,' such an attempt is impossible."

Ideal of a Christian Church, p. 101, note.

A young student reading this passage is likely to say, 'There, you see, he has defied them. He has done it openly and emphatically; using italics because he is so sure that they will not dare to meet him—and they do meet him with—a degradation.' But whatever Convocation may do, you and I, my dear friend, who have not its power in this kind, have the power of saying whether we signed in this sense or in some other; whether we considered the words as merely truistic, or if not, whether we can explain what other meaning is in them. I hold myself bound to answer these questions to any one who comes to ask them.

To depart as little as may be from Mr. Ward's hypothesis about the way in which the Article was composed, let us suppose the persons, from whose various eliminations the nonsense he discovers in it proceeded, met together to settle the form of it. The clause is proposed, 'As the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred.' 'Erred,' exclaims one of the assessors, 'who doubts it?'

Who will deny that no Church has fully presented the image of her Lord? that many of the persons who compose it have been grossly immoral; nay, that its moral standard has often been low? Many persons too will agree with you that portions of the ceremonial of particular Churches have been unwisely chosen in conformity with popular tastes and fancies, and that these ought to be removed. Is this all you mean to assert, when you say that different Churches in Asia and Africa, and also this Church in Italy, which pretends to be the guide and model of all the rest, have erred?' 'I see the force of your objections,' replies the original suggester. 'The wording must be more accurate. These Churches have erred not only in their living, (an error which may be predicated of individual members of a Church, even of the majority of its members, without impeaching the correctness of its authorized teaching,) and in manner of ceremonies, (possibly regulations of individual priests, which have crept in and became general practices by connivance, and without formal approbation,) but also in matters of faith (in that which is strictly and formally the expression of the mind of the corporate body).' Whether this sense of the Article be more or less agreeable to the wording of it than Mr. Ward's, I leave to the judgment of any competent Roman Catholic Doctor, of any Roman Catholic University, of any English lawyer used to examine the language of documents and give opinions upon them, of any unsophisticated person who has the slightest familiarity with English construction. At all events, this is my sense of the Article. In subscribing it, I do mean to condemn certain portions of the formal doctrine of the Church of Rome.

'Well!' the Undergraduate might say, to whom I offered this justification of my own signature; 'perhaps you are

fortunate that you can find this meaning in the Article, and that you can acquiesce in it. But suppose you thought with Mr. Ward, that this condemnation of the formal doctrine of Rome was very presumptuous, how would you act? would not you be glad to see another meaning, even a merely truistic one, in the words then? 'If I did find such a meaning,' I should answer, 'and I believed it to be the result of the causes to which Mr. Ward ascribes it, I should simply tell those who presented the book of Articles to me, that I looked upon it as a dishonest, shameful, immoral book, with which I could have nothing to do.' 'But then you could not have an Oxford education or become a clergyman.' 'No : but I could be brought up in some dame's school and become a dustman; a far preferable alternative to that of solemnly consenting, at the most solemn moments of my life,—when I am entering upon the three years which will have most influence on the formation of my character for all future time, when I am going forth to practise in the world the lessons which I have learnt in the schools, when I am taking authority to preach the Word of God, when I believe I am about to receive the Holy Spirit of Truth to qualify me for the office of a Priest—to a document which professes to treat of the most awful subjects, and which I believe in my soul to be a piece of impudent trifling, of base deception.' 'But speaking thus,' my Undergraduate friend would rejoin, 'you throw out insinuations against Mr. Ward of being indifferent to sacred things; a charge quite inconsistent with the tone of his book; the very sin which makes Protestants so offensive to him.' 'I impute nothing to Mr. Ward,' I should reply—'I am not his master—his judge. You asked me to say how I should feel in this case, and I have told you. If you had asked me further how I

would advise you to act, I should have said as plainly—Have nothing to do with any document—least of all, with a document concerning the relations of God with His creatures—which you do not inwardly respect! And have nothing to do with any man, who, talking much of conscience, morality, religion, tempts you to consider how nearly you can go in a spiritual transaction to what in an ordinary earthly transaction would be called double dealing. When any one teaches you to think every thing sacred and inviolable except truth, if you care to look your fellow-creatures in the face, if you do not wish to be ashamed when you kneel before God, *Hunc tu Romane caveto.*'

Now even for one person to bear this kind of testimony, seems to me better than for a whole University merely to punish. But if it were borne by different clergymen in all different parts of the country to the young men whom they might find disturbed by Mr. Ward's doctrine; above all, if the tutors of the colleges, availing themselves of their (it is to be hoped, even under present circumstances) greater opportunities, would bear it; I do not think there would be the least call for convocations and new tests*.

II. But such a dialogue would almost certainly give rise to a new set of questions concerning the Articles themselves.—After all, how do you look upon them? Do you think they mean the same thing as the Creeds and the Prayer Book? Do you attach that rigid signification to them, which is by some declared

* It is almost needless to say that these remarks are meant to meet the observation of Mr. Ward, that his argument will seem dishonest special pleading, to those who do not agree with him about the disingenuousness of the Reformers. What I say is, 'If these charges were true, the course he suggests would be—in us, it may not be in him—ininitely more dishonest.'

to be necessary ? Do you admit no loopholes through which the supporters of different systems may creep in ? Do not you claim permission for yourself to stretch their meaning so that it may meet the wisdom of later centuries or include the wisdom of former centuries which had been neglected ? Do you not, in your conscience, find them to be restraints upon your liberty of thought and action and teaching ? Would you not gladly break the fetters from your own legs, if you were not fearful that if you did, other people's legs would get free also ? If the Clergy, as such, cannot be emancipated from them, why not at least emancipate the University ? These questions I propose to answer *seriatim*.

To the first I should reply, The Articles are set before me when I come up to college. Before that time I have no direct concern with them. I take them then in the first instance to be meant as guides in my academical course. They refer to theology ; they seem to be meant to point out a method of thought on theological questions ; they seem meant to warn me of certain confusions into which I may fall in the study of these questions. But as my education at Oxford is general, I judge from the theological Articles being presented to me when I enter, that all my studies are believed to have some internal connexion ; that one is thought to be primary and architectonical, that the one acknowledged in this character at Oxford is theology ; that the theological method is therefore regarded as a method which will be useful in all my studies ; the theological confusions as likely to interfere with all my studies ; and therefore the theological warnings as needful for them all. This, I take it, is implied in the adoption of these Articles at Matriculation. When they are offered me on taking my B.A. degree, I understand that they have served their

purpose, or if I had chosen might have served it, in my first course of study, and that they are now to serve another purpose in the more strictly professional course upon which I am entering. When I accept them as an M.A., I am either going to stay at College in some academic character, or I am going into the world to perform my part as lawyer, physician, man of letters, in educating the mind of the nation. I say, by this acceptance of them, that I look upon them as maxims of thought which I do not wish to cast aside, which I have found profitable in my own culture, and which I wish to keep in sight while I am engaged in the culture of others. When I accept them at my Ordination I signify that my teaching will not consciously contravene these maxims, but will be in conformity with them.

Next you wish to know, whether I feel this teaching to be the same with that of the Prayer Book and the Creeds ? I reply ; Many years before the student comes to Oxford, he has, it is to be presumed, learnt the Catechism, gone to Church, repeated the Creed, joined in the devotions of the Liturgy. Sometime before he comes up, it is probable that he has been confirmed and admitted to the Eucharist. During his stay in Oxford, he attends daily prayers, repeats the Creed, receives the Communion. The Articles which belong to him expressly as a student are evidently altogether different in kind from these ; they would be worth nothing if they were not. The student is both a student and a human being ; that which concerns him in his distinctive character, cannot interfere with that which concerns him in his general character. It is most important that the first should do homage to the second. The merits I claim for the Articles are these—1. That they are perfectly unlike the Liturgy and Creeds in form, so that they can never be

substituted for them. 2. That they do honour to these as leading men into an apprehension of a more perfect form of Truth than can by possibility be expressed in dogmatic language ; for no act can be so high as that of Worship ; if we know what it means, we must know that it is the entrance into a Mystery, into the presence of that Absolute and Eternal Truth, which words may speak of but cannot embody. 3. That they protect these Creeds and Prayers from corruptions which scholastic subtlety, sanctioning and organizing popular tendencies, have introduced into them, and would introduce again.

Thirdly. Next you wish to know whether I think these Articles ought to be interpreted rigidly ? I reply ; Inaccurate, slip-slop phraseology could be of no possible use to a student ; if the Articles consist of this, they must fail of their purpose. And if I try to make them vague, by continually using the formula, '*this only means*,' I reduce them nearly to the level to which they would have reduced themselves, if, from design or carelessness, they had been loosely worded. Rigid interpretation, then, in the sense of critical, interpretation, interpretation which seeks to develope their meaning, and not to exhaust it, I claim for them not more for their sake than for the student's own sake : and such interpretation I believe they will bear^d.

Fourthly. But if you mean to ask whether I demand an interpretation which will sustain the system of our party, and prevent the entrance of another, I answer

^d I hope I have sufficiently explained my use of the word 'critical,' by adding the words, 'interpretation which seeks to develope a meaning.' This criticism every true teacher seeks to cultivate in his pupils, whatever be the work they are studying. Criticism in the sense of setting one's self above an author, to pass judgment upon him, he will discourage in his pupils, whether they are occupied with the Articles, or with Thucydides and Æschylus.

No: because I believe it to be incompatible with that rigid interpretation of which I have just spoken. Let the supporters of our different systems interpret the Articles rigidly, accurately, critically—not a favourite one here or there, but all—not only taking them separately, but considering them as teaching a method, and straightway they find themselves perplexed with words which they had rather not have met with, with thoughts cast in a different framework from that which they have been taught before to approve, with actual encouragements given to doctrines which they have been taught to condemn.

The Arminians in Laud's time acquiesced in the Articles, and even appealed to them as protectors; but if they had established a safe ascendancy, they would gladly have got rid of them. The Calvinists in the Westminster assembly did get rid of them, because while they could not deny that they embodied Calvinistical ideas, they felt as strongly that they were not framed upon a Calvinistical model. And so it has been ever since: each party has found itself in the Articles, each has been perplexed by them, because they did not pronounce a satisfactory condemnation of its opponents, and did not set up its system.

And how, you will say, can honest men bear with a document which has such a double phase? If the words 'party men' and 'honest men' are identical, it is quite impossible. An honest man insists upon something definite and distinct; if there is nothing definite and distinct but the determinations of opposing schools, he must take one of those. But it may be that he has found it incompatible with honesty to adopt these determinations; it may be, that he has found them indeed very definite and distinct as mere formulas; utterly indistinct, indefinite, con-

tradiçtory, when they come into the region of reality and practical life. And it may be that this experience is not at all confined to those who renounce parties. The best men within them, those who have the principles of their party most at heart, who have lived most for them, and would be the readiest to die for them, shew precisely the same feeling ; they are continually breaking through their own fences ; doing so, because the special truth which they love has broken through before them, and they must commit a trespass in order to go and seek it. I believe then that party men, professors of different systems, sign these Articles in good faith, yea, in the best faith, in a higher state of faith than that which would be required to sign a document literally in accordance with their own theory ; because, thanks be to God, no *man*, only a logician, does live, breathe, and walk, in a theory ; he lives, breathes, and walks, sometimes, at least, in the air and light of Heaven ; when he does so, he can recognise something, whatever it be, (and he dares to say that he recognises it,) in the theory of his opponent. And if it at first look like a cloud no bigger than a hand, it grows larger as he contemplates it more, till at last he can really see fruitful showers, and future harvests in that cloud. In this spirit I hold that a man may sign Articles, (which he respects and believes to be above himself,) perceiving that they acknowledge what he accounts precious, perceiving also that they do not condemn, but now and then seem to countenance, something which he has not apprehended, and which in his theory is accounted vile. Often after he has thus committed himself, he will have starts and revulsions of feeling ; he will recur to his party definitions, and most uncomfortable words will present themselves to him, which he cannot in any wise reconcile with

them. A stronger doctor of the party beseeches him to be consistent; he goes forth troubled in mind, meaning to be so, determined that he will have nothing more to do with such compromises; other thoughts and recollections come to him as he meditates; it seems to him as if he might condemn good men, nay some of his own best convictions in his haste. *'Then thinks he to understand this, but it is too hard for him, until he goes into the sanctuary of God, then sees he the end of those who live by party formulas; namely, how they are set in slippery places. Yea, like as a dream when one awaketh, so doth their image vanish out of the city.'* In the mystery of prayer, in the light of God's countenance, he sees what shadows, what mere images of truths these conclusions of the logical understanding are, and what infinite peril there is of setting up the images in place of their archetypes; how likely the man is to commit that fearful error who determines that he will glorify his own notions, making them the measures of the faith of the Church to which he belongs, when they are such imperfect measures even of his own. This is my answer, then; I do not merely tolerate men of different parties in subscribing these Articles; I rejoice that they should do it. I believe it is the best pledge and witness that they have something better and higher in them than their party system. Of course, they may do this unconscientiously, loving their system above all things, but for certain base or secular ends consenting to sink it and make a bargain with their opponents. That there will be rogues in every University I never doubted; how you can keep such out by any articles or by no articles, I have never yet understood. That there will be other really conscientious men to whom their system is so dear that continuance in a body which

does not accept it, becomes intolerable, I am also aware. Such men in due time leave the English Church, expressly because it does not exclude, because it tolerates what they cannot tolerate. Would giving up the Articles secure their adherence? Certainly, if you would make others, declaring their truths to be the whole truth and denouncing all others. These are the terms upon which they would consent to stay. In this case the evil, whatever it be, corrects itself; in those who continue, it corrects itself by increased enlargement of apprehension and feelings; the worldly and base must be left to the judgment of God.

The next question is—Do I not in my own case, though not adhering to these parties, plead for a certain latitude in the construction of the Articles?

I think I have practically answered this question already; for in the two instances which I have given in my last letter, of deviation from the probable views of the Compilers, I shewed, that if I agreed with them, I should give to their Articles what seemed to me a less strict signification than I affix to them now. But I am not at all unwilling to explain the principle upon which I proceed, when I maintain that disagreement with some of their recorded or implied notions, is compatible with an acceptance, not a mere reluctant formal acceptance, of their authorized teaching.

Mr. Ward seems to think that the Reformers, being bad men habitually, sank below their ordinary level when they met to draw up Articles of faith; in their discourses and controversies raging very audaciously and impiously, but still with openness, against what they called Romish corruptions; when they came together and considered what was best or safest for their circumstances, exhibiting themselves as poltroons and cheats,

trying to invent phrases which should mean everything, anything, or nothing. My belief is, that, being good men habitually, with a plentiful mixture however of what is earthly, they rose much above their ordinary level, when they met as in the presence of God, to lay down maxims, not for a temporary emergency, but which should regulate the studies and teachings of generations to come. Then I believe they received that gift of wisdom which is bestowed even upon those who are merely occupied in devising securities for the properties and the bodies of men, and which often changes even them into seers and prophets. How is it that we interpret our own Magna Charta? Do we insist upon knowing what precisely were the feelings or character of this or that person in the camp at Runnymede? If we find it probable that not one here and there, but that the greater number of them, were comparatively indifferent to the welfare of any Order save their own; do we determine that they can only have claimed protection for that Order? Do we assent to the vulgar and childish theory, that by mere chance they were obliged to use phrases which, afterwards, might be dexterously twisted to a strange, but a larger and more useful, meaning? Or do we adopt the plain and natural conclusion which all experience justifies, that men, having the sense of belonging to a united band, looking back to the ages past, confessing the inferiority of arms to law, of necessity lost the selfish feeling which might actuate them singly, or might have led them to co-operate; of necessity spoke words beyond their own comprehension; asserted not a position, but principles, which can be limited to no time or accidents; though Norman barons, threw a shield of right and justice over the Saxon and the Serf. The Articles are, I believe, our religious Charter; vindicating eternal truths from the

oppression of a system which had crushed out their life, providing the same defence for truths, which a system, or portions of a system recognised by the Reformers themselves, or deduced from their teaching, may be threatening to destroy. I construe the words of one, as a lawyer would construe those of the other; not wishing to strain language in the least degree, but determining to have the full advantage of it, determining not to be cheated of its meaning, and of my respect for the Articles, by being told that I must judge them by the words and acts of the Reformers, when they were fulfilling a less high vocation, and endued with a lower inspiration.

After the remarks which I have made under the two last heads, you will easily understand how far it is true that I submit to these Articles as fetters on myself on condition that others shall wear them too. To a certain extent it is true. I am very glad that my Arminian brethren should have a clog on their feet when they wish to kick my Calvinistic brethren, and that the Calvinists should be muzzled when they wish to bite the Arminians. Clog or no clog, muzzle or no muzzle, they will kick and bite, but not with such vengeful heels, with teeth far less dangerous. I am glad that Anglicans, who run about shouting that it is the privilege of their position to anathematize both the Papists and the Protestants, should have their mouths partly stopped by Articles which anathematize neither. I am glad to be clogged and muzzled myself, lest I should gratify an instinct which would be worse than any of these, I mean the instinct of simply railing at the members of all parties for their mutual injustice and their neglect of important truths, when, if I followed the teaching of the Articles and my better angel, I should wish to make all conscious

of the brotherly feelings which really exist in them, and of the truths which they cherish above all their dislikes and suspicions. So far then the notion is right, that we are a set of beasts consenting to be caged and chained, because we know not what mischief each might do to the others and itself if we were let loose.

But if I be asked whether I do not find these Articles great impediments to spiritual and scientific freedom, I answer, 'Not in the least, but great aids in attaining both.' For I look upon the great check to *spiritual* freedom, as I have just said, to be the substitution of logical formulas for facts, and for the Truths which lie beneath them. And Articles framed at a time, (not indeed when the worth of the Scriptures was beginning to be recognised, for that had been recognised most fervently by every Church doctor,) but when they were beginning to be welcomed in the character of living records, revealing the Living God, and speaking of living men, and in this character were opposed to school divinity; Articles composed by men of thought and learning, but yet by men living in the midst of affairs, and in our practical business-like country; Articles brought out side by side with the purified Liturgy; must, as I think, preserve us from this danger better than any document belonging to any earlier or later time could possibly do. And the obstacles to *scientific* freedom are, I think, first, Systems which flatter the intellect by their comprehensiveness and self-sufficiency, and at the same time prevent it from expanding to recognise new facts and appearances, or from rising to a clearer apprehension of laws; and, secondly, the force of Opinion, which will not suffer us to look beyond what it sees to be useful for some present result.

Our German friends who rightly charge us with being indifferent to Scientific Divinity, often seem to use the

words 'systematic' and 'scientific' as if they were synonymous. I do not mean that their greatest divines and philosophers have not felt the difference, and even spent their lives in labouring to place Science on a safe foundation. But the habits of their country are so favourable to the production of systems, that in spite of this resistance we must not, I believe, look to them—far less to Frenchmen—for the vindication of Science from the assaults of its oldest and most persevering enemy. The countrymen of Bacon must gird up their loins to this work if it is to be done at all. They have powerful helps for it, in spite of their present dulness, which no other men possess, and I am persuaded, from experience, that in theology these Articles will be found the greatest of all helps. For quite a different reason Germans will not understand what an incubus of Magazine, Newspaper, Exeter Hall, Fashionable Chapel, Theology, is sitting upon us continually, and pressing the very heart out of us ; or how little dream we should have of any thing higher than this, or of any theological method at all, if it were not for these Articles, which they suppose are the causes of our slavish torpor and ignorance.

But why must Oxford especially have these Articles imposed upon her, seeing that the sister University has contrived to dispense with them, at least for her Members generally under the degree of M.A. ?

As I certainly do not wish that Cambridge or any other University should change its present course, seeing that its habits are adapted to that course, and that the introduction of the Articles there at Matriculation would now be an unreal thing, and would rob it of positive benefits ; I wish to reply to this special question, for it is an important one. My answer will scarcely be quite intelligible to any one who has not himself passed

through our course of education; those who have, will, I think, hereafter, if not at once, recognise its truth.

I think few Oxford men, who have not reflected upon their own experience, know the amount of power which one of their task-books exercises over them. Of course, I mean the *Ethics* of Aristotle. That this influence is on the whole salutary I can readily admit upon the authority of Dr. Arnold, and from what I have observed and felt myself. That it is accompanied with some very serious dangers, and those very closely connected with its merits and advantages, I am as strongly convinced. It is scarcely possible to read a book of so much power, which makes the chief object of existence to be Self-culture, the production in one's self of good and graceful moral habits; the ultimate end being a something called Happiness; which never even for one instant raises a man out of himself to an object above and beyond himself; which derides the search after such an object as fantastic and impractical—it is difficult, I say, to read this book, and then to observe how beautifully the Gospel does rectify and transform the inward character, how exactly it supplies the means of accomplishing what the philosopher had so finely conceived, without feeling strongly tempted to the conclusion, that this is the one end of Christianity, and of all the revelations of God; that they are nothing else but a great machinery for producing and perfecting high human qualities; that we at least are not capable of considering them in any other light, or should not be the better for doing so.

Along with this ethical tendency, every one who has been at Oxford must have felt the tendency to exalt Logic as strong and almost irresistible. The two influences proceeding in some measure from the same great master, and touching each other at many points, are nevertheless

often really, still oftener apparently, opposed to each other. No remarks are heard more frequently than these within the walls of our Colleges. 'How little worth is there in mere intellectual exercises; how fallacious are reasonings. The *ἦθος*, the tone of character, is all in all; get that, and there will be such readiness to receive the decisions of a competent authority, such self-distrust, that a man even with a very moderate endowment of reason may arrive at safe and profitable conclusions.' And yet after all these disparagements, you will presently find Logic asserting its supremacy. The man must submit certainly, but you will convince him that he ought to submit, and why he ought not to be rebellious. A perfectly good *ἦθος* is the important thing; you can prove that it is, and by the subtlest arguments confound every gainsayer who says that any thing else will do. Every rightly constituted mind will yield to a competent authority, and so cheerfully, so humbly; But then the word 'competent:' what a wide field this opens for disputation! By what nice and delicate turns of reasoning may it be shewn that such an authority is or is not that competent one, in which the well-prepared, well-disciplined heart must or must not acquiesce. Hence it comes to pass, that while the formation of the moral nature is spoken of as the one great essential of our being, the formation of opinions about that moral existence, and about all other matters, becomes felt to be the twin essential. And as the likeliest way of forming the moral nature becomes the first consideration with a man, the likeliest way of getting a good set of notions or opinions becomes the other. Thus Logic has maintained her point after all. She has stooped to conquer. For what she deals with is with opinions, notions, the forms of our own mind; not substances, realities. She has succeeded in asserting

the all importance of these ; in making all subjects, theology above all, her ministers and tools. I am describing a tendency which, I believe, all of us have felt, which many are aware of and struggle with. That it may be counteracted, and that the logical as well as the ethical teaching of the University may become a source of unspeakable good, I fully believe. And I think the University *has* provided herself with the proper counter-actions, that she has given her students the means of deriving the intended profit from her lessons.

The grandest and most perfect of all counter-actions to that tendency which sets up Self in the form of self-improvement, self-culture, or any other, as the centre to which all things should be referred, might seem to be Worship. For that, according to its plainest signification, would seem to import that all creatures, voluntary and involuntary, must refer themselves to God, and can only find their own blessedness and excellence in Him. But when the Aristotelian temper of mind has taken full possession of a man, this testimony will be comparatively inoperative, unless it be fortified by some other. For worship does so evidently act as a means of refinement and purification to the soul, that it is quite easy—as all Hagiographies prove—to make this its object, and to speak of it mainly in its relation to this object. Through a special kind of study this habit becomes infused into our minds ; by something strictly appertaining to study, must that which is poisonous in it be neutralised. Now theological Articles, placed at the threshold of our studies, would seem by their very name to testify that God, and not Self, is to be the object of our studies as well as of our devotions ; that He, and not *εὐδαιμόνια*, or the formation of an *ἥθος*, must be our object, if we would fulfil the end of our being. But would a theo-

logical system necessarily bear this witness? No, strange as it may seem, it of necessity bears the opposite witness. What we mean by the Romish system is the most magnificent, elaborate, perfect, machinery of practices, influences, theories, ever contrived, or to be contrived in the world, for securing the safety of the soul. And what we mean by the Reformation, is precisely the assertion, that if a man would save his soul he must lose it, for that he must not seek it, but God; must not claim a righteousness for himself, but find his righteousness in God. And what we mean by these theological Articles, is precisely the setting forth, firstly, of that name of God, His manifestation, and the relation wherein He stands to man in the Mediator, His gift of the Spirit to man; the book wherein the facts of His manifestation are made known to us; the creeds of those early Christian ages, whose office, as it seems, was to dwell mainly in these transcendent ideas: then the declaration of the actual condition of man, and of the ways in which Romish Pelagianism had misrepresented that condition, in its efforts to work deliverance and peace for the conscience had robbed it of both, in its efforts to bring about a reconciliation between man and his Creator, had denied the fact and the principle of that reconciliation; thirdly, indications of the way in which these truths and human facts—the ideal and the actual—meet and explain each other in the Church, and in particular Churches. Now so far as the Articles are considered in this light, and are really turned to account by the student, they offer, I conceive, the best protection against the ethical and the logical peril; in that they make God the ground and end of morality, in that they declare theological science to be the knowledge of a living Being, not a collection of dry notions.

By such statements illustrated, as they may be illustrated, by frequent appeals to the experience and conscience of the person addressed, and to ecclesiastical history, I believe each one of us may, in his own sphere, do somewhat towards bringing young men, not into a patient acquiescence in the Articles, but into an affectionate reverence for them; what is better still, to the honest study and employment of them. And if the University, with its high powers and through its various channels of influence, would convey the same lessons, caring less to make out the agreement of the Articles with certain texts, or to fit the Undergraduates for examination in them, than to make them prove themselves, by shewing that they remove impediments to the manly study of Scripture as a whole, and to our apprehension of the dealings of God with mankind, I believe we might safely leave Mr. Ward to suggest his non-natural sense, seeing that the student will have learnt to say: 'So long as an honest and reasonable meaning serves my purpose, I need not trouble you, for my sake, to seek out a dishonest and an absurd one.'

III. From these remarks the transition is very direct to the general scope of Mr. Ward's book. It has been asked whether this book, "designed for a pamphlet, and running on *inter scribendum* to its present unwieldy length; treating the most momentous questions, many of them questions of fact and history, which plainly require the most patient research and industry, hastily, superficially, and violently; throwing the whole Roman controversy aside, and deciding against the Church of England in it, in a peremptory manner, on grounds unknown to the great combatants in the argument; is a book to throw the University out of all sober-minded self-possession, and drive it in a paroxysm of anger into

an act of unprecedented severity, of more than doubtful legality, and of apparent one-sidedness and partizanship?" I do not think that *any* book ought to produce this effect upon a University, and I have already stated, at quite sufficient length, my reasons for objecting to the measure which is denounced in this strong language. I agree also with the respected and able querist, that the work is grievously wanting in historical knowledge and calm research. But I do not think that these deficiencies,—still less the circumstance that it has decided "the question on grounds unknown to the great," that is to say, the old orthodox, disciplined "combatants in the argument," who measure paces before they fight, and never fire without a signal,—authorize us in despising it, or in believing that it may not exercise a very considerable influence upon the minds of young men in this generation, above all, on the minds of those who have been educated, or are in process of education, at Oxford. For however Mr. Ward may despise the discipline to which he has been subjected, there has never been a volume, I think, written by any Member of our University, more strikingly exhibiting those habits of thought which, I have said, are apt to characterise us, or the effect of the absence of those counteractions which he, like the rest of us, was furnished with, but which he has indignantly cast aside. To understand my meaning, I would wish you to compare the title of Mr. Ward's book with the matter of it. He calls it "The Ideal of a Christian *Church*;" it is, from first to last, 'The Ideal of an Ecclesiastical *System*.' The difference between these two words is not quite unknown to Mr. Ward. In one place he asserts his own loyalty to the English Church to

* Dr. Moberly's Letter to the Master of Balliol College, on the Proposed Degradation and Declaration, p. 14.

be compatible with an intense abhorrence of the system which exists within it. Most glad am I, that even for a moment, under the pressure of a strong necessity, he has caught sight of a distinction so all-important ; a distinction which lies deep, I am sure, in his heart, and in the heart of every man, however seldom it may rise to the surface, which is confessed unconsciously by all our parties, even when their habitual phrases are most at variance with it, and the full, clear perception of which is, as I think, the only security against the spread of Romanism amongst us, against the loss of all the blessings which the Reformation procured for us.

When the Tracts for the Times appeared, the Evangelical principles which exerted so great, and, as I believe, so beneficial, an influence upon English society at the beginning of this century, were forming themselves into a system, unsatisfactory alike to the heart and intellect, hard and feeble, yet awakening none of the strong opposition which had been excited by those who promulgated the doctrines which were buried in it, because it was proclaimed, in general, without any of the passionate rashness, the vehemence of love and hatred, which characterised the earlier teachers, and because it had proved itself to be as compatible as the old orthodox doctrine with an enjoyment of the good things of this life ; with the repose of the intellect, and, after a few necessary struggles, of the conscience also.

Now when these Tracts began to speak of a 'Church,' earnest hearts, which had been crushed under this system, felt themselves aroused ; there seemed the promise of life instead of death. And long did some of these earnest hearts hope against hope that the idea of a Church might by means of a call which seemed to meet such a response in every part of the land, be revived

amongst us. But soon the Oxford temper began to prevail above all the checks which for a while it encountered from the Platonism of the Fathers, and from the effort to assert a real object of faith in opposition to the subjective tendencies of the modern Evangelical school; the words 'Church system' met us in every line; the English Church meant a certain thing called the Anglican system, which so far as we could make it out, denoted a system of Not-Protestantism and Not-Romanism, demanding of its votaries little that is positive except an unbounded sympathy with Laud and Charles the First. . . . Then when this had worn itself threadbare, as such a system must needs do in a few years or months, it gave place to the 'Catholic' system, one, as I have admitted, much larger, more consistent, more plausible, appearing to meet far more wants of the human spirit, as it must of course do, because it is the inverted idea of that which is really divine, universal, adapted to all wants—the Catholic *Church*—and being this becomes immeasurably more mischievous than any partial system (the inversion of a partial idea) can possibly be.

Mr. Ward's book, though it can hardly be called a development of Puseyism in the sense which the Edinburgh Review seems to give that word, (as identical with devotion to the Fathers, to antiquity, to the canon of Vincentius of Lerins,) is unquestionably the last and most complete development of that system-worship, the tendency to which had been so painfully apparent in the writings of the modern Oxford school. And as the mind of the author is clearer, harder, more logical, less embarrassed by patriotic sympathies or historical associations, than that of any other person, who has taken the same general tone, he has been able to bring out his theory more consistently, to connect it much more successfully

with the current feelings and notions of the day, to shew upon what maxim it ultimately rests, to point out the obstacles to the establishment of it in our own land.

Mr. Ward proclaims the *Salvation of the soul* to be the end which the system proposes to itself. By this statement he at once enlists the sympathies of the religious world on his side. He further connects the salvation of the soul with the authority and supremacy of conscience. In other words, that which the conscience craves for the removal of its doubts and terrors, for its comfort and satisfaction, the system is to provide. How exactly is this the thing which a number of men—which a multitude of women—are demanding as the condition of all valuable religious teaching. Once more : he believes that Saints, that is, persons who have attained the highest measure of spiritual growth, though rare, ought to exist in every community, and that the System, though not certain, is, at least, especially adapted to produce them. Such a promise exactly suits those feelings which the Aristotelian cultivation has promoted in Oxford ; one of these feelings leads to the belief that the end we should set before ourselves is the formation of a high and beautiful character, the other to the belief that a system will be the most natural means to that end. But Mr. Ward is very far from confining himself to either of these promises ; the intellect is to have its satisfaction as well as the moral desires and appetites. The system will supply it with the richest, the most inexhaustible food. It reaches from the highest point to the lowest ; there is no subject which has not its appointed place within the all-embracing theory ; it has an indefinite power of expansion, to take in all the new questions which have been occupying our modern days. Here are offers for an age which pants so ardently to bring all things into one,

which fully admits that Christianity is one of the things which it must take account of, which is quite aware that there are persons to whom it presents itself (and should present itself) in a direct palpable form, which only demands a right for those whose tastes are not specially religious, to pay it a distant homage, and to view it in its relation to the other phenomena of the universe.

Now when to this it is added, that Mr. Ward is not inventing a new untried system, but is pleading for the adoption of one which has, in different periods, adapted itself with singular elasticity to the different moods and tempers of men, and which is at this day offering them a refuge from theories which are obviously *not* elastic, *not* comprehensive, that the way to the system lies by a road which many are, for other reasons, prepared to take, that of casting away the evangelical doctrine of justification by faith, and the English Articles ; can it be fairly said that the book is insignificant merely because the author (a circumstance often greatly to the advantage of his cause), is ignorant of history, and has rejected the conventional rules of theological warfare ?

No ! my dear friend, the volume is not one to be treated in this contemptuous fashion ; if all our tendencies were in the opposite direction to that into which it would lead us, we might possibly laugh at it ; but when they are all pointing in the same direction, we have much more cause to tremble. I am not an alarmist, if by an alarmist you mean one who is afraid of a ghost in every bramble-bush ; there is great danger in such nervousness ; it is sure to devise precautions which tend to promote the mischief it would avert, and other mischiefs besides. But feeling, as I do, that our popular theology—that theology which oftentimes puts itself forward as the great antagonist of Romanism—is built upon the Ro-

manist principle ; and that this principle, fully expanded in our minds, must lead us to embrace "the whole cycle of Romish doctrine;" feeling that it is in a process of expansion, that it cannot remain confined in the narrow circles within which it has been shut up, and is asking for greater room and verge ; feeling that our weakness, as well as our violence, our sickly dilettantism and our raving partizanships are working unconsciously together towards the same point—I cry aloud, Do not persecute Mr. Ward, but Do not scorn him. Do not try to crush him by measures which are wrong in themselves, and must fail, as they have always failed ; but let all hands be aloft to crush the evil which he would cultivate among us, and if we find the seeds of that evil are in ourselves, let all hearts be meditating how best they may be rooted out.

I do not think that the young men of England—the part of them who are enough in earnest to be capable of any moral arguments—really wish to part with their 'hereditary faith.' Mr. Ward tells them that they ought not to do so ; and, as I said in my former letter, I believe, that if not under some unfortunate influence, they would be willing to use his exhortation against himself—to cleave to the Lutheran doctrine of Justification, though he calls it a doctrine of devils ; to love the Reformation, though he regards it with 'burning hatred.' But there is a deep conviction in their minds that something is wrong in our condition—fearfully wrong. They cannot think that our outward condition would be wrong, if there was not something wrong in our inward principle. Whatever this be, they feel themselves bound to hate and abjure it. Old men may tolerate it ; it has grown into their hearts ; they cannot be expected to wrench it out. But they are not yet hardened : it is their business to see that evil principles are not become hopelessly

settled in them ; they owe it to their own hearts, to the times that are coming, to beware lest the influence of example, fashion, clerical, aristocratical, newspaper opinion, should determine them to hold fast that which is corrupt, to reject what is pure and holy. And what signifies it that the word 'corrupt' may be, in popular language, affixed to Rome ; the words 'pure and holy,' claimed for ourselves and forefathers? How often do we find that evil is called good, and good evil ; how many evidences are there that, at all events, *we* have no right to claim much of the good ; why may we not hope, as some compensation for this sad discovery, that much of what we have stigmatised as evil, deserves another name? Must we not suspect all catchwords? Do they not nearly always denote the presence of Cant and Hollowness? Ought we not, then, to be very suspicious, when we hear echoed from one end of the country to the other, by popular preachers, by platform agitators, often by fierce mobs, the Shibboleths, our 'glorious Reformation,' 'that palladium of our lives, the doctrine of Justification by Faith alone?'

'By all means,' I would answer. Suspect and fear, when you hear such cries. Suspect the state of our land; suspect yourselves. But what form should the suspicion take? Should it be this—that the words so much prized originally meant nothing, or meant ill ; or this—that they may have lost their meaning, or great part of it ; that another meaning may have been put into them, and that the vacant phrase, or its spurious contents, may be receiving the honour which of right belonged to that for which it is the substitute? Does not your conscience say, that if hereditary faith be a good thing, you should make this last inquiry before you venture upon the other? And does not your conscience say, further,

that if the fear turn out to be true, your sense of the duty which devolves upon you, as young men, to stand up against popular errors, to unteach the multitude to use false voices, to be, in the best sense, Reformers, may have its full gratification, though you do not cast away that which your fathers cherished?

Having prepared the way by these remarks, I would go on to ask Mr. Ward's half-formed disciple, whether that which he discovers to be most evil in our state of society, be not the habit of self-seeking; whether this is not the habit which he would desire most to undermine in himself and others; whether he do not look to Christianity as the one means of reforming it? Next, (for you know what his answers would be on these points,) I would beseech him to consider whether self-seeking in Religion be not at the root of self-seeking in politics, literature, commerce, active life; and whether, if self-seeking establish itself at the centre, we do not, of necessity, lose our only instrument for expelling it from the circumference? Then I would send him to history; I would ask him to study the times immediately preceding the Reformation. I would entreat him to tell us whether he do not discern in them, too, self-seeking in all departments; self-seeking policy in statesmen; self-seeking luxury and pride in the mere worldly bishops and monks; self-seeking dilettantism in popes; self-seeking penitence in pilgrims; self-seeking saintship in devotees. In such a state of things was the existence of a Church, for any long time, possible? And wherein lay the chance of restoration? Could it be effected by the removal of open scandals and abuses, by the more formal enunciation of received dogmas, with the omission of some popular extravagancies which had been grafted on them? or must it come by striking the false principle

at the heart ; by proclaiming the idea upon which all self-denial rests, and without which it is self-glorification under a veil ; that righteousness is not and cannot be in self ; that it is deliverance from the state of sin, and entrance into the state of righteousness, to abjure self, and trust in a righteous Being ; that the most perfect Saint is he who abides in that abjuration, seeks nothing in himself, seeks everything in his Lord ?

“This,” I should continue, “is the doctrine of that Martin Luther, whom your friend pronounces to be not a religious man, but whom he partly excuses, by believing that he did not fully understand his own wickedness, and who, he thinks, may, in his confused way, have had a dim apprehension of some precious truths of the Gospel, who may not wholly have forgotten the Catholic Faith which he had learned in his cloister.” Whether he was a religious man or not, in Mr. Ward’s sense of the word, I do not know, or very much care. A more *godly* man, one who more set God before him in all his thoughts and acts, who prayed, Hallowed be Thy name, more fervently, I do not think ever existed. And perhaps it may be very well to draw this distinction, and to remember it in the study of other times and our own. For there may be a religion which has very little to do with godliness, which proposes to itself a different object altogether from the glorification of His name. If such a religion has gained ground amongst us, let us pray for repentance and reformation ; repentance, for having gone out of the right way ; reformation, that we may be brought back to it. But what kind of repentance would this be, to cast away a principle which asserts the righteousness of God to be the measure and ground of all things ; the only righteousness for man ; so proclaiming at once the highest idea of Morality, by connecting it

with the Perfect Being ; the most practical Morality, by shewing man how it has been realized for him in the Mediator, how he may realize it himself by faith in Him? What kind of Reformation would this be, to set up a system based upon that theory of religion, and consistently carrying it out, which moves in endless circles around self ; urging it to acts of denial and destruction, only that it may attain a fuller growth, a more perfect enjoyment.

‘But do you not then admit that Mr. Ward has detected not merely logical inconsistencies but even great moral inconsistencies in the statements of this doctrine ?’ ‘Certainly,’ I should reply ; we thank him for his labours. True, they have been often performed before by persons who loved the doctrine with all their souls ; true, also, he has shewn by his treatment of the subject, that he has never once apprehended the meaning of his opponents, that he has never beheld their doctrine except in a logical framework, out of which he seems incapable of considering anything. Nevertheless he has done a work, the advantage of which to some may compensate for all the wrong and the confusion which it occasions in others. It is well that the mere logician should be shewn that he cannot express this principle in the terms of his art ; that of necessity it belongs to life, and requires a living language for the exposition of it. Still better is it that we should see what effect the intrusion of the selfish principle produces upon a doctrine which is expressly the rebellion against it, and the assertion of the one to which it is opposed. ‘Believe in Christ and thy soul shall live!’ so speaks the living Preacher. The words are heard, the sinner believes, in that act he turns away from his sins to God ; his soul does live. It lives by faith ;

losing its faith and affiance in God by any act of sin, it ceases to live; as the doctrine declares that it must. But the self-seeking habit of sin has formed itself in the conscience, and the man begins to ask, Have I really fallen? how may I recover myself? how much faith is necessary to salvation? what kind of faith? and such like hungry, miserable, sin-involving, sin-producing questions. The Protestant priest, adapting himself to this diseased state of the conscience as the Romish priest had done, produces *his* system; his logical theory of the doctrine, his ethical penances and indulgences. And thus this grand moral truth is changed into a wretched Antinomianism, trafficking and bargaining for salvation. Most true it is that from this *theory* of justification good works do not necessarily proceed. Equally certain it is, as I believe, that to proclaim good acts as possible where a good state does not exist, or that a good state can be anything but the state of trust and affiance in God, involves a huge moral contradiction. And so far from thinking that we require to be taught this truth less now than heretofore, I believe the full understanding and practical realization of it in all its consequences and relations, will be one chief means of bringing us to a higher moral and Christian condition, of removing the fearful abuses in our country and Church; of fitting us to understand portions of Truth which we may hold with a feeble grasp; of bringing us into an acquaintance with portions of it which we do not acknowledge at all. It may be that this idea of justification is capable of further expansion; that many shadows which have hung about it will be cleared away, when the relations between the individual man and the race to which he belongs, in Him who is the Lord of both, come to be more clearly recognised; when the

redemption of each person comes to be viewed in connection with the universal redemption ; when the life of the whole Church is not felt to be something separate from, but indissolubly intertwined with, the life of every one of its members.

These thoughts may perhaps lead some young student to consider whether the phrases 'Glorious Reformation,' 'Blessed doctrine of Luther,' may not have a real and abiding meaning ; flat, stale, and unprofitable, as they have often seemed to him. But they would be very imperfect if I did not connect them with other reflections of a more strictly historical kind.

You know how much the word *development* is connected with the whole scheme of Mr. Ward's book, and, what is far more important to my purpose, with the most active and energetic thoughts in the minds of those who are to read it. No conviction, I am certain, has come home with greater force to the hearts of young men, or has more combined itself with the feelings which it is inevitable (and also most desirable) that they should in our day entertain, than this ; that there must be a growth in the different ages, that God's Church cannot be a lifeless stationary thing. Our purpose, if we would enter the least into the feelings of our brethren, or understand our own, should not be to contradict this faith, but to meditate on it deeply, till we find out wherein its reality consists, and then give it the strength which every principle gains when it is separated from any incoherent notions which have surrounded it. Now development in every other science, I believe, has been of this kind. Different periods have been possessed of, overpowered by, some one leading thought or conception. The effort to bring this thought to the birth, leads to various observations

and experiences of the highest value. It leads to the formation of theories out of these experiences, very diverse and perplexed, but each of a certain value. It leads, lastly, to the growth of a system fashioned out of these theories and experiences, which becomes a chrysalis' tomb, wherein the child of promise lies till the time when it is destined to emerge. This, I say, is the ordinary idea of developments, and if you read Mr. Newman's celebrated sermon, you will see this idea recognised in all the most striking passages of it, as the one which should be applied to Church history. But there appears to be a strange fluctuation in the writer's mind between this idea and another, the most diametrically opposed to it; one, namely, which would identify *development* with *accumulation*. A thought given by one Church doctor receives accessions from another, further accessions from a third. The notion goes rolling on, gathering new formations, till at last it meets in one direction with some violent obstruction; there the power of development is suspended; though it may be going on with only greater activity in some other. What one regrets in Mr. Newman's sermon, that the exceeding beauty with which he has illustrated the first form of the doctrine, should light up for a moment the other dark and dull aspect of it. And that it has done so is evident from Mr. Ward's book. For *he* has no dream of a development *except* in this last sense. The accumulation of notions by Fathers, Schoolmen, Mystical Writers, not the struggling of living thoughts under these notions, is what captivates him. The bigger the heap the greater his admiration. The more it fashions itself into a system, to which no light can come from heaven, though it may always be gathering to itself new deposits from the earth, the more he rejoices. He finds it disturbed and decomposed at the

Reformation ; that event, therefore, fills him with 'burning hatred ;' he sees it moulding itself into shape again in the hands of the Jesuits ; he begins to hope that Providence has not utterly deserted mankind ; finally, he sees some of our deluded Saxon race ready to embrace the whole cycle of Romish doctrine, and he prophesies that the Church among us will live again ; that we shall have Doctors and Saints ; that our rich men will become humble and charitable, our poor peaceful and devout, that all studies will submit themselves to Christianity, and will be pursued with constant reference to the one end of life.

Now while I maintain so earnestly that the principle of justification by faith, and the principles of the Reformation which are connected with it, were protests against a self-seeking habit of mind which was becoming universal in the Church, I am equally convinced that these principles were *developments* of thoughts which had been working in the hearts of the most devout laymen and clergymen for some centuries. It would not be correct to say that the great thoughts and feelings of the *middle ages* found their interpretation in the sixteenth century. Those ages, extending as I conceive, from the pontificate of Gregory the Great to that of Boniface VIII. ; from the time when western Europe began to take the form of a spiritual society, united under a spiritual monarch, down to the time when the state power in the person of the king of France crushed the power of the Romish bishop, form a complete history in themselves, closely connected indeed with all that went before and all that followed, but still containing their own especial meaning and moral. All their grandeur, whether contemplated in crusades, in military orders, in religious orders, in chivalry, in the struggles of Churchmen in

particular lands, in the struggles of Popes throughout Europe, in the learning of schoolmen, grew out of the idea of a united fellowship, a mysterious government higher than any thing belonging to the earth or its policy, involving in all directions of thought or of action subjection, order, concentration. Their weakness and evil grew as evidently, I think, out of the perversion of this idea, out of the attempt to realise it in an impossible way, a way contradictory to the idea itself; which weakness and evil needed not, for our purposes at least, to be asserted by any bodies of men lying out of the Church's boundaries, but are testified of abundantly in words by the most eminent of Catholic divines, monks, poets, still more abundantly by the contradictions in the acts of themselves and their contemporaries; and finally received their judgment from the Ruler of all, when in so solemn a manner He permitted the outward head of Christendom to be reft of his seat and power, and to go into that captivity which Romish historians compare to the seventy years of Israel in Babylon. The Reformation is not required to expound the riddle of these seven centuries; if we have but open eyes to read their story, open hearts to sympathize with all that is good and beautiful in them, the cause which marred their goodness and beauty will make itself legible enough. We read not these records aright, it seems to me, if we suppose that the POPEDOM received its sentence from Teutonic Reformers; long before they appeared, Latin monarchs, Most Christian monarchs, nay, Latin ecclesiastics, had been the appointed ministers of God to pronounce that it had been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

But when this change had made itself visible, there began in European society a class of movements hitherto

unobserved, or at least concealed beneath those other more grand and united movements. When, in the revolution of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, all the great signs and glories of the middle ages disappeared rapidly; when military orders were dissolved amidst the but partly-deserved execrations of mankind; when the feeling of a great Christian struggle against Islamism was waxing fainter and fainter; when mendicant friars began to lose the sympathy of that poorer class which they in great part had called into moral existence, or preserved it by their individual influence rather than by the reputation of their order; when the school philosophy began to be assailed by the influence of the new literature; when those eminent ecclesiastics, who, two or three centuries before, would have been the stoutest assertors of spiritual power against civil power, became,—and through the same love of spiritual freedom which would have prompted them to take up that cause,—the defenders of the civil authority against that which assumed the name of divine; when Popes again in Italy, learnt to feel that their special business was to defend their Italian domains, whether by religious terrors or human policy; when Councils raised strange questions about the principles and limits of the jurisdiction which was vested in the successors of St. Peter; then in the solitary hearts of men did controversies work deeply and consciously, which corresponded to these outward manifestations, and which were, at least in great measure, to determine their issue. The struggle of the individual conscience, hitherto connected inseparably with the great social struggles, and forming only a subordinate part of theology, became the subject of all-absorbing interest to the most earnest men. That mystical divinity, which Mr. Ward appears

strangely to confound with the school divinity against which it has been generally considered a protest and a reaction, produced more and more the habit of self-contemplation, all with a view to the great end of self-annihilation.

And what was working in the deepest minds, was of course working in its form and measure in the whole community. Each man was beginning to think of himself more and more as an individual, to lose the sense of his living connection with a great fellowship. In the Lollard, in the man of letters, the change was openly confessed, and the idea of small communities in which individual men were connected by religious sympathy, of a more general fellowship among scholars, arose as the fruit of it, and as a kind of substitute for that which seemed passing away. Among many in whom these feelings were more silently busy, the Church was still regarded with awe and devotion ; but with awe and devotion as the handmaid to their individual lives ; not any longer as the mistress to whom they might be devoted, in whose service they might be lost. When our ordinary historians speak of the influence which terrors of conscience had in leading men to take part in the early crusades, how the assassin felt that in fighting for the sepulchre he might escape the punishment of his sins, they utter a partial truth, but one which, being partial, misleads perhaps more than it enlightens. The heart afflicted with the recollection of sins, feeling itself an outcast, found infinite comfort in giving up itself to the service of the Cross, as if, having been leprous and excluded from the congregation, it was received into the holy fellowship again. The medicine might be prescribed by the spiritual physician, but it was only taken to meet the appetite of the patient. It was quite otherwise in

the time I speak of; there was then no appetite for pilgrimages or holy wars. They were entered into reluctantly, despairingly, in obedience to a command, under the influence of terror, without the sense of any appropriateness in the remedy on any other ground than this, that the inward loathing which was felt for them,—the sense of their uselessness,—might make obedience more meritorious, and therefore more hopeful. If all the romantic interest of the middle ages be wanting in this time, what man will dare to say that they are without interest of a deeper kind? Who does not feel that the earnest and awful thoughts of mystics, the miserable anxieties of the multitude, alike contained a problem, of which there must be a solution, and a solution to be expected, not from the craft of human doctors, but through some strange agency which should affect the whole of society, from Him, of whose secret working the history of mankind is the index. Now of *this* riddle I believe the Reformation *was* the divine interpretation. As the history of the middle ages, taken in connection with the events that concluded them, vindicate the idea of a universal spiritual society, under a spiritual head, as implied in the constitution of God's universe, and necessary to all deeds of united heroism, and prove that the head of such a commonwealth must be really spiritual and divine, not only such in name; so all this history of conscious individual anguish and restlessness,—of wisdom imparted to those who were suffering to discover, in some degree, its cause and its cure,—of theories grounded on these internal experiences,—of a System which entirely hid that object of Personal Faith of whom both the experiences and theories obscurely testified, were leading on to the clear, full acknowledgment of One in whom men are delivered from the contradictions and horrors of

the evil conscience. If so, the Reformation, while it apparently set at nought previous speculations, was really their climax and *development*.

We, then, who live in these northern latitudes have not been wholly excluded from the light of the sun, and the rains of heaven, and the growth which follows from these, though we did cast off the Romish System in the sixteenth century. The enquiry is now forced upon us, whether this growth would not be much quickened if we put ourselves under the old culture again. Mr. Ward has endeavoured to remove all uncomfortable apprehension as to the effect of such a step. Lest we should fear that we may become like Spain or Italy, if we adopt their religious theories and practices, he reminds us that the Teutonic character in its evil, as well as in its good, is quite unlike that of the southern nations. A most important and practical reflection ! But what thoughts does it naturally suggest ? His system has not destroyed the special vices of the Latin tribes ; why should it destroy ours ? It has not taken the stiletto from the hand of the Italian brigand ; why should it take the money bags from the hands of our usurers ? Their tendencies, he says rightly, are social, imaginative ; ours, individualizing. And therefore because he thinks he finds them charitable and devout, he concludes that we shall become so ; when he cannot by his own statement prove that one of our good qualities has been communicated to them. If Spain has not ceased to be a den of robbers with its confessional, the absolving power of its priests, and its mystical theology ; why does he tell us these blessings will induce any hard-hearted English landlord to reduce his rents, any indifferent manufacturer to care for his 'hands ?' One thing only are we sure of ; our other Teutonic tendencies may be left by the system as it

found them. But Mr. Ward says our tribe has a certain love of truth. The compliment is not to be wholly rejected, but received with shame and fear. Doubtless our consciences do sting us more than those of any race on earth when we lie. God has awakened this sense of truth in us. He has made us feel that it makes all things else precious; that to have it not is to lose every thing. But we have been miserable stewards of the precious treasure, we have resisted our consciences in this matter, and hardened ourselves against their reproof. Look at our newspapers, lawyers, religious parties; where is the truth-loving tribe gone? Yet the root is still in the soil, we are not given over to our sins. That we should be so, this is wanting, the being *taught* to lie, the being told, that truth is not the first object of search, that it may be sacrificed for the good of the soul. Make us believe that, and there is an end of every Saxon virtue; there is nothing left out of which any new virtue can grow. We shall become utterly depraved and accursed, and for the sake of mankind, the sooner we are swept from the earth the better. But the system will do this for us; other sacrifices it may require afterwards; the reverence for truth we must offer up at our initiation.

More, however, is demanded of us than to shew that the hopes Mr. Ward holds out are delusions. Hope is too good a thing to take from any one. We must prove that it has missed its aim, not aimed too high. And this is the one object of what I have said about development. If ever we begin to desire a Church and not a System, we shall feel that we have only left human developments for divine. The past will become bright and clear to us; we shall love all the ages, and worship none. No enthusiasm for Fathers, or middle ages, will be too strong if it be but real and not fantastic; such an in-

tense delight in the good compels us to hate the evil. We shall love the Reformation as another and a blessed step in the working out of God's purpose, not as a breach and dislocation of it. And we cannot stop there. Its own lesson may be complete. It asserted the necessity and reality of an object of faith, a personal object, as the one deliverance for the conscience. It met that portion of the eternal feelings and wants of humanity which had been then most manifesting itself, and it gave them the only satisfaction which they ever can receive. But other fields have been fought since, other palms must be won. The struggles of men to assert their own powers; the longing to understand what faculties they have for the apprehension of God, or Man, or Nature; under what laws they exist, or whether they exist under any; the assertion of the rights of those powers to the freest exercise, and the effort to exercise them in ways the most beneficial and the most hopeless; these have occupied the last three centuries more characteristically than the struggles of the conscience, though never, thank God! so as to supersede them. Let us believe that in God's hands, Societies of Jesus, sects, philosophers, poets, kings, parliaments, mobs, may all have been bringing out different sides of *this* great problem, all with a view to some higher solution of it than they could find. If the acknowledgment of a divine personal *object* was that by which the one class of perplexities were relieved; why may we not expect, that the full, clear, joyful recognition of a Spirit, from whom all powers proceed, to whom they must all be subordinated, that they may be blessed, and free, and harmonious, may, when we are utterly brought into despair of ourselves, into that death which is the necessary forerunner of any higher life, be reserved for this time? Such a de-

velopment could not set aside or contradict the wisdom of any previous age. It must bring into clearer light the truths concerning God Himself, for which the Fathers lived, and for which the martyrs bled ; the truths concerning man and his relation to a universal spiritual economy, of which the middle ages testify ; the truths concerning the individual conscience, and its relation to a living Lord, which exercised men in the time before the Reformation. And these truths can be no notions or formulas ; the very blessing of such a development must be that they will be felt as mighty living powers, as leading to mighty practical results, to the fellowship of all Churches in the name wherein we are baptized, to the acknowledgment of this name as that which reconciles all different sides of Truth, which gives method and harmony to all human life, all natural things ; to the putting forth of the powers and energies specially belonging to every national society and every individual man, in conformity with the great law under which all are united.

Now, by whatever means it may please God that such a state of things as this should be produced in our world, it is assuredly better, and yet, too, more rational to hope, that it should be brought about by some means according to the promise, than that any blessed results should come from any of those systems which He has been, and is, by such manifest tokens of His providence, declaring to be helpless abortions. And this is the difference in the two expectations, that the one can lead only to simple and quiet action, to the holding fast of every good thing which has been committed to us ; to the enquiry, ' What wouldst thou have me to do ? ' that the other, whatever professions of duty and obedience it may put forth, must, as experience has proved, beget discontent with the

past, frivolous and feverish lamentations over the present, vague experiments for the future. To meet such dangers let us not try, my friend, and (oh that the University may not) to produce a more earthly tone of feeling, which can tolerate any abuse, which hates all Reformation. That experiment has failed ; in the reaction against this grovelling tendency, all our confusions have originated. Do not let us think we can set up an Anglican system against a Romish one ; that method, too, has been tried, and signally has it come to nought. Let us strive to call forth a deeper enthusiasm than that which has been awakened in behalf of any system ; let us encourage higher hopes than the greatest worshippers of system have ever cherished ; let us address our countrymen, those at the Universities especially, in the cheering words of a dear and honoured friend :—

Our course is onward, onward into light,
 What though the darkness gathereth amain,
 Yet to return or tarry both are vain.
 How tarry, when around us is thick night ?
 Whither return ? what flower yet ever might,
 In days of gloom, and cold and stormy rain,
 Enclose itself in its green bud again,
 Hiding from wrath of tempest out of sight ?
 Courage—we travel through a darksome cave ;
 But still as nearer to the light we draw,
 Fresh gales will reach us from the upper air,
 And wholesome dews of heaven our foreheads lave,
 The darkness lighten more, till full of awe,
 We stand in the open sunshine unaware*.

Ever, my dear Friend,
 Very affectionately yours,

F. D. MAURICE.

* "Sabbath, and other Poems," by Rev. R. C. Trench, p. 160.

NOTE.

As I have, in the foregoing Letter, answered a challenge which Mr. Ward has addressed to Members of the University generally, I ought not to pass over one, of less importance, but closely connected with the character and objects of the Reformation, which he has addressed to me personally. He has transferred from an article in the *British Critic** the following passage: "A sentiment is commonly found in Mr. Maurice's writings which puzzles us more than any other of his sentiments, viz. that 'the truths which constitute Protestantism; are those which concern man as a personal being, which assert his individual responsibility and relation to God, and provide that this responsibility and relation shall be realities and not dreams.' We should not be more surprised than pleased if Mr. Maurice could shew us in Protestant writers any knowledge or realization of these subjects which can for very shame be *compared* with that displayed scientifically by St. Thomas and the moral Theologians who followed him; practically by a hundred such works as 'The Spiritual Combat,' St. Francis de Sales' 'Love of God,' St. Alphonsus Liguori's 'Sermons and Preparation for Death,' Salazar's 'Sinner's Conversion reduced to Principles;' we may be allowed to add, Mr. Newman's Sermons. We keep St. Ignatius's 'Spiritual Exercises' for another place, since the wonderful insight into such subjects which that work displays, has led many to think it inspired in a lower sense of the word."

After what I have said in this Letter, it is perhaps needless to remark, that Mr. Ward confounds himself, and has supposed me to confound, the meanings of the two adjectives 'personal' and 'subjective.' I have said that the Reformation was emphatically the direction of men's minds to an *object* of personal faith, and as such was their deliverance from those perplexities into which the purely subjective meditations and enquiries of the previous time had necessarily led them. I never pretended that the merits of Luther, or of those who have had most of Luther's spirit, were such as belong either to

* An article on Mr. John Mill's Logic. Mr. Ward has said nothing in praise of that gentleman to which I do not most heartily respond. He is one of the few writers of this day—one of the few politicians of any day—who has made a deliberate conscientious effort to discover and treat fairly the meaning of those with whom he differs most widely, and whose mental constitution is most unlike his own. Such an effort implies much more than the possession of high intellectual gifts, or accurate and extensive knowledge; it implies generosity, philosophical modesty, kindness of heart.

scholastical or to mystical divinity. If it were better understood, first, that his great work was to deliver the idea of justification from scholastic fetters, and to assert the language of Psalms, of Prayers and Creeds and Sacraments—of all living acts of affiance—as the appropriate expression of it, we should know much better what his doctrine means, and be not quite so intolerant of the perplexities into which he fell when he strove to translate it into the ordinary theological dialect, or of the violence and hyperbole into which he was betrayed through impatience of an inadequate instrument, and of his conscious awkwardness in wielding it. If, again, we understood how much agony he had suffered from self-contemplation, and how continually he was tormented by the temptations which it involves, we should sympathize more heartily with his desperate efforts to rise out of it, and should pardon the slighting language in which frequently, though not uniformly †, he speaks of the great and good men who were devoted to it.

I have no dispute, then, with Mr. Ward on *this* point. I do not claim for Protestantism the special merit which he claims for the writers whom he enumerates. Neither do I disparage their merits. I believe that both in scholastic and mystical divinity there are treasures which we ought to explore, and might turn to the greatest practical use. The practical question is, how should we fit ourselves to study them and to profit by them? Mr. Ward says, by treating the doctrine of the Reformers as a doctrine of devils, and by regarding the Reformation itself with ‘burning hatred.’ No doubt many will adopt his advice so far. We wait to know what they will get from the books which they enter upon with such a preparation; what one truth will be revealed to them, what one grace of character will be cultivated in them. My belief is, that if they are conscientious men their mystical studies will plunge them deeper and deeper into that habit of mind which I have called ‘self-seeking;’ that the mass of notions which they will collect from the Schoolmen will drive them either to madness or infidelity. The greater part of them will merely chatter about the superiority of both to the feeble irreligious writings of Protestants, without once practising a lesson of De Sales, or

† Of Thauler, Luther speaks with deep admiration, as of a man who really entered into the mystery of self-renunciation. And the little book called ‘Die Deutsche Theologie,’ written probably by the member of some military order at least a hundred years before the Reformation, which is a book of genuine mysticism, he republished as a faithful representation of his own feelings and faith. A French translation of this book was I know the favourite manual of a revered clergyman now at rest, who shared in many of Mr. Alexander Knox’s objections to the formal doctrine of Luther (as he understood it), and whose beautiful and heavenly spirit had been much more formed in the schools of De Sales and of Fenelon than by the study of any Protestant writers.

reading a page of Aquinas. On the other hand, I believe a man determining that he will hold fast that which has been given him, feeling the principles of the Reformation dearer to him than his life, preferring that a mill-stone should be hanged about his neck and he drowned in the sea than that he should weaken the belief of them in a single mind, will have the privilege of studying Fathers, Schoolmen, Mystics, without any of Luther's most natural prejudices against them, nay, with a real power of turning them all to gold. And this conviction does not rest merely upon my conviction that the promise 'To him that hath shall be given,' is a very sure one. I have observed among my own friends, that those who really speak with most knowledge, and most affectionate respect of all these writers, are those who are most consistently, inwardly, practically Protestant. They do not cast away the *critical faculty* which is given to our times, and which, be it a great talent or a little one, we must not hide in the earth, seeing we shall be called to account for it; but they do cast away its bastard product, the *criticising* spirit; they do desire to learn humbly of all who can teach them. Mr. Ward and his friends bid us abjure the use of the critical faculty; in no set of men has the criticising, condemning spirit, more painfully and bitterly displayed itself. Often, indeed, we can see how closely the two dispositions are united. In his Preface to Fleury, Mr. Newman calls upon us to start with the assumption that it is better to believe the miracles of the ages since the Apostles, than to reject them; then the evidence will produce its right impression upon us. Now it is notorious that we have been taught by those whom we ought to respect, *not* to make this assumption, but the opposite one. We are not then to give up the teaching of our spiritual pastors and masters, if we are painfully compelled to do so by the force of conviction; but we are to take it for granted that they were in all probability wrong. And this that we may have more faith and reverence! The lesson is a practical one, and it has been well learnt. A race of coxcombs is arising, who are ready to believe everything, just because it is such glorious fun *not* to believe the 'humbug' which they learnt in their nurseries and schools. A promising class of disciples for those who would return to 'hereditary faith.'

MAYNOOTH,
THE
CROWN, AND THE COUNTRY;
OR, A
PROTEST,
ON BEHALF OF THE MONARCHY AND THE NATION,
AGAINST THE NEW, AUGMENTED, PERMANENT, AND
UNCONTROLLED ENDOWMENT

OF THE
Roman Catholic College of Maynooth;
THE CONSTITUTION AND INFLUENCE OF WHICH IS SHOWN,
BY EVIDENCE DERIVED FROM ITSELF,
TO BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH ALLEGIANCE TO THE CROWN;
AND FRAUGHT WITH DANGER
TO THE COUNTRY, BOTH FROM WITHIN AND FROM WITHOUT

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1845.



M A Y N O O T H,

&c.

UNITY in true religion being the great conservative principle of a Commonwealth, and civil discord and disquiet being the natural consequences of religious dissension, it is certain that when a nation is passing from the *Toleration* of various forms of religious belief to the *Encouragement* of them, its Civil Rulers have great cause for alarm, whether they look upward to heaven unto Him Who is the lover of peace and truth, and from Whom all national blessings and judgments come, or downward to earth on those who have a right to seek for steady guidance and quietness at their hands, and, if not directed and maintained in the way of unity and peace, will be led to exert the power which they possess to the injury of the Civil Authority and to the disorganization of the State.

And, at such a period of a nation's history, the evils to be feared from this very hazardous position of affairs become more formidable and imminent from the circumstance that men are usually disposed to

shrink from the labour of investigating, and from the difficulty of maintaining, *general principles*, however important they may be; and are prone to be content to acquiesce in the admission of evils however manifest, provided they but seem to bear some analogy to ills which already exist, and to follow as consequences from them; and they are thus, almost insensibly, brought to the condition of regarding *present national evils* as sufficient *reasons* for *new evils*, and to look on *disorders* in the body politic as necessitating *fresh diseases*, rather than as demanding *remedies*: and not only so, but they are not unwilling to imagine analogies where none exist, and tacitly to consent to the introduction of new disorders of a *different* kind, on the plea of some resemblance which they are *alleged* to bear to those already in existence.

But we feel ourselves compelled to question, whether he who loves his country and searches after truth will, or can, or ought to be so deceived; whether he will not look upon evils, public or private, as requiring *relief* rather than *aggravation*; whether he will not consider them as appealing powerfully and practically to him and to all whose duty it is to listen to their voice, for the reviewal, and, if it be possible, for the retracing of those steps which have led to such bad results. Yes, and will he not take care, as far as he is able, that if *he* is suffering from the errors of his *ancestors*, his *posterity* may not in their turn be the victims of his weakness, vice, or imprudence? And then, after all, should not the

result of his endeavours for the prevention of evil and recovery of good be equal to his desires, yet he will find ample consolation in the consciousness that in his generation he has served, in some degree, to keep alive a traditional assertion of truth, to be, as it were, one link in a chain of protestation against falsehood, and has helped to animate those who may come *after* him, to contend in the same cause: and he will rejoice also in the persuasion, that all the time and thought which he may have expended in labours for the honour of lawfully constituted civil authority, and of Him from Whom all authority is derived, will be rewarded with abundant recompense into his bosom when nations and empires shall have passed away.

But it is likewise true that such a person will not neglect the use of human prudence and discrimination in scrutinizing new evils, as they may arise, and which some will plead are sanctioned and rendered necessary by the existence of old ones: he will not admit analogies of this kind with facility, but will judge of each case by its own merits. And, to advert now to that immediately before him at the present time,—one of a very grave and momentous kind,—he will be very far from conceding that, because the British Nation *has*, in some instances, sanctioned the policy of making grants of public money to various forms of Christianity, it must therefore, either on the plea of consistency or any other, acquiesce in an *augmentation* of the annual grant to the *Roman Catholic College of Maynooth*.

This question, we assert, is to be examined simply and absolutely on *its own merits* ; and then, when it is so examined, it will, we believe, be found to bear little or *no analogy* ¹ to those with which it is sometimes associated, as we shall endeavour to demonstrate in the following pages.

But we may go much further and do affirm, and trust we shall be able to prove, that this augmentation of the public grant to Maynooth,—*such* as Maynooth *is*, and such as it has been *shown* to be on unquestionable evidence,—would be *inconsistent* and *irreconcilable with*, and *directly contrary to*, the duty of the State to itself.

This is what we propose to show, and we shall do so without any reference to matters which are not purely *civil*, and which therefore are not only *fit* subjects for the cognizance of the State, but such as it is *bound* to consider, on the common principles of self-preservation.

Meanwhile be it observed that we enter on this discussion, and we shall hope to carry it on, with no other desire than this,—that as the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland are our fellow-Christians, and our fellow-subjects, so we may be all united as such in the same undivided allegiance to the same God in heaven, and to the same monarch upon earth ; and let us be permitted to repeat of our *civil*, what a great man ² said with respect to our *religious* differences, “ touching those main parts of Christian truth, wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly ac-

¹ Appendix, Note A.

² Hooker, iii. 1. 10.

knowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ ; and our hearty prayer to Almighty God is, that being conjoined so far forth with them, they may at the length (if it be His will) so yield to frame and reform themselves, that no distraction remain in any thing, but that we all may, with one heart and one mouth, glorify the Father of our Lord and Saviour, Whose Church we are."

This then being understood, we will first observe in approaching this subject that we are met by certain allegations, which to some appear to have considerable weight.

When we question the wisdom and safety of increasing the grant to the College of Maynooth, we are asked, "Do you recollect the *origin* of that institution? do you remember under what *auspices* it *arose*? do you not forget that it was established by the Parliament of the Irish nation, with the approval, if not with the advice, of Mr. Pitt, and with the sanction of King George III.? And do you then pretend to present yourself before us as if you understood better the interests of the Crown and of the Country, than that Monarch and his distinguished adviser? Are not those, who wish well to the British Empire, heard often to express their desire that it may always have such Sovereigns and Statesmen as those to whom Maynooth owes its existence?"

All this we know well, and we hear and receive it with no dissatisfaction at all. And "what then," it may be asked, "do you allege in reply?"

First of all,—we would say a few words with

regard to that fallibility from which the greatest men are not exempt, and from which only the weakest and worst claim to be free; and that therefore no *opinions* or *examples* of *men*, however excellent, are to have with us the force of *laws*; and we would say next, that though *some* wise and excellent men did approve of the foundation of Maynooth,—for reasons to which we shall presently refer,—and for these reasons, let me add, Mr. Burke¹ mentions such a design *without disapproval*—yet it must not be forgotten, that many *other* great men were of a contrary opinion, *before* the results of Maynooth were matters of history; and that among those who took an active part by petition and remonstrance against the proposed measure, was one whose name is never to be mentioned without veneration, for his intellectual vigour, solid erudition, and masculine courage,—I mean the late Archbishop Magee², who has left on record a statement of his own fears on that subject, before the College was founded, which, alas! like some of his other predictions on another topic of a similar but still more momentous nature, where confident expectations were entertained of the most

¹ Grattan's Life of Grattan, iv. 155. Unless some such college were founded, Mr. Burke says, that his son, Mr. R. Burke, was of opinion "that barbarism and Jacobinism will almost certainly enter by the breach made by the atheistic faction in France, in the destruction of the Irish seminaries in that kingdom."

² Digest of Evidence before Parliament concerning Ireland, 1824, 1825, by Rev. W. Phelan, B.D., and Rev. M. O'Sullivan, 2 vols. 1826; i. 117, 118.

favourable issues, have been signally and lamentably verified¹.

If authorities of this description be further required, it is not irrelevant to advert to the circumstance stated by the late President of Maynooth, Dr. Crotty², that “when Mr. *Perceval* was applied to, in 1809, instead of granting the sum (12,000*l.*) that had been granted to Maynooth the year before, he *lowered* it to what it had been (7000*l.*)”

But we will now maintain that we are not in any way concerned to express an opinion either on one side or the other, with regard to the expediency of the *original foundation* of Maynooth in the year 1795.

We know that the circumstances of that period were full of difficulty and danger. All the Seminaries in France, where the Irish Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics had hitherto been usually educated, were destroyed³; and, even if they had not been so, yet such was the condition of the times, that all loyal and religious principles would have been rooted out of them. Take one specimen of the public opinion prevalent in France at that period with regard to Education. In 1792 Condorcet had come forward with his Report on that subject, before the Legislative Assembly, and, in the words of the historian of Education in France⁴, “il part de deux

¹ Appendix, Note B.

² Maynooth Report, p. 53. See *ibid.* p. 406. By the Act of Union, 39 & 40 Geo. III. cap. 67, art. 8, the average grant for six years previous, to Charitable Institutions, &c., was to be continued to 1821 in such a way as Parliament should direct.

³ See note, p. 8.

⁴ M. de Riancey, tome i. p. 15.

principes audacieusement formulés; *la négation de toute religion et la perfectibilité indéfinie de l'espèce humaine.*" So much then for the *moral* and *religious* part of the subject: now for the civil. In 1793 David presented his Report, on the same topic, to the French Convention, proposing "l'érection sur le Pont-Neuf d'un monument qui représenterait l'image du *Peuple Géant*; les effigies des *Rois* et les débris de leurs vils attributs lui serviraient de piédestal¹;" and, as a close to the whole, the National Assembly, shortly after, decreed², as a necessary qualification for the office of Instructor, in every School, that he should take the Oath "*de haine à la Royauté et d'attachement à la République.*"

It is evident, then, that, at the period of the foundation of Maynooth, Continental Education had become almost unattainable to the future Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics of Ireland, or, if attainable, was only to be had adulterated with atheistical and anarchical principles; and, it must not be forgotten, in addition to this, that it was very reasonable to hope—alas! that this hope (as we shall show) has been so unhappily frustrated,—that *if* education, free from all foreign influences, civil and ecclesiastical, were provided by the *State* for that class of Irish subjects which had hitherto been trained abroad, they would grow up in feelings of patriotism and loyalty, and would be examples, in their own practice, of that submission and obedience to civil authority, which Ministers of the Gospel are specially required,

¹ M. de Riancey, tome i. p. 31.

² Ibid. p. 65.

by the Word of God, to teach ¹, and for the due maintenance of which they are there enjoined to pray².

We repeat, then, that we are by no means concerned to express *any* opinion,—favourable or the reverse,—on the expediency or necessity of the *foundation* of Maynooth in 1795. Nor, if we grant, for argument's sake, that the measure *was then a wise one*, are we, by any means, obliged to allow, that its maintenance is just or prudent at the *present time*. No; on the contrary, if the Institution is shown,—yes, if it even *show itself*,—to have been productive of great injuries to the Monarchy of these realms,—if the annual bounty of the Nation is proved to have been *abused* to purposes injurious to the public peace and welfare,—if these abuses are not in course of rectification, but the reverse, and are difficult to rectify,—then we affirm, let the Institution of Maynooth have been a public *benefit* in 1795, yet it has become, in 1845, a public *calamity*, and ought, we do not hesitate to say, to be treated accordingly. This is no strange doctrine in human affairs. The brazen serpent was erected by Moses at the command of God, but, at a subsequent period, the same unchangeable God did not disapprove of its *destruction* by Hezekiah ³.

The sole question, then, to be considered is this:—*how* has the public money, voted to the maintenance of Maynooth, been spent? to what purposes has it

¹ Tit. iii. 1.

² 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

³ Numbers xxi. 9. 2 Kings xviii. 4.

been applied? what benefits has the country derived, or is likely to derive, from this expenditure? Is there reason to believe, — (this, we say, is the question which the Nation has not only a *right*, but a *duty* to ask,)—that the influence exercised by Maynooth, has been, is, or will be, salutary to the Monarchy, and conducive to the maintenance of its integrity, and to the peace and welfare of the country? Yes; and more than this, is there not great ground for apprehending that its tendency will be to weaken the power, and undermine the stability, of the United Kingdom, and to expose it to danger from *foreign foes*, and not only to enfeeble it by distractions from within, but to render it, also, more vulnerable from *without*?

Still more than all this,—Is, we ask, the evidence of the case of such a kind,—are the *influences* to which Maynooth is subject,—are merely the *political principles* (for of the *religious*, as I have said, I do not now speak) which are inculcated by it of such a character,—are the opinions entertained and expressed of its *results* by persons of the most various conditions of life and political sentiments of so favourable a tone,—as that now, fifty years after its foundation, the English Nation should not only continue the grant which she has hitherto awarded to it, but should come forward and give a fresh mark of her *confidence* in its attachment to the Crown and to the Constitution, and select it as a fit object for special *honour* and *reward* at her hands, and propose

it publicly to the eyes of the empire and the world as an *example* to be *imitated* by institutions of national education, and should afford *additional means* for the *promotion* of the *principles* which it teaches, and for the *aggrandizement* of the *power* to which it is subject, by an *augmentation* of the grant of public money in its behalf?

We have spoken of anticipations entertained concerning it previously to its foundation, and at the period when it arose; and we have also referred to judgments subsequent to its establishment; and we affirm that these latter are infinitely more weighty than the former, just so far as the experience of the past is more sure than surmises concerning the future. We might quote an abundant variety of testimony to the injury inflicted by this institution on the Monarchy to which it owes its origin, and on the Country from which it derives its support; but we content ourselves with barely referring to this testimony given at large in our Appendix¹, and by citing two witnesses alone, who cannot be suspected of unfavourable dispositions toward it. Mr. O'Connell², in his evidence before the House of Commons, in 1825, compared the political character of the priests who were trained in *France* before the foundation of *Maynooth* with that of those who had been educated *at this institution*. "The priests," he said, "who were educated in *France* had a natural abhorrence of the French revolution; *but*, with the

¹ Appendix, Note D.

² Note C.

priests educated at *Maynooth*, the Anti-jacobin feeling is gone by; and therefore, in the phrase *that is usually called loyalty*," (such are his words,) "they do not come so much within the description of it as the priests educated in France." And Mr. Wyse², accounting for the change which has taken place among the Roman Catholic clergy, and for their diminished attachment to the Crown, says very emphatically, "*Maynooth began to be felt.*"

To sum up, then, what we have to say upon this head. We owe it to the experiment of King George the Third and of his Minister, Mr. Pitt, that we are now, or ought to be, wiser in this matter than they were then; and we hold that there is great reason to believe that if they now saw and knew what we see and know of the abuses to which their act has been perverted, they would be the first to condemn us if we should confirm, extend, and perpetuate those abuses by making them the objects of honour, reward, and imitation.

In truth, their act holds out to us a most solemn warning, to hesitate and pause before we expect good results from Romanism, *as long as it remains what it is*; and still more, therefore, before we encourage it even upon the strongest grounds of temporary expediency, if they can be shown to exist. *Maynooth*, let us remember, was founded by the Crown, in order to rescue the Romanist clergy from democratical

² Note D.

principles, and to render them more loyal¹. Its effect has been to make them much less loyal than they were before, and to prepare them to become leaders in a democracy, and to be made the instruments of a foreign power.

Another argument,—one also addressed *ad verecundiam*,—will probably be alleged against us, when we question the expediency of the increase of the grant. Is not (it may be said) this a matter to be left entirely in the hands of the advisers of the Crown? Are not they the best judges of its claims, and the most faithful guardians of its interests? Is it consistent with the deference due to them and their office to interpose in a question to which they will give the most deliberate and careful attention, as its vast importance requires? To which we reply, that it is even a part of the respect which we owe to them, and an evidence of our desire for the honour and welfare of the Sovereign, for which we must believe them to be more zealous than for their own, to submit to them respectfully but frankly, modestly and humbly, but yet fearlessly and confidently, what, after due examination and reflection, seems to us not fit to be concealed either from them or from the world, in a matter of great public interest; and then,

¹ To other unexceptionable testimonies to this effect may be added that of Mr. Grattan. (Life of Grattan, iv. 234.) "As the Catholic Clergy were liable to be affected in their education abroad by Anti-English sentiments, it was thought advisable to adopt this mode of preventing it."

having so done, we feel satisfied that if we have erred, we shall have pardon at their hands; and if we have spoken the truth, we shall receive thanks, and shall obtain from them that attention which truth always deserves.

But to pass on to two other arguments of a different nature, which are alleged in favour of the proposed augmentation.

However we might wish it otherwise, it is, notwithstanding (we are told), an uncontrovertible fact, that a very large majority of the inhabitants of Ireland are Roman Catholics; and this being the case, it is alleged to be the bounden duty of the State to provide education suitable for their clergy, and to *increase* the grant for that purpose *pari passu* with the increase of the population. Their numbers claim this at the hands of the nation; and if the country does not grant it, we know not, it is said, what may be the results; general discontent, disloyalty, civil commotion, bloodshed, these may be the fruits of our obstinacy.

Whatever, therefore, our *desires* may be, thus the argument proceeds, we have no *choice*, we are *compelled* by the *necessities of the case*. And, such being the reasonableness of the claim, and such the emergency, we are further told, that we *need* not *apprehend* that the concession will be attended with danger, to whatever extent it may be made. No, we are asked, why is *England* to *refuse* what is *granted* by so many other nations of Europe? You speak to us

of the peril threatening the State, *as a State*, from the encouragement of Popery, as if Roman Catholic Priests and Bishops could not be loyal subjects; as if there was something peculiar in their character and duties which incapacitated them from discharging the functions of good and faithful citizens; an allegation which we boldly repudiate in their name, and in support of our protest against it, we bid you cast your eyes across the channel on France, and Spain, and Austria, and even on Russia with her Greek Church, and on Lutheran and Calvinistic Prussia, all of whom, as you cannot be ignorant, give public endowments to the support of ecclesiastical establishments of persons of the Romish religion.

To this we answer, that we do not question the fact above stated concerning the population¹ of Ireland. Nor do we pretend to deny that there might be some danger in withdrawing the grant from Maynooth, if that were the question at issue; and we will readily allow that the Roman Catholic Clergy and some of the Laity would welcome an augmentation of it with satisfaction; nay, let us even concede, for a moment, that the rejection by Parliament of the proposal for the increase would be attended with peril, and would excite general discontent, and civil commotion in that part of the community. Let all these be *facts*; and, if they be so, important ones they are. Still, there are, in our

¹ Mr. Leslie Foster states that the Protestant population is to the Roman Catholic as one to a little more than two and a half. Digest, i. 32.

judgment, *other facts* much more certain, and infinitely more important, than these, and indeed paramount to all other considerations.

It is a *fact* (whatever may be alleged to the contrary), that Queen Victoria¹ is the Sovereign of Ireland, and that the inhabitants of that country are her subjects by indefeasible right, which it is the bounden duty of every citizen of the empire to maintain; it is a *fact* also, that the constitution and administration of the College of Maynooth, as it exists at present, and as we shall shortly prove it to exist from Maynooth itself, is directly opposed to the maintenance and exercise of the prerogatives of the Crown; and lastly, whatever may be said of the *prospects* of a civil war to break out *hereafter*, it is certain, by its own showing, that Maynooth is already, and has been for some time, *waging a civil war* of the most dangerous kind with the Monarchy, and is supplying arms in every part of Ireland against it.

Now, if it be the duty of a government to reclaim the erring, to restrain the disorderly, and to punish the rebellious, and if the discharge of this duty becomes more important in proportion as the number is *greater* of those who are likely to fall victims to the delusions of the designing and factious, and if it be the prime duty and noblest function of a government to support the *loyal few*; and the *fewer* they are, the more *need* they have of its support, and the stronger is its obligation (*as it values its own existence*) to support them; then we say, that were the num-

¹ Appendix, Note P.

bers of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland ten times greater than at present, still they would afford no argument to justify the augmentation of the grant of the public money to the education of the Romanist Clergy, if that education is to bear those fruits which, after *fifty years'* trial, and an expenditure of about *half a million* upon it, have been produced by the College of Maynooth. On the contrary, the more numerous those in question were, the more formidable would they be under such influence, and the more urgent would be the duty of the State to diminish its power rather than to promote its aggrandizement.

We do not deny that the governments of France, Austria, and Spain, and those likewise of Russia and of Prussia, afford support to Ecclesiastical institutions of the Roman Catholic Religion. Indeed we might observe, it has not yet been shown what *benefits* they *derive*, in their civil character, from the encouragement of Romanism as such. We have heard, for instance, something recently of collisions at Cologne between the Temporal and Spiritual power, and we have seen in the last year that the same Ecclesiastic, who resisted his Sovereign on the banks of the Rhine, was soon after received by the Pope with marked honour and public collaudation on those of the Tiber.

But we do not pause to inquire further into cases of this description, but proceed to ask, why, if Russia and Prussia, two of the States enumerated, are satisfied that the system of Ecclesiastical polity which

we have established, and are still maintaining in unrestrained liberty and in uncontrolled energy at Maynooth, is inoffensive and innoxious to the public weal, have they taken such pains to *exclude* it? But are not then Roman Catholic Priests and Bishops educated and maintained in Russia and Prussia at the public charge? Doubtless they are; but let us observe under what restrictions they enter upon and exercise their functions. They are bound hand and foot by civil laws; they cannot undertake their office without the approval of the government, and are generally nominated by the Crown; and when appointed to their Ecclesiastical functions they cannot hold *any commerce with Rome except through the medium of the Civil Government*. These things are all in evidence before Parliament, and it is since the foundation of Maynooth that they have been made public; and whatever may have been the case with our predecessors, we at least cannot be excused if we are ignorant of them¹.

But, it may be urged, this is the practice of the Russian and Prussian Governments, both of which are *hostile* to Rome, on account of their religious principles: let us inquire into the usages of those countries who *love her more*, and *know her better*; let us examine what is done in the rest of the specified cases, in *Roman Catholic Countries*, in Spain, in Austria, and France. Here, again, we need only appeal to authentic evidence before Parliament.

¹ Appendix, Note E.

All this has been elaborately detailed in the Report of the Select Committee on the Laws and Ordinances existing in Foreign States, respecting the regulation of their Roman Catholic subjects in Ecclesiastical matters, and their intercourse with the See of Rome, printed by order of Parliament in the years 1814, 1816, and 1817. From this we gather what is the policy, with respect to Rome, of those States who are best acquainted with her and most attached to her¹.

To state briefly their practice, of which a fuller account is here offered in the Appendix²; in none of these countries are Bishops appointed to their places by the Pope, but in all by the Crown: the Oath of the Bishops to the Pope is to be taken in no other sense than that of *canonical obedience*, and not (as in *Ireland*) of *feudal vassalage*; no communication can be held with Rome by the Papal hierarchy without the cognizance of the Civil Power, nor any bull or brief be received and published by them without being previously submitted to the Government, and without the Royal *Placet* and *Exequatur*; so that, on the whole, the late President of Maynooth, Dr. Crotty³, might well say, as he did in 1826, "It is a *general practice*, as far as my knowledge goes, in *Catholic States*, to prohibit the publication of any rescript from the Pope, and in some countries, though these rescripts should contain matters appertaining to *faith*, until the *temporal power* shall have

¹ Note E.

² Note F.

³ Maynooth Report, p. 85.

been first satisfied that there is nothing in such rescripts *derogatory to the rights of the Sovereign*. Such is the practice, as I have been informed (he adds), in *France* and *Spain*, and I know it to be the case in *Portugal* by my own experience."

In all respects, then, the measures taken by these Governments against the exercise of the Papal power in their dominions, are distinguished by as much caution and vigour as they are even in Prussia and in Russia.

Next with regard specially to France—and let me be permitted to lay particular stress on this case—none of the numerous changes which have occurred in the Civil Government of that country during the last hundred years, have led to any alterations in *one* respect, namely, in the determination of the Temporal Power to uphold the *four Articles*¹ of the *Gallican Church*; the first of which asserts the plenary independence and supremacy of the Civil Ruler in temporal matters. We shall see hereafter what has been the fate of these Articles at Maynooth; but in *France*, the Bourbon dynasty, the Republic, the Consulate, the Empire, the Restoration (attached as it was to the Papacy), and lastly, the Orleans dynasty, have *all agreed* in *one* point,—the *necessity of requiring subscription* to these four Articles, on the part of all who are admitted to *teach* in the *Ecclesiastical Seminaries* of the country. And, in addition to this, not

¹ Appendix, Note F.

only was it commanded by Louis the XIVth¹, and his successors, that these Articles should be so subscribed and publicly maintained and taught, and the *contrary* opinions (that is, the *Ultramontane* doctrines concerning civil allegiance,) as publicly *rejected*; but, further, these four Articles were *strengthened* tenfold by the *Concordat* of 1801, and the *Organic Law* of the same year². And yet, be it observed, after all this care and caution,—(whether this result is to be attributed to the non-submission of the Ecclesiastical power to the Civil, or to the encroachment of the Civil on the Ecclesiastical, or rather to the *impossibility* of *reconciling* the *two*, after the admission of the one false principle, (which the *Gallican* Articles did *not* exclude, but which, let Heaven be thanked, is excluded by the Articles of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*,) namely, of the indispensable *necessity* of communion with the Chair of St. Peter, as the One Centre of Unity, (*whatever Rome may be, and whatever she may do*,) it has now come to pass, that at the *present* time the Bishops and Clergy of France are ashamed of nothing so much as of those very Gallican *Liberties* which they now term *servitudes*, for which Bossuet, their redoubted champion against Protestantism, contended all his life through to his death; and of which the Bishop of Angers said, in

¹ Edit du 23 Mars, 1682. See also Arrêt du Conseil du 24 Mai, 1766.

² Dupin, Manuel du Droit Public Ecclésiastique Français, p. 157—228.

his Pastoral Letter to his Clergy in the middle of the last century, "*Ces Vérités seront toujours la marque certaine pour distinguer tout Français fidèle à son Dieu et à son Roi*!"

But let us now turn our eyes to *Ireland*, and to its Roman Catholic hierarchy, whose connexion with, and supreme control over *Maynooth*, will be shown presently. What a contrast is here! So far from receiving the principles (which are the law of France) of the Concordat and Loi Organique of 1801, they do not admit those of the *Gallican Articles*: they reject them; they teach the very opposite of them, those of the Ultramontane School. This is a strong assertion; but it is not made by us without sufficient authority, no other than that of one whom the Bishops of Ireland themselves elected¹ as their organ in the year 1807, the celebrated Dr. Milner, the author of the "*End of Religious Controversy*;" the Apologist, in a word, of Romanism, who declared publicly in 1808, "*that there was not a single Prelate in Ireland who was not firmly resolved to reject the four Articles of the Gallican Church, commonly called the Gallican Liberties*;"² and besides this, not only were they "*resolved to reject them*," but, as Dr. O'Connor, himself a Romanist, informs us, in a Synod assembled at a place

¹ Abbé de la Bastide, p. x. of Preface to Abbé Fleury's *Discours sur les Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, 1765.

² Digest, ii. 214.

³ Appendix, Note G.

called Tullagh, in Ireland, they *did formally reject them* ¹.

Look, then, at the position of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland, as compared with that which it holds in *every other country of Europe*, save in the Papal States, and, we repeat, what a contrast is here! In all those countries,—be they Romanist, or be they not so,—there is agreement in this, that the Romanist Clergy should be under the control of the Civil Power. They hold their appointments, either directly or indirectly, from the Crown. Not a syllable is to be breathed by them into the ears of Rome, except it first enter those of the Government. And every thing *from* that quarter is examined by it with the minute scrutiny of a customhouse, and is fumigated and ventilated with the cautious apprehensiveness of a lazaretto. Now, why all this labour and pains, unworthy of the confidence which ought to be reposed by a Government in the Ministers of Religion,—except from a *knowledge* of what *Rome is*, and from a *fear* of what she *can* and *will do*, in opposition to, and subversion of, the temporal power, and in acts tending to the disorganization of the Civil fabric, wherever she has the means of exercising her influence?

But look again at *Ireland*. There, and there *alone*, is *free trade carried on with Rome*. Her mandates are received without let or hindrance; there is no preventive service (and *Rome will* ² *allow of*

¹ Digest, ii. 106.

² Foreign Report, p. 513. See further below on this point, p. 77.

none) to prohibit their introduction; no quarantine through which they must pass. No canons are enacted by the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland without her permission. And how should it be otherwise? They are all nominees of the Pope, and are bound to him, as we shall see, by oaths of feudal allegiance. They are the *Pope's subjects* and not the *Queen's*. In all other countries the Bishops are appointed by the Crown; but in Ireland, as we are told by the late Dr. Doyle¹ (one of the Trustees of Maynooth), "even if temporalities were attached to Roman Catholic Sees, it would be *inconsistent with the doctrine or discipline* of the Church to admit *any interference* on the part of the *Protestant Sovereign* of this country in the appointments of Bishops."

True, indeed, the Roman Catholic Bishops went so far as to *concede* to the *Crown* the right, not of nomination, but of *Veto* on their appointments, in 1799², but they afterwards repented of that step³; and the process now in use⁴ is, in the election of a Bishop, for the Clergy to choose three names, which are submitted to the Archbishop and Suffragans of his province, and are by them communicated to the Pope, who names one of the number to the vacant see.

To what, then, is reduced the argument from the practice of other European countries, with respect to

¹ Appendix, Note H.

² See Foreign Report, 1814, p. 57.

³ Appendix, Notes I. and D.

⁴ Ireland Education Report, 1835, p. 336.

the innocuousness of that system of ecclesiastical and temporal subordination to a foreign power, which prevails in Ireland, and which is strengthened by Maynooth, to such a degree, that Lord Castlereagh declared, without reserve, that "the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in Ireland is known to be in a state of *more* complete and unqualified dependence on a *foreign* authority, than *any other* Catholic Church now *subsisting in Europe* ¹."

Yes, we add, they are dependent on an authority *different* from that of their lawful Sovereign; and not only are *they dependent* on a *different* power, but on a *foreign* one; and not on a *foreign* power merely, but on a *hostile* one; and not only on a *hostile* one, but a *spiritual* one, which is as much *superior* in their minds to the *civil*, as heaven is higher than earth, and eternity more durable than time.

We have great doubts whether the history of *any* kingdom or country that exists, or has ever existed in the world, affords any encouragement to a State to negotiate and traffic either on spiritual or secular matters with the See or Court of Rome: but of this we are sure, that *as long as Rome is what she is*, and as long as England and Ireland are what they are, *all the countries* which have been cited in *favour* of allowing her to exercise the power (which she now possesses in Ireland) without restraint, and even with approbation and encouragement on our part, will rise up

¹ Butler's Historical Memoirs, ii. 148.

and *condemn us* for our want of prudence and regard to our own peace and that of our posterity, nay, and more than this, even to the best interests of those Roman Catholics themselves, who are the instruments of the system, and who are our fellow-citizens and fellow-subjects; yes, all those very countries themselves will condemn us for our lack of patriotism and loyalty, if we neglect to profit by their experience, and if we exercise *less caution* in this matter than they do, when, from our peculiar circumstances, our *need* of it must be obviously even *greater* than theirs.

I enter more fully into these details, because, as will soon appear, it is impossible to understand the constitution and working of Maynooth without an accurate knowledge and careful consideration of the position of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Ireland, and of the relation in which it stands both to the Pope and to the Crown.

And now let us proceed to examine the claims of Maynooth to public approval and patronage, and to increased national support.

We waive, as was before said, all reference to its *religious* teaching. This has occupied the attention of others. We confine ourselves simply to its *political elements* and *influences*, into which we contend the State is bound to inquire, both on all other accounts and even for the sake of Maynooth itself, of its trustees and its professors, and of its numerous students, and especially of that large population (of

which the Crown is the guardian) which will fall under the teaching, guidance, and superintendence of those who are trained at that Institution, and who pass from its walls *without any interval* of time or any other neutralizing influence whatever¹, to discharge the duties of the priesthood.

Concerning Maynooth, our evidence shall be derived from Maynooth itself, and from those for whom it entertains and expresses the highest respect ; and this being premised, we proceed to consider the objects and constitution of that college.

It is a prevalent notion in England, that, since that seminary is now almost exclusively devoted to the education of the *priesthood*, therefore it is not at liberty to admit students who have no such destination. But this is an error. If its funds should allow, it may hereafter become the *University of Ireland*. Here is one of the most important features of this question. Here, in our opinion, is one of the most formidable elements of its constitution. If Parliament augments its resources, no one can anticipate what the results will be to the British monarchy and nation from that *increase*, and from its consequent extension and aggrandizement in all classes and professions of society. That this is a true

¹ The fact is, they are ordained Sub-Deacons at the end of their first Divinity year, at Maynooth, Deacons at the end of the second, and Priests at the end of the third. Maynooth Report, p. 13 ; and p. 60, " There is an annual ordination (at the College) held by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin."

assertion will be evident to any one who will inspect the two Acts of the Irish Parliament by which it is governed: one entitled, "An Act for the better Education of *Persons* professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion (35 Geo. III. c. 21); and the other, "An Act for the better Government" of the same (40 Geo. III. c. 85). And in the preamble to the Statutes of the college, it is described by the trustees as a seminary in which "*cives nostros Catholicæ Romanæ religionis cultores ad pietatem artesque bonas informari oporteat.*" And, in fact, a '*Lay College*' has already existed as a part of the institution of Maynooth. The whole number of its students destined for the ecclesiastical career amounts usually to about 400¹. And its importance may be estimated from the fact, stated by its late president, that it supplies at least *five-eighths*² of the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland.

In order to understand the real character and tendencies of the establishment, it is necessary to examine not only the *text-books* which it authorizes and employs, but, what is of infinitely greater importance, the condition and obligations of those who *teach* from these text-books; we must inquire, in short, what is the *personal* organization and working of the Institution.

Let it be remembered, then, that the whole Executive of Maynooth is virtually and unreservedly in the hands of the *titular hierarchy of Ireland*. The

¹ Maynooth Report, p. 50. 59. 91. ² Ibid. p. 51. ³ Ibid. p. 51.

Government is vested in *Trustees*, who are¹ a *self-elected body*; no control can be exercised by the Civil Power, either subsequently or antecedently, over their election; and, as its late President Dr. Crotty informs² us, this board of *Trustees* consists “always of *eleven Bishops* and *six Laymen*,” the “*four Archbishops* being always *Trustees*.” Besides the *Trustees* there are indeed seven *Visitors*, four of whom are Judges of the realm; who hold *Visitations* once in three years, but the *general* powers vested in the entire body do not extend to matters connected with religion: all these are left in the hands of the *Roman Catholic Visitors*, who (as in the cases of Dr. Curtis and Dr. Murray) are sometimes *Trustees* as well as *Visitors*. The *Trustees* elect the *Professors*, all of whom, from the foundation to 1826, the year preceding that of the Maynooth Report (with two exceptions), have been Ecclesiastics.

Now, these things being borne in mind, let it also be remembered that the *Bishops* of Ireland are appointed by the *Pope*, that they nominate the *Professors* at Maynooth, that they have supreme control over its doctrine and discipline, that they appoint to all the spiritual cures in their respective dioceses, and that five-eighths of the future *Priests* of Ireland are trained at Maynooth. Let it also be recollected that “the *four Archbishops*” cannot exercise even Episcopal functions, before they receive their *Pallium* from *Rome*³; that all the *Bishops* are bound to the *Pope*, first, by subscription

¹ Maynooth Report, p. 18.

² Ibid. p. 49.

³ Foreign Report, p. 427. See also below, p. 40.

of the Trent Creed and by the Trent oath 'to him as *Priests*; and secondly, by a most solemn one of subjection and fidelity to him as *Bishops*. Thus we have a correct notion of the extent and power of the Papal influence, *through* Maynooth, over Ireland generally, and peculiarly and directly *upon* Maynooth itself. We do not hesitate, then, to affirm, that the mainspring of the machine is no other than the Pope himself. The British Nation pays for Maynooth, and the Pope governs it. And may it not now be justly required, that either the Nation should cease to support, or the Pope cease to rule it? Certainly the question must and will be asked, whether it is fit that in the nineteenth century an *addition* should be made to this tax of *Peterpence*, already levied in Protestant England, for the aggrandizement of the Pope's power in these realms, to the detriment of the British Monarchy?

Maynooth is *called* a *Royal* College, but it is in reality a *Papal* one; and to comprehend its principles we must study the genius of the Papacy when acting in its native character, as it does in Ireland, and upon a country wrested, as it pretends, from its own grasp by those whom it denounces as heretics; and when that country is *Ireland*, which is asserted by Popes¹ (as indeed England also) to stand in a peculiar relation, that of a feudal possession, to the Roman See. To know Maynooth, I say, we must know Rome; and that we may fall into no error in

¹ Maynooth Report, 191. 203. 205, and below, Note P.

our description of her claims, let us set down no other account than that which Rome gives of herself. For the delineation of the Papacy let us borrow the hand of Popes, tracing its features in their own official character, and publishing by their own authority¹ this portraiture to the world, a portraiture standing at this hour, without any softening touches or qualifying shadows, in their own laws, and from generation to generation illustrated and amplified by their own acts.

Let us not, then, be termed unreasonable or uncharitable. We quote from books which the Pope himself *commands*¹ us to receive, and in which he assures us, that however other things may change, he is unchanged and unchangeable. We quote from books¹ which Maynooth honours, and teaches to be honoured by its students: and if, therefore, we are uncharitable to the Pope, it is because we give credence to his assertions with respect to himself; it is because we do not believe him to be false although he is fallible, while the charity of Maynooth towards him (if they reject our assertions) will consist in vindicating him by means of suppositions which make him not only fallible but false.

Let us examine, then, what the Pope promulgates concerning himself. "To be subject to the Bishop of

¹ The Canon Law, printed and published "*jussu Pontificis*," which has a Professor of its own at the College of Maynooth. Report, p. 211. 215. And "*jubemus* (says Greg. XIII. in his preface, A.D. 1582) 'ut omnia diligentissimè retineantur.'"

Rome he declares to be necessary to salvation," and be it observed in proof that this subjection is not, as is pleaded, in *spirituals* only, he asserts in the same edict that the spiritual power can constitute and depose the earthly, assuming to himself the language of God to the prophet¹, "Behold, I have set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant." Witness further the practical proof which he himself gave, and declares in his laws that he has given, that he claims this power to himself. He refers to the act of the Pontiff "who deposed the King of the Franks, and gave his throne to another; and he asserts that the exercise of this power is his own ordinary privilege." Witness, again, the example of that Gregory who deposed the Emperor Henry the Fourth, and of that Innocent who dethroned King John, and of that Paul who attempted to dethrone Henry the Eighth², and of that Pius who pretended to depose Elizabeth³, and who commanded her subjects to rise in rebellion against her.

Lest also these should be said to be extraordinary and irregular acts, Rome has identified herself for ever with them, by canonizing three of these Popes, and by enrolling them amongst her Saints, where they stand at this day. Again; though all times are

¹ Jer. l. 10.

² Bullarium Rom. vi. p. 129.

³ Ibid. vii. p. 99.

the same with her who claims the proud titles of infallible and unchangeable, and therefore what she did five hundred years ago, is, by her own assertion, but an act of yesterday; yet, lest we should think that the assertion of this power lies dormant, be it remembered that she canonized only in the last century him¹ who had anathematized Elizabeth: and, about the same time, as if she were afraid that we should forget, through lapse of time, the acts of Hildebrand, she, even six hundred years after they had been performed, composed a solemn religious service, set forth by one of her Popes², in his honour, in which she claims for him the homage of Saints, because “he resisted the power of the Emperor and deprived him of the Communion of the faithful and of his Crown.” The same Pius the Fifth, who excommunicated, and pretended to depose Elizabeth, inserted fresh anathemas in the bull entitled, “*In Cæna Domini*,” in which the Popes condemn all who restrain the plenitude of their power, and denounce fearful curses and punishments on all Protestants; a bull which, in its sanguinary character, stands among the most tremendous of the Papal edicts; while, further, we have the testimony in writing of a Cardinal³ of the Church of Rome, the Secretary of the Pope, and the promoter of the faith, to a countryman of our own that “this bull,” I quote the Cardinal’s own language, “*is implicitly in vigour in all*

¹ A. D. 1712.

² Benedict XIII. Sept. 25, 1728.

³ Appendix, Note K.

its extension." These words were written only fifty-two years ago.

Again, in their own code of law, the Popes of Rome assert their right "to release subjects from their allegiance," and to "dispense with their oaths;" and what value, therefore, may be set on their oaths of civil allegiance to a temporal sovereign, is thence manifest, since, also, in the same code they affirm that their own power is paramount to the royal, as much as the sun is to the moon: especially do they declare that oaths taken by spiritual persons to laics, from whom they receive no temporalities, (the case of the Irish Titular Bishops, and therefore of the Maynooth Trustees,) are null and void, and that oaths taken to excommunicated persons, and, therefore, to Protestant Sovereigns, by the bull above cited,—(again, the case of the same hierarchy,)—are no oaths, and that no allegiance is to be paid to such persons; that oaths to the prejudice of the See of Rome, (again the case of the said Bishops,) are "not oaths but perjuries;" and that any ecclesiastic who has taken such an oath, "may resist his prince for the sake of the honour of his Church, or his own private advantage."

These are the official declarations of the Popes of Rome in their own laws, which they affirm to be like those of the Medes and Persians; and in order that our assertions, with respect to them, may be verified, we have set them down, one by one, elsewhere¹. And if now it should be alleged that these claims are antiquated and obsolete—allowing, as we gladly

¹ Appendix, Note L.

do, with thankfulness to God, that the *exercise* of them has been made less easy, since the world has had experience of the misery consequent upon it,—(and Heaven forbid that we should incur the guilt, and be even partners in the shame, of giving them new life and energy !) it is by no means through any *change* in the *Papacy* itself that this has become so.

What evidence, we enquire, can be brought of any symptoms of variation there? But we are told, by Bishops of the Church of Rome, and Trustees of Maynooth, that a change *has* taken place. Has she then ceased to be infallible? Is Rome no longer Rome? And if so, why do they, almost at the same moment, point to her (to use their¹ own words) as “like her Divine Founder, yesterday, and to-day, and *always, the same*, until the consummation of all things?” And who are they, that we should believe them, in their *private* opinions concerning Rome, and yet *reject* her own public declarations concerning herself? Has she ever revoked a single word, or cancelled a single iota of her claims? Has she not, as we have seen, re-said, re-written, and re-inforced them continually? Has she not rebuked these her apologists when they have pretended to surrender the direct², and much more the indirect, power of the Pope in temporal matters, and his claim to depose Princes³?

¹ Dr. Doyle's Pastoral Address, 1824.

² Pope Sixtus V. put the work of Cardinal Bellarmine, de Pontifice, into the *Index Expurgatorius* for this reason.

³ Appendix, Note DD.

If *she had* abandoned these claims, would she not have renounced them? and have thus disarmed those Governments of their fears, who now exclude her from their soil, and so have won to herself a readier entrance where, most of all, for her own sake, she desires to penetrate? But even with this strong inducement to abandon them, she still clings to them with unremitting tenacity. And does she not make invidious comparisons between the *changes* of us Protestants and her *own immutability*; between *our concessions to her*, and *her own inflexibility to us*? Will she not therefore receive, with a proud and contemptuous smile, the proposed grant to Maynooth, as a homage from us to the truth of her assertions with respect to her indestructible rights, and as a proof of our desire and need to submit ourselves, at any sacrifice, to her unrelenting power?

Obsolete and antiquated, then, if we will, let these principles be *to us*, they are not obsolete and antiquated *to her*, or *to those* who teach them within the walls of Maynooth; and who recognize in them their own dignity, and who will perceive, or think they perceive, in *our encouragement* of them, the harbingers of their own future triumph, and of the aggrandizement of that power, of which they are the sworn and devoted adherents!

Yes, we say, the functionaries of Maynooth have chosen to enlist themselves in the service of the Pope, and are not the subjects of the Crown; for, in the language of a Roman Catholic Archbishop¹

¹ Archbp. de Marca, Concordia, vi. c. 7.

himself, "the Episcopal Oath to the Pope is that of *fealty*, which a *vassal* is bound to pay to his Lord;" and it cannot be said that these oaths are antiquated or obsolete; every one of the eleven Episcopal Trustees of Maynooth, every Romanist Bishop in Ireland, is a living witness to the contrary.

We have said that every Romanist Bishop, and therefore the eleven Episcopal of the fifteen Trustees of Maynooth, has bound himself to the Bishop of Rome by the most solemn obligation of subjection and obedience; and we now offer proof of this assertion. He is bound, first (as *Priest*), by *oath*, to observe the Tridentine Creed, which, as a late Trustee of Maynooth states, is "the most authentic summary of the Creed of the Roman Catholic Church ¹."

By this oath (which is to be taken by all Ecclesiastics,)—

1. He "vows and swears *true obedience* to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, *the Vicar of Jesus Christ*."
2. He "unhesitatingly receives and professes all things decreed in the *Sacred Canons* and General Councils, especially by the Holy Synod of Trent, and rejects and anathematizes all things contrary thereto."
3. "This true faith, out of which is no salvation, he vows and swears to hold firm to death, and to take care that it be *held* and *taught*, as far as in him lies, by all under his care."

¹ Appendix, Note M. See also Note N.

Such are his obligations as *Priest*; secondly, as *Bishop*, he swears¹,—

1. "To be *faithful and obedient to his Lord* (Dominus), *our Lord the Pope*."
2. "To *consent to nothing* by which any *injury* may be offered to him under any pretence whatever."
3. "To defend and maintain the *Papacy and the Royalties of St. Peter* (saving his order) *against all men*."
4. "To *preserve and increase* the rights, honour, privileges, and authority of *his Lord*."
5. "To *hinder and reveal* any thing *contrary* to the same."
6. "To *observe* the *Canons and Decrees* of the See of Rome, and *cause* them to be observed with all his might."

Such are the obligations under which the Episcopal Trustees of Maynooth lie.

It will here probably be alleged, that the oath of these titular bishops is restrained by a clause, which, by permission of the Pope, was added to it in 1791, and that after having been given over by the above oath, as vassals to the Pope, they are suddenly recovered to the Crown, by the words at its close, as

¹ Pontificale Romanum, printed at Rome, ed. 1818, p. 63. The same Pontifical, p. 87, orders that no *Archbishop*, and therefore not one of the four titular Archbishops of Ireland, (all Trustees of Maynooth, see above, p. 31,) shall exercise any function of their Order, such as ordaining Priests, &c., before they receive the *Pallium* from Rome. See also Foreign Report, p. 427, concerning the *Pall* and oath of Irish *Archbishops*.

follows:—"All and every one of these things I will observe the *more inviolably*, as being certain that nothing is contained in them which can interfere with the fidelity due from me to the Most Serene Queen of Great Britain and Ireland."

Would to Heaven that there were any such retrieving power in this clause! but I fear the fisherman of the Vatican has too strong a hook to allow his prey to be wrested from him by such a feeble jerk as this. First of all it is to be remembered that, as we learn from the Cardinal Prefect Antonelli's Letter¹, dated Rome, 23rd June, 1791, to Dr. Troy and "the Lords Archbishops of the Kingdom of Ireland," "*His Holiness* the Pope *graciously condescended*" to allow the Bishops to comply with this *addition* to the oath, at "their² humble request," and by "permission from his Holiness," at a season when Rome had much to hope from England, which she has now gained; and that they had been waiting as it were in the antechamber of the Vatican, till it should please their Sovereign Lord the Pope to give them leave to signify their attachment to the Crown; and that therefore, even in *professing* themselves the *Queen's subjects*, they *are* in fact the *Pope's servants*: and they know full well, for he has publicly told them in his own Laws (as we have shown) what *his* opinion of the value of oaths of his ecclesiastics to lay heretics is; and, if any case should arise where the Pontifical

¹ Foreign Report, p. 427.

² Ibid. p. 427, 428.

interest should clash with the Royal, they know that it has been already ruled there by the Pope, that "oaths to the prejudice of the Church are perjuries, and not oaths;" and they know also that the same power which gave them leave to take the oath with this addition, can dispense with the addition, whenever he pleases, and absolve them from all its consequences.

We observe, also, that whatever effect this additional clause might have on the oath taken by them as *Bishops*, it can have none on that by which they have been long since bound to the Pope as *Priests*; next we say, that the Pope "was graciously pleased" to *permit* the *Bishops* to consent to this addition to the oath, but that he has never *permitted himself* to unsay a single clause of it or of any other oath or statute, which regards their allegiance to him; and that (by a mode of reasoning, of which we shall give specimens hereafter,) the addition of this clause is in fact a *ratification* and *confirmation* of the oath, even on the part of the *civil power*; for the *addition*, to which the civil power was a party, implies its *cognizance* and *approval* of *that* to which the addition was made. The addition, *to be made*, indicated defect; but *when made*, it argues perfectness.

And, lastly, to examine the addition itself. The only obligation it imposes is to keep all the preceding part *more inviolably* (a somewhat ill-omened phrase,

as if there could be *degrees in inviolability*), “because the party taking the oath is certain that there is nothing in the oath which interferes with the allegiance due (*fidelitas debita*) from him to the Sovereign.” Here we observe, that, what the nature and extent of the allegiance due from the Bishops to the *Pope* is, we know; for the *Pope* has told us; and it is declared fully in the body of the Oath, in which they swear that they will maintain his interests “*against all men* ;” but of the *nature* and *degrees* of allegiance which they think due to the *Sovereign*, we know only this, that the measure of all their possible allegiance is already filled up to overflowing in what the *Pope* orders them to pay *to him*, and which they have just *sworn* to pay *him*, and that they have *no surplus at their disposal* ; and so, the vessel of allegiance being *full*, this clause is a mere bubble on the surface, which a child’s breath can blow away.

Further, they will plead that the civil power, having shown its cognizance of, and concession to, these their prior and paramount obligations, has at least *acquiesced* in this disposal of duty ; and that, whether it does so or no, it would, they will affirm, be preposterous, if the *addition* were not to be construed with, and made conformable and subordinate to, the whole tenour and substance of the oath, and not the tenour and substance be made to bend to the addition. No ; the tail must follow the body, and not lead it ; according to the *Pope’s* own maxims, “*Qui prior tempore, potior jure* ;” and “*In obscuris,*

quod est verisimilius, eligendum ;” and again, “*Utile non debet per inutile vitiari*¹.”

The only effect then of the addition (as might have been expected from a clause sanctioned by the Pope) is to *strengthen* the Oath ; or, in its own words, to render it “*more inviolable*².”

And, may it not now be inquired, by the way,—if we, a Protestant People, (being fully aware, as we are or ought to be, of these circumstances,) are induced to afford additional honour, power, and encouragement to those who are so bound, and whom *we know* to be so bound,—do we not, in fact, give our voices and our money to endow and aggrandize the Papacy, to the subversion of the honours and rights of our beloved Sovereign, and to the destruction of our own peace?—But more of this presently.

It may, however, be said, that it being true that this clause may be overruled by such considerations as these, and become void and nugatory, yet that an absolute and independent Oath of Allegiance to the Crown is taken by the Trustees of Maynooth, according to the provisions of the Act of Foundation (35 Geo. III. c. 21, sect. 8), and that in this Oath (13 and 14 Geo. III. c. 35,) they have sworn,—

1. “To bear *true allegiance* to their most gracious *Sovereign*.”
2. To do their utmost endeavours to *disclose* and make known to him all *treasons* and traitor-

¹ Regulæ Juris (Jus Canonicum, cap. v. tit. xii. in sexto).

² Appendix, Note O.

ous conspiracies that may be formed *against him*.

3. That they *renounce, reject, and abjure* the *opinion* that Princes *excommunicated* by the Pope may be *deposed* or murdered by their subjects.
4. That they do *not* believe that the *Pope* hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil *jurisdiction*, directly or indirectly, within this *realm* :
5. And that they make this declaration without any mental *reservation* or *dispensation* granted by the Pope ;
6. And without *thinking* that they are or can be *absolved* of this declaration, although the Pope shall dispense with this declaration, or declare that it was void from the beginning."

These are indeed most solemn engagements : they are of so awful and sacred a character that we cannot speak or think of the condition of those who make them without feelings of the deepest commiseration, and without prayers to Almighty God, that they may, in His own good time, be delivered from that fearful conflict of conscience and painful agony of spirit, by which they must even be torn and rent asunder, if they consider under what solemn obligations, of a different and opposite kind, they already lie, when these other oaths and protestations proceed out of their mouths. But, however this may be, still we, as Christians, as their brethren, have a duty of charity to perform ; the duty, I mean, of not plung-

ing them deeper in the abyss, and suffocating them in the waves of perplexity into which they are already entered ; the duty of not adding to their misery, by telling them that they are in a safe harbour and in calm waters ; and of not aiding to drown them by loading them with our approval and encouragement, and by speaking peace to them, when they are in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity.

We make little or no doubt that for thus speaking we shall, by some, be called uncharitable ; let it be so. If we are doing a *work* of charity, it matters little what *name* it bears ; and therefore we earnestly remind these our fellow-countrymen and fellow-Christians, that when they are about to take these oaths, they are going to affirm concerning the Pope things diametrically opposite, as they well know, to what the Pope has declared concerning himself. And are we, then, uncharitable if we *believe him* who is unchangeable, and out of whose communion, as they assert, there is no salvation ? Are we uncharitable when we believe *their own* other solemn and prior assertions that they “ will observe all his canons and decrees,” and “ cause them to be observed by others ?” Are we uncharitable if we believed them when they swore “ that they would maintain his rights and prerogatives against all men ?” Does he not claim the power of deposing kings, of dispensing with oaths, of absolving from allegiance, as his own rights and prerogatives ? They know that he does. If, then, we *are* uncharitable, *they themselves* have made us so.

Do we do them injustice when we declare them to be what they themselves have proved themselves to be by their own oaths, viz., under a prior paramount obligation to the Pope of the most solemn kind? Rather are *they* not *uncharitable to themselves*, for *being* in fact, by their own deed, what *we* only *affirm* from their words they must be? They ask us, Do you pretend that after we have taken this oath of civil allegiance, we can be false to the Crown?—do you impute to us treachery and perfidy? But we ask them, Are we, then, to think that you can be false to the *Pope*,—to him whose sworn vassals you are,—to him who can make you martyrs, and canonize you as Saints,—to him who can release you from all oaths but those which you take to himself? Are we to think that you consider an Act of Parliament of yesterday to be of equal force with your canons of councils of five hundred years' standing? But you reply, that you swear in the oath of allegiance, that you do not *think* (a somewhat dubious and feeble term in so great a matter) that the Pope can release you from your oaths; but if you *do believe* in your heart that the Pope *can* release you (for which you have the Pope's own authority,—into whose will all your wills are to be resolved,)—are we uncharitable if we think that you believe that he can release you from *this* oath also? You swear, indeed, that you do not believe that you can be absolved from your oath of civil allegiance, but you know that the Pope has declared all oaths taken to heretics by his eccle-

siastics to be null and void ; and that all oaths to the prejudice of Rome are perjuries. Are we, then, uncharitable if we think that you believe the Pope, who has cancelled all such oaths ? and that therefore you believe that your own assertion that they are not null, has been already cancelled, as if it was never made ?

But again, supposing you really to believe, as you swear in the oath of civil allegiance that you do, that the Pope possesses no such power of deposition and dispensation, then we say to you, Are we uncharitable if we wish you to be delivered from your subjection to that power which assumes those high and (as you must now think them) monstrous claims of which you condemn and denounce the assumption ? Are we doing you an injury, if we labour to deliver you from your hard and unholy bondage to it ? Are we guilty of hatred towards you if we are not willing to *rivet your chains* ?

And, still more, if the Pope himself, as you sometimes plead, does not *now* any longer pretend to the right of deposing kings, and of dispensing with oaths of allegiance, particularly to heretical princes, and to those who lie under the ban of excommunication, then we say, What a hard master is it your miserable lot to serve ! how cruel and tyrannical to his own children and to his devoted vassals is he who calls himself the Father of the Faithful and the Vicar of Christ, since he allows them to lie in such distress and perplexity of conscience, and under the suspicion of the guilt of treachery and perjury, from which he

might clear them by one slight movement of his pen, or by a single sentence from his mouth !

Accuse not, therefore, *us* of uncharitableness ; but accuse *him*. The fault lies not with us ; it lies with *him* who permits the world at large to remain in a grievous error (*if* error it be) with respect to himself, which has caused, and (unless God's mercy should interfere to prevent it) will continue to cause, endless strife and misery, and anarchy, and confusion, and bloodshed in the world ; from all which, both past and future, if he had vouchsafed, or would vouchsafe, to utter a single syllable, he might have preserved us.

But we allow that we ourselves are far from being innocent in this matter. We know that we are guilty of folly and even of sin in supposing that when called to take the Oath of Allegiance, as Trustees of Maynooth, the titular Bishops of Ireland are free men. We know their prior obligations, and we are not ignorant of their opinion with respect to them. Our greatest *charity* would be, to look upon them and to treat them as what they are, subjects and vassals of the Pope ; to remember that *they themselves have made their choice* which master they will serve ; and as *long as they are* such as *they have made themselves*, it is as impossible for the Crown to procure from them the allegiance due from subjects to itself, as it was for Esau to obtain from his father the blessing of the birth-right, after it had been given to Jacob. This, I say, would have been our true wis-

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dom, and honesty, and charity; and whatever we do in opposition to this principle, must be to violate the rights of conscience and the laws of God.

We have indeed cause to take no little share of the guilt to ourselves, which leads to reasoning of the following kind, which we know is not uncommon with the Titular Bishops, with respect to the Oath of Allegiance. The Trustee of Maynooth when called upon to take that oath, knows well that the State *cannot* be, or *if* it is, *ought* not to be, *ignorant* of his *former engagements* to *another paramount power*; and therefore must be aware that he will *construe* the Oath of Allegiance with reference and in subordination to his prior obligation to the Papal authority, and that all the clauses of this subsequent oath will be made conformable and secondary to the previous one. And to cite an instance of this mode of interpretation,—One of the clauses of the Oath of Allegiance to be taken by the Trustees, as has been before stated ¹, is that they will do their utmost endeavour to *disclose* to the Sovereign all *treasons* against her. Now one of the late Trustees of Maynooth ², Dr. Doyle, being asked, in a Committee of the House of Lords, “whether this clause obliged him to discover any treason against the Sovereign, with which he might have become acquainted in *Confession*,” replied, “*No*.” And mark the reason which he gave: “*As* our rite of *Confession*,” he said, “*is known* to the *laws*, and our

¹ Page 43.

² Appendix, Note Q.

doctrines with respect to it (as to inviolable secrecy) are universally *acknowledged* to exist in our Church," therefore this clause does not oblige us to do so. The Oath of Civil Allegiance is then, we see, according to the Bishop's theory, to be construed with, and made subordinate to, "the *Roman doctrine* with respect to *Confession*;" and why? "*because this doctrine is known to the laws.*"

Now we venture to say that the claim of the Pope to *dispense with oaths*, to *absolve from allegiance*, and to *dethrone kings* is infinitely better "*known to the laws*," in this sense of the term,—and the Pope has taken care that it should be so, both by his words and deeds,—than the Roman doctrine with regard to *Confession*. The Oath of Allegiance, therefore, according to this theory, is to be construed together with these claims of Rome, and the State being cognizant of them, cannot complain that civil allegiance is not paid to it; or, if it *does* complain, the fault lies with itself, not with Rome; for as the Romish maxims declare "*Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur*;" and, "*Scienti et consentienti (and we may add, if we augment the grant to Maynooth, honore et stipendio ampliore afficienti,) non fit dolus neque injuria* ¹."

And not to rest even here, what do the *Maynooth Professors themselves* (they who have sworn in this oath, that the Pope has no dispensing power, and

¹ Jus Canonicum, p. 1048. Regulæ Juris XXVII. Appendix, Note R.

that they cannot be absolved from their oaths of allegiance,) what do they *teach* on this subject? It is well known that the two works, one on Moral the other on Dogmatic Theology, which are the text-books at Maynooth, and are in the hands of all the students, are those of Bailly and De la Hogue¹, the latter of whom was Professor of both Moral and Dogmatic Theology at that College. Also, Dr. Mc Hale (now Titular Archbishop of Tuam and a Trustee of Maynooth), and Dr. Anglade², occupied the place of Professors of those sciences, in the same seminary, and had, therefore, taken the Oath of Allegiance, the one having been a Professor, from 1802, for upwards of twenty years, the other from 1820 to 1825. And now, we ask, what do these *Books* and *Professors* teach with regard to the dispensing power? In Bailly's Moral Theology, page 119, are *seven causes* stated as excusing from the obligation of an oath, and five causes as taking it away altogether. One of the *excusing causes* (*causæ excusantes*) is, the hindrance of a *greater good opposed to the thing sworn*. The following question being proposed to Dr. Anglade³ by the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry, "*Who* is to be the *judge* of the greater good?" he replied, "If it is on a religious matter *the Ecclesiastical Superior*." And one of the *causæ tollentes* alleged by Bailly, being the cancelling of the oath by the party to whom the

¹ Appendix, Note S.

² Maynooth Report, p. 1. 76.

³ Maynooth Report, p. 159—164.

person swearing, or the matter of the oath sworn, is subject, the same Professor being interrogated, allows that "it is not possible for an oath to bind to the detriment of a third person."

And now to proceed to Dr. Mc Hale¹. It is laid down in Bailly's Class Book, p. 140, that there is in the Church a power of absolving from oaths, and this power is founded on Matthew xviii. 18: "*Quæcunque solveritis in terris,*" &c. "Do you," was the question to Dr. Mc Hale, "attach that meaning to the word *solveritis*?" "Yes," was the reply; "I think it may be susceptible of the meaning of *dispensing with oaths.*"

"We find it laid down in page 145 of that Class Book, (rejoined the Commissioners of Enquiry to whom the public is greatly indebted,) that the following are just causes of dispensation, viz.

1. Honour of God. 2. The Utility of the Church. 3. The common good of the Republic. 4. The common good of Society;"

"Who then is to be judge of what the *Utility of the Church* may require?"

"The *Superiors of the Church,*" was Dr. Mc Hale's reply.

"When you say that the Church has the power of dispensing with oaths, do not you mean the Superiors of the Church, and *particularly the Pope*?"

"The Pope and the Bishops," was the answer.

"In some cases the Bishops?"

"Yes."

¹ Appendix, Note T.

“But in all the Pope?”

“Yes; that is in those cases in which they are dispensable¹.”

I think it may be very fairly concluded on the whole, after the declarations of the Pope concerning his own powers,—after the oath which the Bishops have taken to him, after the specimens we have seen of the application of the principle of *constructive interpretation*, and of the professorial teaching at Maynooth by those who have taken the oath to the Civil Power, who were appointed to their offices by the Trustees, and of the language of the Class Books which they employ,—that as long as the Trustees of Maynooth, who are *hands* of the *Pope*, remain connected with, and subject, as they now are, to him, and as long as the locks of the dispensing and absolving power of their *Head* remain unshorn, *so long all* the Oaths of Civil Allegiance that ever have been, or ever can be, devised, are as weak and powerless to bind them as the green withs in the hands of Samson.

Bearing in mind now, as we have said, that the Titular Bishops of Ireland are appointed to their sees by the Pope, and are bound to him by the solemn obligations which we have specified, and that the appointments of the Instructors at Maynooth are in the hands of the Trustees, (eleven of whom, out of fifteen, are Titular Bishops,) and that they are *a self-*

¹ Maynooth Report, 283, 284. 286.

electd body, and that Maynooth educates *five-eighths* of the Roman Catholic Clergy, even at *this* time, and that *all* the Roman Catholic Priests of Ireland are appointed to their Cures by the Bishops, we may now form some fair and reasonable estimate of the power which the Pope exercises *at present* over *Ireland through Maynooth*, and make some tolerable conjecture as to the *addition* which we shall give to his power *hereafter*, if by an *augmentation* of the annual grant we afford increased encouragement and influence to that seminary.

May we not almost say, that if King James the First had given an order for a supply from the *Government Ordnance stores*, of a cargo of some additional barrels of gunpowder to Guy Fawkes and his associates, with an Order of Council, under the royal sign manual, requiring them to deposit them carefully under the Houses of Parliament, and had made a point of going down to the House, accompanied by his royal family and the court, on the day agreed on between himself and the conspirators, and of taking his position on the throne at the hour preconcerted for the explosion, he would *have* done very much that which the country *will* do, *if* it should unhappily be persuaded to augment the grant of its own money to Maynooth?

But to resume our examination of the political teaching of Maynooth. The first of the four Gallican Articles affirms, as we have seen, the complete independence of the Civil Power in temporal matters.

“Les Rois et les Princes (are its words), quant au temporel, ne sont soumis par l'ordre de Dieu à aucune Puissance Ecclésiastique, et ne peuvent directement ni indirectement être déposés par l'autorité des Clefs, ni leurs sujets être dispensés de l'obéissance, ou absous du serment de fidélité.” Let us see what has been the fate of these Articles at Maynooth ; and we shall then be able to form a correct judgment of its services to the State, and of its claims to be selected for remuneration, honour, encouragement and aggrandizement, from the Country.

Since the relation of the Trustees of Maynooth to the Pope is such as it has been shown to be ; since the Popes have ever vehemently opposed the doctrine of the Gallican Articles, from the time of Innocent XIth, in whose pontificate they were published ; since that Pope addressed two briefs, in terms of the most distinguished approval and collaudation, to Rocaberti, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, who published an elaborate treatise (in three volumes folio), on the Authority of the Pope, in 1691, at Valencia, in direct opposition to the Gallican Articles of 1682, in which work Rocaberti denounces “ as *impious, heretical, and schismatical*, the *doctrine of the independence of Kings in temporalities* ;” and since these eulogistic briefs of the Pope are prefixed to the work of Rocaberti¹ ; since also, as we have seen, Dr. Milner (the accredited organ of the Irish titular hierarchy in

¹ Dupin's Manuel, p. xx.

their proceedings with the Government concerning the *Veto* ¹), declared that there was "not one of the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland who was not resolved to *reject* the Gallican Articles;" and since they *did* formally reject them ², it seems reasonable, *à priori*, to presume that the persons appointed by them to fill the professorial chairs at Maynooth, would not be devoted adherents of the British Protestant Monarchy, inasmuch as their electors reject the Articles which Bossuet and his brother Prelates, attached as they were to Rome, thought necessary for the security of the Gallican throne, and which every Government in France, from that day to this, has ordered to be subscribed and maintained by every Professor in the Roman Catholic Seminaries of that country.

But it may be asked, Do not the Statutes of Maynooth require that these doctrines should be there taught? Certainly, by implication, they do. "Let the Professor of *Dogmatic Theology*," they say, "strenuously exert himself to impress on his class, that the allegiance, which they owe to the Sovereign, cannot be relaxed or annulled by any authority whatever ³."

But here, alas! I am afraid we have another instance of the futility of all such provisions and expedients, when the interests of the Papal authority are concerned. The Statutes of Maynooth do, in-

¹ Digest, ii. 214.

² See above, p. 24.

³ Chap. v. art. 3.

deed, give the directions above cited ; but attached to those Statutes, which were *framed in 1800*¹, is a rescript from the Propaganda at Rome to the Trustees of Maynooth, dated July, 1796, the year after the foundation of the College, but *four years before* the statutes existed, in which the Congregation of the Propaganda warns them against "*admitting any persons* into their collegiate body, who, induced by a false show of zeal, might think themselves at liberty to *soften down* the sacred dogmas (*emollire sacra dogmata*) and the consecrated language of those dogmas, with a view of alluring divided sects, and of conciliating them into harmony with Catholics;" to which admonition the Trustees reply, that "they are grieved from their heart (*se ingemiscere*) that there should be any, who call themselves Catholics, who, beguiled by a false show of piety or intelligence, *attempt to soften down* any language sanctioned by the Church of Christ;" and they assure the Propaganda that "they have received this rule of thinking and speaking from their own ancestors, than whom," they add, "no men were ever more zealous in recognizing and maintaining the *supreme divinely instituted* jurisdiction and authority of the *Roman Pontiff* over all the faithful of Christ;" and they conclude with affixing their names to this document, with the assumed episcopal titles of the cities of Ireland, which they claim for themselves as their respective sees ; and they publish this reply to

¹ Report, p. 45.

the world to the above rescript, which, in their own language, is “of prime importance to the ecclesiastical republic of Ireland.” (“Cum Reipublicæ Ecclesiasticæ in Hiberniâ *plurimum intersit.*”) Such is the first specimen which they gave of the allegiance which they had sworn to bear to the Crown; and which also (be it observed), they enjoin others to maintain: for, let it be remembered, that the *very same* Trustees, who received the above letter from the Propaganda, and who replied to it in the above terms, were also (as the preamble shows) the framers of the Statutes of Maynooth.

But to trace the evidence, with respect to their political teaching, to a lower point in its process of development:—

On the 20th of October, 1826, Dr. Crotty, then President of Maynooth, stated in evidence, afterwards revised and corrected by himself¹, before the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry², that the principles of Maynooth, concerning the Gallican Articles, were the same as those taught in the College at Lisbon, at which he was educated, and that the sense of that College was decidedly *against the ultramontane opinions*, and that all the four and therefore the *first* of the Gallican Articles,—that of which we are now speaking, concerning allegiance,—

¹ The evidence of the witnesses before the Commission of Irish Education Enquiry was in all cases subsequently revised and corrected by themselves. See Report, p. 322. 359.

² Maynooth Report, p. 79.

“were assented to *ex corde* and *ex animo* at *Maynooth*¹.”

Now the reader will observe, that in the statutes it is declared to be the special office of the Professor of *dogmatic theology*², “to exert himself to impress on his class, that the allegiance which they owe to the Sovereign cannot be annulled or relaxed by any authority whatsoever.”

During the presidency of Dr. Crotty, who was elected to his office in the year 1813 in the room of Dr. Murray, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, and was president in 1826 when he gave the above evidence, the Professor of Dogmatic Theology was Dr. Mc Hale, who was Dr. De la Hogue’s *locum-tenens* in the Professorship from 1814, and succeeded him in it in 1820, and remained Professor of Dogmatic Theology till 1825, so that he held that office during almost the *whole of Dr. Crotty’s presidency*. And what is *his* testimony on this subject of the Gallican Articles? Let us hear Dr. Mc Hale himself. He was examined on Nov. 7th, 1826, only about three weeks after Dr. Crotty, and he thus witnesses with respect to the teaching of Maynooth concerning the Gallican Articles and civil allegiance.

“Having no motive to be attached either to the one or the other opinion, we have *neither* taught the *ultramontane* doctrine, *nor* the *liberties* of the *Gallican Church*. I should also say, that the introduction of all the propositions of the Gallican Church

¹ Maynooth Report, p. 79.

² Chap. v. art. 3. See above, p. 57.

would seem to me to lessen the salutary influence of the Roman Pontiff, which we consider necessary for the interests of religion."

"I can state that the ultramontane opinions were not taught in the College of Maynooth. These opinions would be quite, in our conception, destructive of that allegiance which we owe to our gracious Sovereign : but, at the same time that I state that the ultramontane opinions were not taught in the College of Maynooth, I wish *distinctly* to declare *that we did not adopt what are generally called the opinions of the Gallican Church*, contained in the four propositions of 1682, which are connected with the Gallican liberties. The opinions of the ultramontanes would seem to us to be destructive of the authority of kings ; and the other opinions, if pressed to the consequences of which they seem to be susceptible, would appear also to be *subversive of the due independence of the Church* ¹."

I will offer no comment upon this evidence of Dr. Mc Hale, when contrasted with that of Dr. Crotty, but will only observe, that it does not strengthen the confidence which we should be glad to repose in the oaths of allegiance which are taken by the officers of Maynooth, and which are so frequently presented to us as infallible pledges of their loyalty, and as assurances of those beneficial results which the country derives, and will continue to derive, from their teaching.

But to proceed still further in the chain of evidence on this subject.

Dr. Murray, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, both a Trustee and Visitor of the College, was President of Maynooth in 1812, and being asked whether

¹ Maynooth Report, p. 317.

"Mr. Kenney was not Vice-President of Maynooth during the year that he was President?", "Yes," he replied, "I was so happy as to have been able to procure his valuable assistance during part of that time¹." Mr. Kenney informs us that his duties at Maynooth were "to be the *representative of the President* when he *was absent*, (which appears to have been not unfrequently the case with the President, he being Coadjutor Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin at that time,) and to assist him in the general government of the house." And such indeed are declared to be the functions of the Vice-President, in the third chapter of the Statutes of the College. Mr. Kenney being asked where he was educated, replied, that he studied in *Palermo*²; and being requested to state, "whether the education given in *Palermo* is the same or materially different from that of *Maynooth*," he answered, on Dec. 7th, 1826, about seven weeks after the evidence of Dr. Crotty, that "*all the principles of faith and morals are precisely the same*." We have just heard from Dr. Crotty that they were precisely the same as those of *Lisbon*, which he assured us was "*decidedly against ultramontane opinions*," and now they are identical with those of *Palermo*. What then were the principles of the College of *Palermo*? and what was Mr. Kenney himself, whose services the President, Dr. Murray, tells us he "was so happy as to have been able to procure"

¹ Maynooth Report, p. 381.

² Ibid. p. 382.

³ Ibid. p. 382.

as his own colleague in governing Maynooth, and as his own representative as Head of the College in his absence? The Rev. Mr. Mc Nally, Professor of Logic at Maynooth, who was examined about six weeks before Mr. Kenney, being asked to enumerate the names of those who had been Vice-Presidents of the College during his time, mentions Mr. Kenney among them¹. "Do you know," he was asked, "where Mr. Kenney is at present?" "He is at the establishment of Clongowes. He came to Maynooth with his Grace Dr. Murray, who was then President of the College: it was Dr. Murray's wish to have him on account of the high opinion he entertained of his talents and of his piety²." "Was it supposed," Mr. Mc Nally is asked, "at the time he was Vice-President, that he belonged to any particular *religious society*?" "It was supposed," is the answer, "that he was of the *Order of Jesuits*³." But to return now to Mr. Kenney's own evidence. He informs us that he was educated at the College of *Palermo*. "And was the College of Palermo at that period under the care of the Jesuits?" "Yes," is the answer, "my studies were performed in that college, which was a *College of Jesuits*⁴." "Do you belong to the Order of the Jesuits?" "I am a Jesuit," is the answer. It being inquired what *rank* he held in the Order of Jesuits, when he was Vice-President, "I was then," he says, "a Priest of the Order," and

¹ Maynooth Report, p. 142.

² Ibid. p. 142.

³ Ibid. p. 143.

⁴ Ibid. p. 383.

having described what the gradations in the Order are, namely, those of General, Provincial, and Local Superiors, and being requested to specify *his own rank* in the Order, he tells us that he holds the *highest place*, that of Local Superior (for there is no Provincial), in Ireland¹."

And now to say one word respecting the Institution of Clongowes, concerning which Mr. McNally has spoken. We are informed by the same witness that Mr. Kenney was its *founder*, and that he quitted Maynooth to *superintend* it. Still, however, his intercourse with Maynooth did not cease, as might be expected; for Clongowes is *only six miles from it*. As Mr. Kenney himself informs us² "he revisited Maynooth from time to time, to conduct the Spiritual Retreats³," as they are termed, "of the students in that college." "He also," says Mr. McNally, "composed Meditations, which were read for the students at their morning and evening devotions and this extended to *all the students in the college*."

Mr. William Rogers, a late student at Clongowes and who was transferred from that school to Maynooth, being asked how many Professors there were at Clongowes, says that they "were about ten⁴." And in reply to another question, answers "that the opinion among the students was, that they belonged to

¹ Maynooth Report, p. 394, 395. See also Appendix, Note U.

² Ibid. p. 143.

³ Ibid. p. 382, 383.

[⁴ See below, p. 92, the extract from the Quarterly Review.—I add this reference in this new edition.]

⁵ Ibid. p. 436.

a particular Religious Order:" and then ensues the following series of interrogations and replies.

"All the ten?"—"Whatever Superiors were there, the number was about ten."

"That Order was the Society of Jesus?"—"We supposed them to be Jesuits."

"Was it merely Mr. Kenney who belonged to that order, or were he and all *his assistants*, Jesuits?"—"We understood that the Superiors, who were there, were attached in one way or other to the order of Jesuits. . . . It was an understood thing between us that they were Jesuits¹."

"Was there any sodality or confraternity established among the young men at *Clongowes*?"—"There was."

"Will you mention the name of it?"—"The *Sodality of the Blessed Virgin*."

"Did you belong to it?"—"I did."

"Is there any sodality established at *Maynooth* amongst the young men?"—"There is."

"Will you name it?"—"The Sodality of the *Sacred Heart*."

"Do you belong to it?"—"I do."

Mr. Kenney denies the truth of the assertion of Scipio de Ricci, late Bishop of Pistoia: "Personne n'ignore combien de machinations les *Jésuites* ont mis en œuvre pour se rétablir en corps de société. Ils ont cru que le culte *du sacré cœur* était ce qu'il y avait de plus propre à servir de centre et de point de réunion;" but we are told by Mr. Coyne, the publisher to Maynooth, that he "has heard² that the

¹ Dr. Crotty, the late President of Maynooth, confirms this assertion, *ibid.* p. 92.

² Maynooth Report, p. 444.

Jesuits approve more of the doctrine of the Devotions of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, than any other body of the Roman Catholic Clergy;" and in the edition of these Devotions¹, published by the Stationer of Maynooth, with the approbation of Dr. Murray, the late President, *a daily Commemoration is recommended of the Founder of the Order of Jesuits.*

One word more on this same topic. We are informed by another Vice-President of Maynooth², Mr. Montague, that there is one Commentary on Holy Scriptures, "which all the students are obliged to peruse the first year for themselves;" and *one only*, that of *Menochius*³. And what countryman was Menochius? "He was an Italian, born in the sixteenth century." But one of the late students, Mr. Dixon, goes a little further, and tells us, "The Commentary on Scripture selected by the College is by a *Jesuit*⁴."

So that, at last,—to sum up the evidence, as here produced, on the political teaching at Maynooth, concerning the independence of the Crown, and the nature of Civil allegiance, and of the influence to which the College is subject;—when we commence

¹ See p. 128 of the Devotions, 5th edit. Dublin, published by P. Blenkinsop, Stationer to the Royal College of Maynooth, "with the approbation of the Most Rev. Dr. Murray." "For the more effectual prevailing with St. Francis Xaverius, it will be convenient *every day* to make a special commemoration of St. Ignatius of Loyola."

² Ibid. p. 108.

³ Ibid. p. 111.

⁴ Appendix, Note V.

with Dr. Crotty, we hear that "the Gallican Articles are *assented to ex corde and ex animo* at Maynooth;" when we come to the Professor of Dogmatic Theology, Dr. Mc Hale, to whom, by the Statutes, the duty of inculcating right principles concerning Civil allegiance specially belongs, we find that "he wishes distinctly to declare that they did *not adopt* the *opinions of the Gallican Church* contained in the four propositions of 1682;" when we arrive at Dr. Murray, we learn that he congratulates himself, that in his presidency he "was so happy as to have been able to procure the assistance of Mr. Kenney" as *his own Colleague and Deputy* to be left in sole charge of the College in his absence; and we find that Mr. Kenney "composed meditations for all the Students of the College;" and that, after he had quitted Maynooth, he was invited to revisit it from time to time, to "conduct the spiritual Retreats of the Students there;" and when we inquire of Mr. Kenney, he answers "that the principles of faith and morals at *Maynooth* are precisely the same as those at *Palermo*;" and when we ask for information concerning the College of Palermo, we discover that "it is a *College of Jesuits*;" and that he, the Vice-President of Maynooth, is the Head of the Jesuits in Ireland; and we also learn that he has instituted a seminary at Clongowes, only *six miles from Maynooth*, from which young men are transferred to that College, and that he is the President of it, having nine other Jesuits there associated with him; and that a sodality is there

organized, of which the students are members; and we find that a similar Society, that of the Sacred Heart, connected with the Jesuits, exists at Maynooth, and that *half*¹ the students of the College are incorporated in it, and that thus, by means of the students, who are the future Priests of Ireland, the power and principles of the Jesuits are extending themselves into all parts of the country; and lastly we learn that the *only* Commentary on Scripture used as a class-book at Maynooth, is from the pen of a Jesuit².

What then is the moral from all this? Not to dwell at length on the remarkable discrepancies

¹ Dr. Crotty the President, says, (Maynooth Report, p. 10 Nov. 1826, that "the Sodality of the Sacred Heart is numerous; if there were *sixty* of the students at any period members of it, it probably might be the greatest number there ever was." But Mr. Philip Dowley, the Dean of the College, examined only six days after Dr. Crotty, says, that "he keeps a register of the names of the members of the Sodality of the Sacred Heart; that he is a member of it—that others of the "superior" are members;" that "it was instituted at the recommendation of the board of the Trustees," "by virtue of a permission obtained from Rome by Dr. Murray; and that about *two hundred* of the students are members of it (!)" There seems, therefore, too much ground, even from Maynooth alone, for the statement in the QUARTERLY REVIEW for March, 1841, p. 545, "*The Sodality of the Heart*, as has been abundantly proved, is a form of Jesuitism established with the object of attaching unconsciously to the Society numbers who would never be drawn *directly* into its arms."

² See Appendix, also, Note S. Of which Commentary, see a specimen below, Appendix, Note CC.

the testimony of the witnesses, as above cited, (and more might be added¹), when contrasted together, which fills the mind with sorrow for the parties themselves, and for those who are subject to their influence, whether as Students at Maynooth under their professional training, or Priests under their episcopal superintendence, or as Laymen under their pastoral guidance and control, and with grief and shame for the country which is exposed to be the victim of their power and example, and indignation in behalf of the monarchy which is thus betrayed by those who owe to it the foundation of their institution, and of *ourselves* who are compelled to maintain it,—we cannot refrain from asserting, that if, when all these things are placed in the clear light of day before the eyes of the nation, it shall venture to award honour and distinction, instead of just censure and righteous retribution, and shall afford *enlarged resources*,—instead of *requiring an account* to be rendered of the manner in which *those already* supplied have been employed by it,—to an Institution, which has opened its doors to those who by the laws ² of the realm (such is the fear entertained of their machinations) are forbidden to land on our shores, and who, if they enter the country, are to be sentenced to *banishment for life*; and has not merely

¹ See Note 1, p. 68.

² By 10 Geo. IV. cap. 7 (the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, 1829), any Jesuit coming into England shall, on conviction, be banished for life.

opened its doors to them, but has placed every one of its four hundred students under the uncontrollable power and influence of the leading Jesuit of Ireland, and has required them to study the pages, initiate them in the religious devotions, not to affirm but to incorporate them into the secret societies, of *Jesuits* to an Institution which, by the assertion of its own *Vice-President*, a Jesuit himself, holds "*precisely the same principles of faith and morals as the College of Jesuits at Palermo*,"—if, we say, with these facts before its eyes, the country shall consent to *increase* the annual grant of public money to Maynooth, and thus betray itself, its monarchy, and its people, into the hands of those who are eager for their destruction, it will be guilty of its own shame and ruin, and will be the object of scorn and derision to those who will triumph in its fall.

But, it may be argued, that the good-will of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland will be conciliated by the boon of an increased grant to Maynooth, that their loyalty and affections will be purchased by this act of national benevolence. Rather, let me ask, will they not consider it as a mere political expedient, and suspect and despise the authors of the gift, while they receive it from their hands? Will not the gift therefore tend more to *alienate* them, in fact, even though it may seem to *conciliate* them in appearance? Will not the concession of it be assigned to *fear*, and thus the augmentation of the grant prove in effect an increase of the *cause* for fear? for will it not give fresh

strength and courage to principles and persons hostile to the monarchy, and weaken the hands, and break the hearts, of those who desire to uphold it ?

Nor can it be regarded, in any sound sense of the word, as a *boon* to the *Roman Catholic Hierarchy*. It is no act of *kindness* to come forward with eager haste and smiles of approbation, in the name of the Crown and of the Country, and to award dignity and remuneration to a man who is guilty of propagating sedition and rebellion. Are we prepared to give national honours to Chartists, and to vote public thanks and pensions to Socialists ? It is no *charity* to a man to confirm him in unholy and unconstitutional principles, and to endeavour to flatter him into the belief that he is acting the part of a loyal subject, and a patriotic citizen. Fine and imprisonment would be much truer charity to him than this. For this is to deprive him for ever of that which ought to be dearest and best in a man's life,—his probity and virtue : it is to incarcerate him more closely in the prison of his own vice and misery, and to prevent the possibility of his ever being emancipated from it.

Let us be permitted to refer briefly, and that with all reverence, to another solemn consideration. The voice of Scripture declares, that in the latter days there will be a falling away from the faith ; and whatever less distinct notes and characters there may be of this apostasy, two there are most distinct and

most prominent. The one is *lawlessness*¹, the other is *tampering* with the *truth*. The whole spirit and system of him "who exalteth himself above every dignity²," is called the *mystery of lawlessness*³, the very personification of this apostasy is *the lawless one*⁴, and his instruments are denoted by the fearful titles of agents of evil, who "speak lies in hypocrisy, having their consciences seared with a hot iron⁵." And now, since He Who is the Truth has declared that He will not deign even to cast his eyes on this "mystery of iniquity," on this apostasy of lawlessness and lies, such is his abhorrence of it, but will "consume it with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy it with the brightness of His coming⁶,"—it is an act of grievous cruelty not to warn those who are entangled in a system, which has been shown to be eminently productive of those miserable fruits; and to flatter them with praise into deeper misery, and to beguile them by encouragement into irretrievable ruin.

The proposed augmentation of the grant will, therefore, we affirm, be no real boon to the Professors and Trustees of Maynooth.—But to pass from their case, and to consider that of the *students* of this Seminary.

¹ ἀνομία, rendered in our version *iniquity*.

² 2 Thess. ii. 4, ὑπεραίρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντων σέβασμα.

³ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας, (in our version, "*Mystery of iniquity*,") 2 Thess. ii. 8.

⁴ ὁ ἄνομος, 2 Thess. ii. 7 (in our version "that wicked"—).

⁵ 1 Tim. iv. 3. 2 Thess. ii. 1.

⁶ 2 Thess. ii. 8.

Maynooth educates five-eighths of the future Priests of Ireland. Their number, therefore, claims our most serious attention. And if our plea be not heard in behalf of their *Instructors*, let at least an humble appeal to the Legislature be permitted in favour of the rising generation of that country, the present and future *Students* of Maynooth.

What, I ask, have they done to deserve this grievous wrong at our hands, which we call a boon? this cruel treatment, which we call patronage, but which is, in truth, persecution? What sins have they committed, that we should proclaim to these young persons, by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, after fifty years' experience, that the training which they receive, or are about to receive, at Maynooth, deserves national confidence and demands public encouragement; that its character, tendencies, and rules are such, that while *other Institutions* are languishing for want of support, while the Protestant Bishops of Ireland have almost with one voice appealed in vain for aid in behalf of *their* seminaries, a college, which is purely Romanist, and which cannot by its laws admit a single Protestant¹ within its walls, should be selected as a fit object for *additional bounty*; and that while the nation is loaded with taxation and impoverished by debt, it should lavish fresh largesses on Maynooth?

In behalf then of the *Students* of Maynooth, let us

¹ 35 Geo. III. c. 21. sect. 9.

respectfully and earnestly intercede with the Statesmen and Legislators of the country, that this evil may be averted. Let us look a little into the condition of these Students, and we shall have a feeling (if we have hearts to feel) for their difficulties and dangers.

I cannot picture to myself a more piteous spectacle than that of the youthful Scholars of Maynooth, who are carried in troops, on stated days, to the Courts of Justice in order to take a solemn oath, which they have never before seen or heard, (and if any one desires to be made more familiar with the details of that sad process, let him read them below, where we have placed them before him¹,) an oath in which they learn their true duties as citizens and subjects, which duties they there pledge themselves by oath to perform: I cannot, I say, imagine any thing more afflicting than this spectacle, when I reflect to what influence they who have bound themselves by these engagements will *hereafter* be subject, and what *other* vows they will be called upon to make, and to what consequent distress of spirit they must be reduced, and with what pangs of conscience be tormented, when they call to mind, as they must do, if their youthful hearts have not been seared and made insensible, their first vows to the Sovereign, and on their subsequent obligations to another Power.

It may indeed be said that we have a remedy for

¹ Appendix, Notes W. and X.

this evil, although we should give our approval and our money to Maynooth. And what is this expedient? It is to leave the students free as air, and to require from them and their instructors *no* Oaths of Allegiance at all. Then, it is said, we shall have no conflicts of conscience, no tampering with the sanctity of oaths. This would no doubt be an effective expedient; *but for what?* for the *renunciation of all the rights* of the *Crown* over them, and for the complete surrender of them, without a struggle, to a Foreign Power! But let us remember that the Oath of Allegiance is *not* a bad oath from any badness in itself,—no, it requires no pledge which every one subject of the British Throne is not bound and does not rejoice to give,—but the whole evil lies in the condition, present or future, of those by whom it is taken. The *withdrawal*, therefore, of it by the State would be only a public recognition that the Students and Officers of Maynooth are not citizens of England, nor subjects of the British Monarchy. It would be neither more nor less than a national declaration, that they are or will become vassals of a Foreign Power;—and in this character, forsooth, they would then present themselves before us as fit objects for fresh public encouragement, and as worthy recipients of additional bounty from the State!

It may indeed be inquired, Where then is the Roman Catholic Priesthood of Ireland to receive education, if Maynooth is not to be supported? To which question we reply, that the point before us is the wisdom

of *augmenting* its revenues, and that therefore with *that other* inquiry we are not at present concerned; but we cannot forbear observing that the titular hierarchy of Ireland, and the political leaders with whom they have associated themselves, appear to have done their utmost to prevent that question from ever being entertained.

The history of their proceedings in the discussion of the Veto Act, from 1799 to 1808¹, and the final rejection on their part, not without scorn and indignation, of any controlling power of the Crown in their appointment; the insurrections² with which they threatened the country in 1817, if the power of Veto was given by Parliament to the Crown, and the renewal of similar menaces at a very recent period, have done, I say, much to render it impossible for the country to treat with them, even *if* it were willing to do so, concerning the endowments for the education or maintenance of their priesthood.

So much for the right of *Veto*; and now for that of control of *Rescripts*, *Mandates*, and *Bulls* from Rome,—a right which we have shown to be exercised by *every civil government* in *Europe* except that of England. What inducements has the Pope or the titular hierarchy of these realms ever held out to the Crown and the Country to extend to them any favour or confidence in this respect? None what-

¹ Appendix, Note H. I. and above, p. 26.

² Ibid, Note H. I.

ever: on the contrary, when this question was propounded to the See of Rome in 1814, the prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Litta, wrote in the name of the Pope to Dr. Poynter, the Vicar Apostolic of London, as follows¹: “as for the examination of the rescripts, or what is called the *Regium Exequatur*, it cannot even be made a subject of negotiation. For your Lordship well knows that as such a practice must essentially affect the free exercise of that *supremacy of the Church* which has been given it in trust by God, it would surely be *criminal to permit*, or transfer it to *any lay power*, and indeed such a permission has *never* any where been *granted*. If *some*, and even Catholic governments, assume such rights, this is to be referred to the abuse not to the right exercise of legitimate power, which abuse, the Holy See to prevent greater evils is forced to *bear and tolerate*, but cannot *by any means approve*².”

If then, the Titular Hierarchy have (as we see) chosen to withdraw themselves from the legitimate control of the laws, and to put themselves in a position of hostility and defiance against the just authority of the Crown, and thus voluntarily to exclude themselves from the condition of true citizens and subjects, they have no right to complain of any prejudicial consequences which are the necessary results of their own conduct.

In the mean time, the State has shown every dis-

¹ Foreign Report, p. 513.

² See above, p. 21.

position to afford all reasonable encouragement to their demands, and has been far from resenting their jealousy of public control, but has very recently given greater facilities for Roman Catholic endowments from private sources.

But to return to the main course of our argument, and to pass from these parties to the consideration of the position of another most important body, the *Roman Catholic Laity of Ireland*, and of the manner in which it is likely to be affected by the proposed augmentation. The exertions of a large portion of that body in behalf of the Crown of England, from the period of the Spanish invasion¹ to the present day, are matters of history, and beyond all praise. From that time, almost year after year, have their loyal spirits, and the elements of the soil itself and of common language and laws, and the principles of justice and of truth, working in their hearts, struggled and laboured for a vent, and yearned to testify their affection to the British Monarchy. But the power of Rome, acting through the hierarchy of Ireland, has habitually rebuked those efforts, repressed those movements, and curbed those aspirations, till at length, in 1791, a reluctant permission was *forcibly extorted*¹ from the Papal See, allowing the Irish Roman Catholic Laity to *express* the sentiments of love to their lawful Sovereign, which they had so long deeply felt.

¹ Appendix, Note U.

Since that period Maynooth has risen, and has exerted itself for fifty years to rebind the spirit which had escaped: those who best know Maynooth say that it has not laboured in vain. Indeed, from the nature of the case, it is impossible that much should not have been effected by it toward the alienation of the inhabitants of Ireland, especially of the lower orders, from the throne.

Let us see, from its own authority, what influence it claims to exercise over the lay population of Ireland. Ignatius Loyola¹ taught his followers that such was to be their obedience to their superior that they were to be like *baculus in manu senis*, and *perinde ac si cadaver essent*: and in a similar spirit Maynooth trains the ecclesiastics of that country to teach their flocks that the characteristic *privilege* of a *Romanist*, as *distinguished* from a *Protestant*, is, that his faith is to be resolved implicitly into the will and authority of the Priest. Dr. De la Hogue, the Maynooth teacher of Dogmatic Theology, has left on public record a statement to this effect, of such a dreadful kind, that we think it better to refer to it in his own words², and to pass it by without giving it a more prominent place.

Suffice it only to say, that He Whose name he has there used, and Whose awful judgment he has foretold, has told us what sentence awaits those who take refuge in the delusive sophistry, and flatter them-

¹ Constit. vi. c. 1. § 1.

² Appendix, Note Y.

selves with the miserable consolations of that implicit faith, which the Maynooth Professor propounds as the special blessing of the Roman Catholic Laity.

According to the Maynooth teaching, the talent committed to their trust is, in few words, to lie wrapped in a napkin. And this napkin, be it remembered, has a *triple fold*, first the *Priestly*, then the *Episcopal*, and then, over all, the *Papal*. We know what language was addressed to the servant who thus neglected to employ what was committed to his trust; but, to leave that verdict where it stands, we say that if Maynooth, which now supplies five-eighths of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland, shall be enabled by the proposed augmentation to supply *six-eighths*, *seven-eighths*, or the *whole*,—if, in a word, the entire country is to become *one Maynooth*,—then we have already learnt from that College itself, what service and tribute of duty and love the laity of Ireland, thus overlaid by its superincumbent weight, will, as far as Maynooth is concerned, be willing or able to render to Cæsar, and we do not presume to enquire what it will pay to a higher power.

But to return to our own part only in this matter. After the Roman Catholic Laity of Ireland have shown such dispositions, and made such exertions to prove themselves to be loyal subjects of the Crown, and after those exertions have been checked and rebuked, and censured, and denounced by the Papacy¹, shall *we* be the persons to turn round upon

¹ Appendix, Note V.

them and take the part of the Papacy against them? shall, then, the English Parliament be made to become a chamber of the Vatican, and issue edicts and Protestant bulls against their efforts in behalf of the British Monarchy, by giving increased energies to Maynooth, and thus stifle loyalty instead of quelling sedition, and reward faction instead of suppressing it?

The *higher* classes among the laity will, no doubt, always enjoy the benefit of the salutary influences of liberal education and polished society; and thus in their case the agency of the system we have described will in a degree be neutralized. But this is not the case with those who have special claims on the guidance and guardianship of the State,—I mean the *poor* and *illiterate*. To them their Priest is every thing; and when we remember the tremendous powers that are wielded by the Roman Catholic Priesthood in the rite of Confession and in Excommunication¹, the question of the character and tendency of their education becomes one of the most momentous importance. And when Maynooth, which has now "*begun to be felt*"², shall be felt more deeply and extensively, is there not the strongest ground to fear that its results will be seen in rural districts, and in densely populated towns, in the outbreak of such a spirit of anarchy and outrage, as the power which has fostered and strengthened it will attempt too late and in vain to repress?

¹ Appendix, Note FF.

² Note D.

But there is another and different class, of the greatest importance, whose position requires the most attentive consideration. We do not hesitate to call the Protestant population of Ireland the true bulwark of the Throne; and among the institutions of that country, we do not scruple to assign the first place to the Protestant Church. We should take shame to ourselves, if in this, her hour of trial,—if, after her energies have been crippled and her resources diminished, we did not regard her with greater affection and respect, even on account of her sufferings. We feel an animating confidence that trial will add to her real strength; that she may, by God's mercy, recover by the discipline of affliction even more of true power than she has lost by the hand of spoliation: and believing that her constitution is conformable to divine appointment, and her faith pure and uncorrupt, we entertain an intimate persuasion, that if she is true to herself, if she make no compromise of her opinions, and stand firm in unity, and well-ordered in discipline, that then she will not only stand secure, notwithstanding all the storms which threaten her, but will also serve to maintain firm and unshaken the Protestant Throne of the United Kingdom.

Therefore, entertaining these persuasions, we cannot conceal our sorrow, that while she is struggling not only for her own cause, but for that of the constitution of the country, she is called upon to be a witness of the honour and encouragement

proposed to be paid to another and adverse community ; and that almost at the same time when her own resources have been *impaired*, she should hear of designs for the *augmentation* of theirs ; and that this proposal should come from *England*, to whom she naturally looks for sympathy and support in her trials, and for whose interests and integrity she is contending with enemies, whose strength, especially when derived from such a quarter, will be her weakness, and whose exaltation will be her abasement.

Still, the evil is not yet inflicted ; and we cannot permit ourselves to doubt, that when the whole subject is fully before the eyes of the British nation, and has been examined in all its bearings by the deliberative wisdom of the British Parliament, such measures will be adopted as public justice requires, and as are most conducive to the maintenance of the safety and dignity of the Crown, and of the peace and honour of the Country. The very question itself cannot but suggest warnings of the most impressive character. Maynooth was founded in 1795, and three years after its establishment, Ireland was in a state of rebellion, and a hostile fleet from France was in its harbours. And, alas ! we have from their own pens a record of the expressions which the disturbances of the country elicited from the first functionaries of Maynooth, at that and a subsequent period. We have the pastoral letters addressed to the people of Ireland by its first Pre-

sident, Dr. Hussey, and by one of its first Trustees, Dr. Doyle¹; and from them we learn what support the Monarchy derived, in times of danger and difficulty, from the spirit which organized and directed that Institution.

And if it be still true, as Dr. Hussey there assures us, that the "Roman Catholic faith is suitable to all forms of government; Monarchies or *Republics*, Aristocracies or *Democracies*, are not its concerns;" and if it be true, as Dr. Doyle, at a later date¹, declares, that "*the Minister of England cannot look to the exertions of the Catholic Priesthood*; for that this Clergy are not, as *formerly*, brought up under a despotic government, and that, if a *Rebellion were raging* from Carrickfergus to Cape Clear, no sentence of excommunication would ever be fulminated by a Catholic Prelate, or, if fulminated, it would fall, as Grattan once said of *British Supremacy*, like a spent thunderbolt;" if the same person addressed as his "dear brethren," and "wished them peace and benediction," who, as he himself says, were 'forming a dark and bloody conspiracy' at the time of their sovereign's visit to Ireland²; we cannot, if we give additional strength to an institution framed and governed under such auspices as those of the writers of the above words, look with any feeling of satisfaction to the issue, if, three years after such *augmentation*, events should occur similar to those which took place in Ireland three years after its *foundation*.

¹ Appendix, Note Z. and AA.

² Note Z.

These may be said to be vain alarms : but let us remember that, in all human probability, the peace of France and of Europe depends on the life of one man ; let us call to mind the national bitterness towards England, which displayed itself on a recent occasion (on the affair of Tahiti) in that country, in a degree almost incredible to those who had not ocular demonstration of it ; let us bear in mind that in addition to this antipathy there is a very strong religious feeling in France in favour of the predominance of the *Papal* interest, as opposed to the *Monarchical*, in Ireland, and that if the revolutionary spirit be again let loose in France, the religion of Rome, which, as we are told by Dr. Hussey, is "suited to a Democracy as well as a Monarchy," would find no difficulty in allying itself with it. In addition to this, let us not forget that there is in the Romanism of *Ireland* a lurking hope (which operated strongly at the time of the French invasion in 1798¹) of occupation of rights and property, which it declares to be its own, and to have been unjustly wrested from it, and that it does not scruple to teach that Ireland is the feudal possession² of its own spiritual head, and that the Professors of Maynooth countenance that doctrine³; and

¹ Appendix, Note BB.

² Appendix, Note P.

³ "Even with respect to England," Maynooth Report, p. 190, 191, Dr. Slevin (Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment at Maynooth) says, "I have shown that the Holy See claimed a temporal right to the English Crown."—Paul IV., in 1568,

that whatever may be its opinion of the value of this assertion, the claim may be always drawn into a plea for non-allegiance to the English Crown; let us not forget the language it is sometimes heard to use with regard to the property and lives of *heretics*! let us, I say, reflect on these things as they deserve that we should do, and, in examining the expediency of increasing the resources of Maynooth, we shall probably see other weighty *external* reasons for caution and apprehension, besides those derived from the imminent danger of injury to the institutions of the country, and of social and domestic confusion and misery arising from *within*.

Having referred to a neighbouring country in these pages, let me now close them with two remarks relative to *it*, as compared with *ourselves*. If *France* has sometimes been productive of *injury* to us, it may also, in turn, prove of *great service*, if we are but willing to profit by the salutary instruction and warning to be derived from its example.

In speaking of the Gallican Articles of 1682, which were framed and published for the maintenance of the independence and just rights of the Crown of France, I have already observed that notwithstanding the precautions taken by the State

conceived he had this right: it is a reasonable conjecture that Pius V., in 1569, may have conceived the same. Dr. Slevin explains the Papal attempt to depose Queen Elizabeth on this principle.

¹ In Maynooth Text-Book : Appendix, Note CC.

to secure the inviolability of these propositions, they are now almost universally regarded with indifference and antipathy by the French Church, and that the character of its clergy has become ultramontane, and that the temporal power cannot rely on the support of that part of the community which ought to be its most faithful and zealous auxiliary; and that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities are at direct variance with each other, as is but too evident from the unhappy controversy now prevalent in that country with respect to national education.

Let me, therefore, ask the following questions:—
Is, then, the *Protestant* Government of England prepared to adopt as its allies those who *begin* with rejecting the Gallican Articles? Does it expect to find devoted supporters of the Crown among *their* ranks? Is it willing to disparage, to scorn, to abandon, and to reject the loyal, zealous, and steady support of the Protestant Church of the United Kingdom, and to lavish its favours on those who plainly declare, by their teaching and their practice, that they regard the principles of the Church of France as derogatory to the just rights of the Papal See and as *too favourable* to the Crown? Are they disposed to expect from *them* that devotion to a *Protestant* Monarchy, which the French Clergy, whose corporate acts are reprobated as too loyal at Maynooth, do not afford to a *Roman Catholic throne*?

The second inquiry is this. We have seen, on unquestionable evidence, that *Jesuitical* influence

(the most ultramontane of all ultramontane influences) has introduced itself, nay, has been studiously sought for, and zealously welcomed, and cordially entertained, and conspicuously honoured, by the President of the Royal College of Maynooth, the titular Archbishop of Dublin; that the whole government of that seminary has been committed at certain seasons to Jesuitical hands; that no statutes, no oaths of allegiance, have been of force enough to exclude from the Chair of Authority and of Teaching the Head of the Jesuits of Ireland. These facts, we say, are now in evidence on oath before Parliament; they are before the eyes of the world. Such are the public acts of Maynooth.

Now, I will not multiply demonstrations of the just fears which *every Government* in Europe has entertained with regard to the Members of that Order; I will not cite the expressions of *censure* and of *condemnation*, not of *honour* and *reward*, with which these Governments have visited those who have harboured them; nor need I recount, that in 1755 the Jesuits were proscribed in Spain; in 1759, were banished from Portugal; that, in 1767, they were expelled from Naples, and from the two Sicilies, and in the following year from Parma and Placentia; nor that the Order was suppressed by a Pope himself, Clement XIV., at the urgent demand of Sovereign Princes, in 1773, but again revived by Pius VII.¹, in

¹ Bull of Pius VII., Aug. 1814. Foreign Report, p. 426.

1814, as the most powerful ally of the Papacy, and that "all their Colleges and Houses, and all who should join them are now," such are that Pope's words, "under the especial tutelage of the See of Rome."

I will not dwell on these things, but content myself with reference to France. In 1610, the year of the murder of Henry IV., their books were burnt at Paris by order of *Parliament*. In 1644 the *University* of Paris, in its Petition to Parliament, affirmed that the pernicious doctrines "of the Jesuits affected the security of all states, and the repose of all nations interested in the preservation of the authority and just power, and of the life of their kings and princes; in which doctrines," adds the University, "the Jesuits declare they are all united¹." In the year 1682 the *Church* of France, headed by Bossuet, drew up its four Articles specially directed against them. In 1763 the *Parliament* of Paris declared, by its decree of the 6th of August, that "the Order of Jesuits was by its nature inadmissible in all rightly constituted states, as being contrary to natural rights, subversive of all authority, and tending to introduce in Churches and States, under *religious pretexts*, a political Society, whose essence consists in incessant exertions to arrive by every means, direct or indirect, secret or public, first, at an absolute independence, and subsequently, at the usurpation of all authority." Where-

¹ Fleury, Discours, p. 82. Ibid. 406.

upon the Order of Jesuits was suppressed in France, and is so at this day.

Such, then, is the language of the *University*, the *Church*, and the *Parliament* of Roman Catholic France, concerning the tendency of Jesuitical influence even in that country.

Looking, therefore, first at their example, and then at the evidence before us, with respect to Maynooth (a *Royal* College, be it remembered, maintained by *national* bounty); looking at the *abuses* to which its endowments have been perverted—and there is no reason to expect that, when *greater power* is given it, these *abuses* will become *less*—we do not hesitate to say, calmly and respectfully, that the first duty of the British Nation, and of the British Government, is to require it to render an account of the manner in which it has employed its revenues, administered its trusts, and discharged its functions.

This is a duty which the Nation and the Government owe to the British Crown, which is the Founder of Maynooth, and whose rights are endangered by it: it is a duty which they owe to the Church, and to every College in the Empire, whose honour is compromised by the praise and reward proffered to Maynooth; it is a duty which they owe to Maynooth itself, that these facts which we have stated concerning it, from evidence given by the officers of that College upon oath, should be refuted if they are not true. And if they *be true*, then it follows, as a necessary consequence, that the

responsible Authorities of that College should be summoned before Parliament for merited public censure, and not for fresh national encouragement.

This is the *preliminary* step to be taken; this is the duty which the very mention of the name of Maynooth in the ears of the British Public imperatively requires; and until that step is taken, any question with regard to *additional* confidence to be reposed in that College, and any *new* endowments to be conferred on it by the country, ought, we affirm, to remain in abeyance.

Yes; and yet further still, before we make *new laws* concerning Maynooth, let us recur to *old ones* with respect to it. They are not of very ancient date. Let us not patronize in 1845 those whom we banished in 1829. Let us put our own acts in force. The exigences of the State demand it. As the Government values the safety and honour of the Crown, and regards the peace and welfare of the Country, and loves the life of the Sovereign, let it refer to the clauses of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill ¹ of 1829 concerning Religious Orders, and in compliance with them let it require every Jesuit, who was in England before that date, *to be registered*; and let it see that its own sentence is carried into effect with regard to those of that Order who have come into these kingdoms, or who have taken the vows of Jesuits since that period.

¹ 10 Geo. IV. c. 7.

Until these things have taken place, all other propositions with respect to Maynooth are *premature*.

And, to sum up all, we humbly submit that this is a duty which the *Government owes to itself*,—(and it is also the duty of all well-wishers to it not to disguise from it this fact, not, I say, to murmur in secret against it, nor to sit in sullen silence, but to speak in plain words such as it becomes Englishmen to use,)—if, with these stains still remaining on the name of Maynooth, the Government looks for support from the great Institutions and Communities of the country, or indeed from any other quarter but from Maynooth alone; and we have just seen *what kind of support* it is likely to derive from *thence*. For the principles which Maynooth teaches, which were condemned, as we have shown, by the unanimous voice of the *Crown*, the *Parliament*, the *Church*, and the *University of Roman Catholic France*, as tending to aggrandize the Papacy, and as subversive of the rights of the Throne, and destructive of the peace of the Country, can never, we firmly believe, receive honour and encouragement from the *Crown*, the *Parliament*, the *Church*, or the *Universities of Protestant Britain*¹.

¹ Since the above was written and printed, I find that a similar view of the case, in many respects, has been taken in the *Quarterly Review*, in the year 1841; and I beg to corroborate what is said above by reference to that authority:—

QUARTERLY REVIEW for March, 1841, p. 548.—“The *Jesuits* through the first Principal, Dr. Hussey, Dr. Troy, Father Betagh, Dr. Murray, and Mr. Kenney, soon procured access to *Maynooth*, and that it by degrees passed into their hands, or under the

influence, can no longer be doubted. What connexion exists between *Maynooth* and *Clongowes* will be well worth the attention of the Legislature."

Ibid. p. 555.—"It is well known that, among other means of working on the mind, the *Jesuits* lay much stress on the practice (invented by themselves) of *Retreats*. . . . These '*Retreats*,' to which they attach '*a value inferior only to the Gospel*,' have within the last few years been extended to the *Parochial Priests*, and the management of them has been committed by several of the Romish Bishops to the *Jesuits*. Not two years ago, in one of the principal monasteries of Ireland, were the *whole body of Priests in two dioceses* received for one week, and their coadjutors for the next, and did Dr. *Kenney*, the *Head of the Jesuits*, come down for the express purpose of superintending their spiritual exercises? When it is understood that these *Retreats* include not only direct *instruction* from the Superintendents, but a *Confession*, and that the *books* used are written by *Jesuits*, it will not be thought strange that the influence exercised by the *Jesuits* upon the *pupils* at *Maynooth* should *extend* over them when established (as *Priests*) in their *Parishes*."

Ibid. December, 1840, p. 152.—"The following questions are propounded for the attention of the Government:—'Have the *Jesuits* been registered, as the Emancipation Bill prescribed? What is the number of their houses and schools? Have they effected a lodgment in Ireland, especially under the name of *Christian Brothers*, the *Sodalities of the Heart*, *Brethren of the Faith* or *Doctrine*? Are these spreading rapidly? Are Children in National Schools initiated in these *Sodalities*?' (page 534.)—'What influence procured the brief from the Pope for establishing the Order (of *Christian Brothers*) in Ireland? Was it Dr. *Kenney*, the present *Jesuit Head of Clongowes*?—Did they vainly endeavour to shake off the yoke till they at last succumbed, and have ever since been held in the hands of the *Jesuits*, the General of the *Jesuits* moving Dr. *Kenney*, Dr. *Kenney* commanding the Superior of the Order, the Superior nominating the Directors, and all the *Brethren* being bound to yield to them the

most implicit obedience? How is their profession of vows to be reconciled with the *Emancipation Act*, which prohibited every thing of the kind under penalty of banishment for life? " (page 586.)

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Archbishop MAGEE. (Lords, p. 780.)

"It is the misfortune of the present day that the Roman Catholics have made now their religion their politics; and if the consequence of my having a very unfavourable opinion of their system of religion be, that I must be supposed to be adverse to their political claims,—I cannot help that, it is their act, not mine.

"As long as I find that the Roman Catholic system still avowed in that Church, and in no one part disclaimed by any authority of that Church, is such as to be in its obvious consequences at war with the peace and safety of society, so long is it impossible for me to desire to give the members of that communion increased power.

"I feel that if power be given to those who acknowledge as a vital principle a spiritual supremacy, power is actually given to the person who possesses that spiritual supremacy, and therefore we let into our constitution a *foreign* influence of a much more dangerous character than if it were avowedly *temporal* . . . This supremacy, from its nature and character, must necessarily (as the next world will be felt by every conscientious man to be more important than the present) be paramount over that which the loyal Protestant subjects of this realm consider to be supreme.

"Here is the great difficulty with respect to Roman Catholics. There is scarcely any other description of religionists in existence that may not be admitted into offices in the state without introducing a new power . . . But *they* hold these offices cheap, compared with that allegiance which in any state is dangerous—a *foreign* allegiance, but which in the Protestant state of Britain is eminently dangerous."

"Does your Grace think Ireland can remain quiet after all which has passed, supposing the claims of the Roman Catholics to be continued to be refused?"

"I look upon that as not the principal consideration. The government, as I conceive, is to remain unmoved in its true and just position, whatever temporary disquiet may be the result of its deliberate act. And I very much fear that any appearance of desire on the part of the government to yield, through the apprehension of disturbance that may grow out of the refusal of the Roman Catholic claims, will secure perpetual disquiet to that government. I have no notion of a government which is not a firm one."

"Does your Grace apprehend no danger from withholding of the claims?"

"I do not feel myself at liberty to enter into calculations upon such a subject. . . . I am afraid to let a notion of expediency rise in my mind, against what I feel to be a question of duty. I never can reconcile myself to a positive and (as I conceive) a permanent evil, on the chance of a speculative and temporary good."

NOTE B.

Archbishop MAGEE. (House of Lords, May 15, 1825.)

"I think the description of Roman Catholic Clergy, in former times from a foreign education, is superior to that produced by the domestic education of Maynooth. The impression upon my mind, with respect to the Roman Catholic Clergy of former days, was certainly much more favourable than it has been with respect to those who have been educated at Maynooth. In Maynooth the Student breathes the atmosphere, if I may so say, of inflammation. The instruction which they receive in that place is, as I understand, of a species much inferior to what might be received in the foreign Universities, and their learning is, as I apprehend, principally conversant about that very system which seems to present the chief obstacles to the safe admission of Roman Catholics to the civil power in a Protestant State.

"But still more injuriously do they (the influences of the place) tend to elevate him (the future Priest) in his comparison of himself with the professors of every other Christian denomination, whom he is taught by this system to consider but as the growth of yesterday, and having no share in the privileges of what he calls the Church, and who, in not acknowledging the authority of that Church, are to be viewed as rebels, and deserters from its jurisdiction. All this the books, which are their constant study, daily inculcate, and this they here learn to be their duty afterwards to teach and inculcate upon others."

NOTE C.

Daniel O'CONNELL, Esq. (Commons, March 4, 1825.)

"The Priests, who were educated in France, had a natural abhorrence of the French Revolution, which bore so much on the Catholic Clergy. They were very strong Anti-Jacobins, if I may use the expression. By that means there was among them a great deal of what is called ultra-royalism; but, with the Priests educated at Maynooth, the Anti-Jacobin feeling is gone by, and they are more identified with the people, and therefore in the phrase that is usually called loyalty, they do not come so much within the description of it as the Priests educated in France."

NOTE D.

The Rev. Mortimer O'SULLIVAN. (Commons, April 26, 1825.)

"I believe the system of Maynooth to be of a more intolerant nature than the system adopted on the Continent. The Students of Maynooth do not mingle in general intercourse so much as they would if they had been on the Continent, where it is probable, also, that the affairs of Ireland were thought of so little as that there was nothing to keep alive political rancour in the mind. Those who were formerly educated on the Continent were, I believe, better educated Priests than those we see now.

"I believe it required a greater command of pecuniary resources, formerly, to educate a Priest. Roman Catholics have regretted to me, very much, the state of education at Maynooth."

Mr. INGLIS. (Tour in Ireland, in 1834, p. 392, *fifth edition*.)

"I had ample opportunity of forming comparisons between the priests of the olden time and the priests of Maynooth.

"I entertain no doubt that the disorders which originate in hatred of Protestantism, have been increased by the Maynooth education of the Catholic Priesthood. It is the Maynooth Priest who is the agitating Priest; and if the foreign-educated Priest happen to be less a hater of Protestantism than is consistent with the present spirit of Catholicism in Ireland, straightway an assistant from Maynooth is appointed to the parish. In no country in Europe, no not even in Spain, is the spirit of Popery so intensely anti-Protestant as in Ireland. I do believe at this moment that Catholic Ireland is more ripe for the re-establishment of the Inquisition, than any country in Europe."

It is well known that Mr. Inglis was a Whig.

QUARTERLY REVIEW, 1841, vol. lxvii. p. 548.

"This sudden alteration of sentiment (concerning the right of veto

in the Crown on the appointment of Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland) is in itself remarkable, and it might be interesting to enquire if any of the parties who were employed in rousing the popular feeling against the *veto* were connected either directly or indirectly with any secret influence from another quarter. It is equally remarkable, but less inexplicable, if we turn to some other changes which had during that time taken place in the Irish Priesthood. 'Maynooth,' says Mr. Wyse¹, '*began to be felt.*' Maynooth the curse of Ireland (and when will Englishmen learn that nothing but a curse can spring from an abandonment of principle?). This College, which is allowed on all hands to be the seat and fountain-head of the mischief, was founded in 1795, under 'An Act for the better education of persons professing the Papist or Roman Catholic religion.' Its real object was to take Romish Priests out of the hands of *foreign influence*. Its profession was to give them a better education, as if it were possible for any religion, least of all for Popery, to allow of so-called heretical interference with the education of its Priesthood."

See also QUARTERLY REVIEW, vol. lxvii. p. 150, and *passim*.

NOTE E.

Cases of *Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark*.—REPORT, p. 37.

"The Court of Rome has no influence upon the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Churches of *Russia*; the only act is to grant the bulls of Confirmation of the Bishops, who are nominated by the Emperor. . . . Those Bishops, so appointed, can receive no mandates from Rome, nor publish any bull, without the permission of the Sovereign, under the severest penalties."—(See further, *ibid.* pp. 399—428.)

Prussia.—(REPORT, p. 40.)

"The appointment of Bishops is, generally, in the Crown: wherever the appointment is not so reserved, the Chapter elects.

"The Minister of the Crown 'names the Priests to the vacant Churches.'

"No bull, &c. can be published without being submitted to, and approved by, the Government."

"No communication between Bishops or individuals with the Court of Rome can take place, lawfully, unless through the medium of the Government." *Ibid.* p. 43.

Sweden, p. 39.

"In 1816, there was one Vicar Apostolic in Sweden, with permission of the Government; with no salary from the State."

¹ Sketch of Catholic Association, i. p. 203.

Denmark, p. 38.

"It does not appear that any Roman Catholic Ecclesiastic, of the Episcopal order, is recognized to exist in Denmark."

Report on Regulation of Roman Catholic subjects in foreign countries, p. 7.

"The *Austrian* Bishops are nominated by the Emperor. . . . It is enjoined by the Austrian Law, that at the consecration of a Bishop the Episcopal Oath shall be neither given nor taken in any other than its original sense of a mere canonical obedience to the Pope," (as in *Spain*, see *ibid.* p. 312,) "and the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown is *first* taken" (see *ibid.* p. 96).

"All bulls and briefs of indulgences to be transmitted through the court to obtain the imperial *Placet* (see *ibid.* p. 120—126).

No appeals to Rome permitted.

An appeal to the Sovereign against any abuse of Ecclesiastical power.

Bulls already admitted have force of law only as long as nothing is presented to the contrary by any more recent enactment of the State.

See further, *ibid.* p. 72.

Similar laws of the civil power will be seen to be in force in Tuscany, Naples, Spain, and *France* (see the REPORT, p. 3—31).

NOTE F.

The Gallican articles promulgated by the assembly of French Bishops in 1682, affirm—

1. Que Saint Pierre et ses successeurs n'ont reçu d'autorité de Dieu que sur les choses spirituelles, et non point sur les choses temporelles et civiles . . . les Rois et les Princes, quant au temporel, ne sont soumis par l'ordre de Dieu à aucune Puissance Ecclésiastique.

2. Que les décrets du Saint Concile Œcumenique de Constance, contenus dans ses Sessions 4 et 5, demeurent dans leur force et vertu. (Sess. 4. *Ipsa Synodus*, generale concilium faciens, Potestatem a Christo immediate habet cui quilibet cujuscunque statûs etiam *papalis* existat, *obedire* tenetur in his quæ pertinent ad *fidem*. Sess. 5. Quicunque, cujuscunque statûs etiamsi *papalis*, qui mandatis hujus sacræ synodi et cujuscunque alterius generalis Concilii legitimè congregati *obedire* contumaciter contempserit, nisi resipuerit, condignæ pœnitentiæ subicietur et debite puniatur.)

3. Qu'il faut régler l'usage de l'autorité apostolique par les canons faits par l'Esprit de Dieu.

4. Que, quoique le Pape ait la principale part dans les questions de foi, son jugement n'est pas irréfutable si le consentement de l'Eglise n'intervienne.

These articles will be found, with a copious comment upon them, in FLEURY's *Discours sur les Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, p. 37, ed. 1765.

The concordat of 1801, between Napoleon and Pius VII., and the *Loi Organique* of the same year, will be found in DUPIN's *Manuel du Droit Public Ecclésiastique Français*. Paris, 1844. See also REPORT, p. 279—298.

It is declared by these, that the nomination to Bishoprics is in the Crown : the Bishops nominate the Parochial Clergy (*leur choix ne pourra tomber que sur des personnes agréées par le gouvernement*). No bull, brief, &c., even though it relate to individuals only, to be received, published, or printed, from the Court of Rome without the authorization of government : all who teach in the Ecclesiastical seminaries are to subscribe, the Gallican Liberties. No individual calling himself Legate, Vicar Apostolic or Commissary, can exercise any function relative to the affairs of the Gallican Church, either in France or elsewhere, without the authorization of the Government.

Concerning the Brazils, see the communication of Viscount STRANGFORD, REPORT, p. 385.

NOTE G.

Rev. William PHELAN. (Commons, p. 492.)

"It is, or rather *was*, a doctrine of the Gallican Church, that a General Council is above the Pope ; but I have no authority (and I have looked anxiously for it) which can lead me to believe that the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops have adopted the decisions of the Gallican Church. On the contrary, I have what I consider very decisive evidence that they do not receive the four propositions commonly called the Gallican Liberties.

"I will refer to a pamphlet of Dr. Milner, in 1808 or 1809 : 'There is not (he says) a single Prelate in England or Ireland who is not firmly resolved to *reject* the four articles of the Gallican Church commonly called the *Gallican Liberties*.'

(See below, Note EE.)

NOTE H.

Dr. DOYLE. (Commons, p. 180.)

"If temporalities were attached to Roman Catholic Sees, and to Roman Catholic Parishes in Ireland, would it be inconsistent with the doctrine or discipline of the Roman Catholic Church to admit any interference on the part of the Protestant Sovereign of this country in the appointments?"

"It would be inconsistent with the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church to admit, in such cases, the interference of a Protestant Sovereign in such appointments.

" I know some arrangements that seem to be of that kind, entered into between the Pope and the Emperor of Russia, and also between the Pope and the King of Prussia, . . . but knowing the state of my own country, and having the religious feelings that I have, though such an arrangement were considered practicable by the Pope, and even wise, I should find it my duty to remonstrate against it."

NOTE I.

" The concession of a *Veto* to the Crown, on the nomination of Roman Catholic Bishops, was approved by the Titular Bishops of Ireland in 1799 and 1806, and by the Pope in 1816, but afterwards withdrawn." —*Digest*, ii. pp. 210—215. In 1817 Mr. O'CONNELL wrote thus to the Secretary of the Roman Catholic Association: " You cannot conceive any thing more lively than the abhorrence of those vetoistical plans among the people at large. I really think they will go near to desert all such Clergymen as take an active part in the question." *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 493. See the conflicting evidence of the same person, *ibid.* p. 496. " The Board, in 1817, addressed the Bishops on the *Veto*, but the people at large viewed our address with indifference. The attempt of the Board to revive opposition to the *Veto*, in 1817, was totally abortive."

In 1821 he writes: " I speak advisedly, that a sanguinary insurrection would immediately have followed its enactment" (*i. e.* of the Bill claiming the right of *Veto* for the Crown).

NOTE K.

CARDINAL ERSKINE TO SIR JOHN COX HIPPLISLEY, Bart., August, 1793.

" The Bull which is generally named *In Cæna Domini*, because it was published every year on Holy (Maunday) Thursday, until Pope Clement the XIII., out of a compliment to some Princes to whom some parts of the said Bull were obnoxious, left off the publishing it on the said day; this Bull, although the formality of its publication is now omitted, is, nevertheless, implicitly in vigour in all its extension, and is, likewise, observed in all cases where there is no impediment to the exertion of the Pope's authority; therefore it must legally be looked upon as a public declaration to preserve his rights."

Sir J. C. HIPPLISLEY annexes to the above the following words: " I received this note from Cardinal Erskine at Rome, in the month of August, 1793. He was then in the office of *Promotore della Fede*, and in a few days after departed on his private mission to England. Soon afterwards he was appointed Auditor of the Pope."

(From Appendix to Report, &c., p. 341.)

NOTE L.

The following are the Pope's assertions concerning his own power in his own Canon Laws, published by his own order (*jussu*), from the last complete Edition, S. Reverendi Consistorii Catholici per regni Saxonie approbatione, Lipsiæ, 1839, are as follows,—

On Oaths of Allegiance.

Decret. II. Pars C. xv. Q. vi. p. 647. "The Apostolic authority altogether cancels illicit Oaths . . . as the Lord says by the Prophet (Isaiah lviii. 6), Dissolve colligationes impietatis."

"The Roman Pontiff absolves from the Oath of Allegiance, when he *deposes* any from their dignity."

Oaths of Subjects and Soldiers. (ibid. p. 648.)

"The Pontifical authority absolves from the oath of allegiance (The following ancient precedent is then cited,) "The Roman Pontiff Zachariah¹, *deposed* the king of the Franks, not so much for his deeds, as because he was not serviceable to his own power, and raised to the throne, in his place, Pepin, the father of Charlemagne, and dissolved all the Franks from the oath of allegiance, which they had taken."

"The same is done frequently (auctoritate frequenti) by the Holy Church, when it releases *soldiers* from the obligation of their oaths."

Oaths of allegiance to excommunicate persons. (ibid. p. 648.)

"No one owes allegiance to any excommunicate persons, before they are reconciled to the Holy See. The Pope proceeds to forbid such allegiance to be paid." *ibid.* "Juratos milites ne ipsi, quamvis excommunicatus fuerit, serviant, *prohibeto*."

"No oaths are to be kept if they are against the interest of the Church of Rome."

Decret. Greg. IX. Lib. ii. Tit. xxiv. cap. 27. (vol. ii. p. 358.)

"Oaths which are against the interests of the Church, are not to be called Oaths, but perjuries."

Ibid. cap. xxii. p. 355.

"If an Oath which is properly due to one authority, is taken to another, the obedience due to the former is not affected thereby."

The Pope orders, "Si præstitum juramentum ei, quod a te non debetur, tanquam debitum est præstandum, *contrarium* reputes, illud illicitum judicabis." *ibid.* p. 355.

Ibid. p. 352.

"If an oath has been extorted by *fear*, the Church of Rome

¹ Pope Zachariah died A. D. 752, and was canonized.

accustomed to absolve from it (*a juramento solet absolvere*), and those who violate the oath are not guilty of mortal sin." (See below, Note T.)

Oaths of Allegiance taken by *Ecclesiastics* are *illicit* and *void*.

(Decret. Greg. IX. Lib. ii. Tit. xxiv. cap. 30. p. 350.)

"Ecclesiastics not having temporalities from laics, are not bound to take oaths of allegiance to them. Certain laics strive to usurp too much on the Divine right, when they compel Ecclesiastics, receiving no temporalities from them, to take oaths of allegiance; but since, according to the Apostle, (Rom. xiv. 4.) every one stands or falls to *his own Master*, we prohibit such Ecclesiastics from any such violence."

Ibid. cap. 31. p. 360. (To Ecclesiastics.)

"We declare that you are not bound by your oath of allegiance to your Prince; but that you may resist freely even your Prince himself, in defence of the rights and honours of the Church, and even of your own private advantage."

"The Kingly power is not superior to the Pontifical, but is subject to it, and is bound to obey it." Decret. Greg. IX. Lib. i. Tit. xxxiii. cap. 6. (vol. ii. p. 190.)

The whole of this chapter is very strong and clear on this subject. It is observable, also, that it is addressed to a crowned head:

"Potuisses prerogativam sacerdotii ex eo potius intelligere quod datum est non regi sed sacerdoti, '*Ecce constitui te super gentes et regna, ut evellas et dissipas, ædifices ac plantes*' (Jerem. i. 10.) . . . et *Fecit et Deus duo luminaria* (Gen. i. 16); sed illa quæ præest *diebus*, id est *Spiritualibus*, major est, ea verò quæ *noctibus*, id est *carnalibus*, minor; ut quanta est inter solem et lunam, tanta inter Pontifices et Reges differentia cognoscatur."

"We declare, affirm, and define, that submission to the Roman Pontiff is necessary to salvation." (Omni humanæ creaturæ omnino de necessitate salutis.) "Whoever resists this power, resists the ordinance of God." (See this enlarged upon in this chapter.) Extrav. Commun. Lib. i. Tit. viii. vol. ii. p. 1159.

"Heretics and Schismatics are excommunicated; and all who were bound to them are released from their obligations." Decret. Greg. IX. Lib. v. Tit. vii. cap. 16.

In the xvi. Canon of the third Council of Lateran, it is affirmed that those oaths are not to be called oaths, but perjuries rather, which are contrary to the advantage of the Church. DR. DOYLE. (Appendix to Educational Report, p. 794.) "The third Lateran Council is one of the General Councils of the Roman Catholic Church" . . . In

the 27th chapter of that Council it is affirmed, that all who are in any way bound to heretics, should consider themselves absolved from all fidelity and obedience due to them as long as they persist in their iniquity.

Dr. MURRAY admits that the Council of Constance was general, and Roman Catholics profess that they receive without doubt what the Canons of the General Councils declare ; and one of the decrees of the Council of Constance is, that "faith is not to be kept with heretics, to the prejudice of the Church." Session 19.

In 1626, Urban VIII. published his bull declaring the Oath of Allegiance proposed by King James I. of England to be unlawful, "tending to wrest the sceptre of the Universal Church from the hands of the *Vicar of Almighty God*."

At the Coronation of a Pope the Cardinals say, "Receive the tiara decorated with the triple crown, and know that thou art the Father of Kings and Princes, the Governor of the World, the Vicar on Earth of our Lord Jesus Christ."

NOTE M.

Dr. DOYLE. (House of Lords, March 21, 1825.)

"The most approved and authentic summary of the Creed of the Roman Catholic Church will be found in the Decrees of the Council of Trent, and in the Profession of Faith by Pius IV., and in what we call the Roman Catechism, or Catechism of the Council of Trent."

The Creed of Pius IV., annexed to the Decrees of the Council of Trent, (of which the Maynooth Class-book, *De Ecclesia*, p. 454) thus speaks : "Maximo in pretio illud concilium habere debent omnes Clerici cum ratione *dogmatum* sit veluti omnium præcedentium synodorum compendium, et ratione Ecclesiasticæ *disciplinæ* merito dici possit *Manuale Sacerdotum*." "I vow and swear true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, and Vicar of Jesus Christ. I unhesitatingly receive and profess all things decreed in the Sacred Canons and General Councils, especially by the Holy Synod of Trent. . . . This true Catholic faith, out of which is no salvation, I vow and swear to hold firm to my dying hour, and to take care that it be held and taught by all under my care, as far as in me lies."

This oath, which will be found in the editions of the Council of Trent, and in the third part of the Canon Law, (ed. 1839,) p. 111, is to be taken by all Ecclesiastics, regular and secular.

NOTE N.

OATH of Roman Catholic PRIEST to the POPE. (Lords, p. 419.)

"I acknowledge the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome as the Mother and Mistress of all Churches; and I promise and swear true Obedience to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of Peter, and Vicar of Jesus Christ; and all things defined, delivered, and declared by the Holy Canons and General Councils, and especially by the Council of Trent, I do unhesitatingly receive and confess; and, likewise, I condemn and reject all things contrary thereto. This is the true faith, out of which is no salvation. I will keep it firmly to my life's end, and will take care that it be kept by my subjects, and those of whom I may have charge. So help me God and these Holy Gospels."

"By the term *Vicar of Christ*, a *regal* as well as sacerdotal power was expressly claimed." See Digest, ii. 64, and the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, cited by Archbishop MAGEE, *ibid.* p. 67, where the following words occur: "Thus the prophecy of Jeremiah is verified concerning the Church and the Ecclesiastical Power,—'I have set thee this day over nations and kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, to destroy, to throw down, to build and to plant.'" (Jerem. i. 10.)

NOTE O.

Archbishop MAGEE. (Lords, May 3, 1825.)

"I am not able to explain to myself how the heads of the Roman Catholic Church, under a Protestant King, can consistently preserve the Oath of Allegiance to the Sovereign. I find myself unable to reconcile that most solemn oath, that is taken upon the appointment of a Roman Catholic Bishop, with his allegiance to the Sovereign. It appears to me that there is an obligation as deep as can grow out of the feeling of Christianity at war with the civil obligation.

"The Roman Catholic Bishop is bound by an Oath of Fidelity and Obedience to the Pope and his successors, that he will assist 'in retaining and defending the Roman Papacy and the Royalties of St. Peter against every man;' that he will 'make it his care to preserve, defend, increase, and promote the Rights, Honours, Privileges, and Authority of the Holy Roman Church, and of the Pope and his successors;' that 'he will engage in no counsel against the Pope or the said Church;' that 'if he should come to know of any evil attempted against them, he will prevent it to the utmost of his power, and as soon as possible make it known to the Pope;' that 'he will observe all his Powers, and cause others to observe all the Rules, Decrees, Ordinances, &c., of the Pope:' these and the remaining articles of the oath leave me totally at a loss

to discover in what respect there is any deficiency as to the fullest obligation to obedience.

"If the Sovereign of this country were engaged in a war with any state on which the papal rights or the privileges of the Roman Catholic see mainly depended, he (the Bishop) would be bound to act in like manner as in the case in which the Pope was immediately concerned.

"Thus the Bishop seems bound by an oath which interferes directly with his oath of allegiance to his Sovereign, when the interests of his Sovereign and the Pope come into collision. If this disturbing influence exerted on the Bishop, be carried down through the Priest, it must be unnecessary to say, from the close and influential contact into which every officiating Priest is brought with the Roman Catholic population of the country, what the effects must be as to the general loyalty.

"There are two Canons among the acts of the Third Council of Lateran which contain very strong matters. The one is the xvith, the other the xxvith. The xvith pronounces that 'Oaths are not to be esteemed Oaths, but rather Perjuries, which are adverse to the interests of the Church.' The xxvith decrees remission of sins to those who pursue heretics to slavery and destruction.

"I beg leave to lay them before the Committee."

The following is the clause *attached* to the *Bishop's Oath* to the *Pope* :—

"Hæc omnia et singula eo inviolabilibus observabo, quo certior sum nihil in illis contineri quod fidelitati meæ erga Serenissimum Magnæ Britannię et Hibernię Regem ejusque ad thronum successores debite adversari possit."

"I think," says Archbishop MAGEE, (Lords, p. 688,) "this appears an ambiguous form of expression, where a very obvious one presents itself. If the intention were to govern the oath to the Pope by that to the Crown, I can hardly think that such a form of expression would not naturally offer itself . . . It would tend to give more security, certainly more clearness, if to the *Oath of allegiance* (to the *Crown*) were added a clause reciting whatever was the reservation attached to the pontifical oath, and specifying the important matters touching allegiance which the pontifical oath was not to affect."

Rev. WM. PHELAN. (Commons, p. 528.)

"With respect to the Roman Catholic Priesthood, I readily believe they are willing to pay the State *all the allegiance* which they *think due* to it. But, *what* the measure of that allegiance is to be, depends *neither* on the declaration of the State, *nor* upon their own natural sense of

what ought to be paid by the subject, *but* (as far as I can apprehend the matter) on the declaration of the Pope."

"I look upon it, that the Oath which they take to the Sovereign, is both subordinate in its terms to the fealty which they swear to the Pope, and also taken by his permission."

NOTE P.

Ireland regarded by the Court of Rome as a fief of the Holy See.
(DIGEST, ii. p. 33.)

"When Henry VIII. shook off the authority of the Pope, Cramer, Archbishop of Armagh, made a speech to his Suffragans and Clergy, laying a curse on the people whosoever should own his Highness's Supremacy; saying that the isle, as it is in their Chronicles, *Insula Sacra*, belongs to none but the Bishop of Rome."

"When Queen Mary came to the throne, the Pope severely reprimanded her for retaining the title of royalty which had been taken by her father."—p. 32.

"In the reign of Elizabeth, the Pope sent Sanders into Ireland, with the title of Legate, to preach resistance to the Government, on the ground that Ireland was a fief of the Holy See."—p. 33.

See *ibid.* p. 48. Dr. O'Connor says, "Paul IV. menaced to depose Queen Mary, because she dared to assume the title of Queen without his consent. He said that Ireland was, by human and Divine right, the property of the Holy See."

"In 1632, Peter Lombard's History of Ireland was published at Louvain: this work, while still in MS., had been presented by the author to Pope Clement VIII.; it came out dedicated to the Pontiff, with the Papal *Imprimatur*, &c.; it contains the following:

"'The kingdom of Ireland is an ancient fief of the Apostolic See: the Irish acknowledge themselves to be subject to it, not only in spirituals, but temporals.'"—p. 34.

Lombard was Titular Archbishop of Armagh, and domestic Chaplain to the Pope.

"The same statements were repeated in Porter's *Ecclesiastical Annals of Ireland*, printed at the Pope's press, permissu Superiorum, in 1690; and in Father A. O'Brodin's *Descriptio Hiberniæ*, printed at the same press in 1721; and the *Hibernia Dominicana* of the Titular Bishop Burke, in 1762."—p. 35. "Hence, in Ireland (as is further clear from the Bishops' and Priests' Oath) the Pope is a feudal Sovereign; the Roman Catholic Bishops are Peers of his creation; the Priesthood, his subjects; the Laity, his vassals and feudal liegemen; the impugners of his authority, rebels."—p. 30. (See further, *ibid.* pp. 22, 24, 48.)

"In Ireland, the Pope appoints the Bishops; the Bishops appoint the Priesthood" (and "also the Curates of each parochial Priest," p. 131); "and the Priesthood sways the multitude."—p. 132.

NOTE Q.

Dr. DOYLE. (Lords, p. 500.)

"As our rite of *confession* is *known* to the laws, and our doctrines with regard to it" (i. e. as to the inviolable secrecy of all things revealed to the Priest in confession) "universally acknowledged to exist in our Church, the oath, which binds us to discover any treason against the State or his Majesty, does not oblige us to reveal any thing with which we might become acquainted in sacramental confession." Further, the Maynooth Class-book, (DE LA HOGUE, De Pœnitentiâ, pp. 292, 293,) "Si Sacerdos a Magistratu *interrogetur* de iis quorum notitiam ex solâ confessione habuit, reponere debet, se *nescire*, imo hoc ipsum *jurare* sine ullo mendacii periculo."

NOTE R.

Archbishop MAGEE.

"Suppose an intention to put the King to death, it is communicated to the Priest in confession . . . It is, I believe, fully established, that it is a principle of that Church, that even this intention is not to be revealed; that if it be, the character of the Priesthood is forfeited . . . The reason assigned for not acting under the Oath of *Allegiance* in this case is, that secrecy in confession is a principle of the Roman Catholic Church, '*known to the laws*, and universally acknowledged.' . . . Under the assumption that all the tenets and principles of Roman Catholics are fully known, some that are not consistent with the laws, and with the allegiance of the subject, may be suffered to work without counter-action."

In accordance with this statement of the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of LLANDAFF (in his speech in the House of Lords, May 17, 1825,) said, "I have always imagined that the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry satisfied their minds by some such *constructive* interpretation as that which Dr. Doyle has avowed with respect to the secrecy of confession.

"I have conceived they might reason thus:—The State *knows* our obligations to the Pope; it *knows* we owe him obedience, *implicit* obedience on certain points; it *knows* that we regard this as an obligation *paramount* to all others; and, therefore, it cannot accuse us of *mental* or *secret* reservation in taking the Oath under such a restriction.

... If the legislature thinks fit to accept these our *conditional* protestations and fidelity and submission, there can be no misunderstanding on either side."

NOTE S.

Dr. MURRAY, President of the Royal College, Maynooth, to William GREGORY, Esq., Maynooth, April 23, 1813.

"No. I. contains, as required by the order of the House of Commons, of the 13th instant, copies of the dogmatical and moral Treatises taught in the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth, during the last year. These Treatises are—

1. De la Hogue's Tractatus de Sacramentis.
2. The following Moral Treatises extracted from the works of the Rev. P. G. Antoine: De Legibus, De Justitia, De Contractibus.

"No. II. contains the remaining Treatises of Dr. De la Hogue.

1. Tractatus De Religione.
2. Tractatus De Ecclesia.

"I think it my duty to add, for the information of the House of Commons, that there are now in the press, for the use also of the College, the following Theological works:—

1. Tractatus De Pœnitentia, auctore L. Æ. De la Hogue.
2. Commentarii totius Sacræ Scripturæ, Joan. Steph. Menochii.
3. Theologia Moralis, auctore Lud. Bailly."

(From Appendix to Foreign Report, &c. p. 541.)

See also Maynooth Report, p. 449.

NOTE T.

Dispensation from Oaths.

BAILLY, de Præceptis Decalogi, p. 140. (Maynooth Class-Book.)

"Existit in Ecclesiâ potestas dispensandi in Votis et Juramentis."

This power it endeavours to prove from St. Matthew xviii. 18, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Dr. M'HALE (Irish Education Report, Appendix viii. p. 283,) being asked,

"Do you attach that meaning to the word *solveritis* that is attributed to it in this passage?" replies

"Yes. I think it may be susceptible of the meaning of *dispensing from Oaths*."

"We find it laid down in page 145 of that Class-Book, that the following are just causes of dispensation, viz.—

1. The Honour of God.

2. The Utility of the Church.
3. The common good of the Republic.
4. The common good of Society.

Who is to be the judge of what the utility of the Church may require?"

"The Superiors of the Church."

NOTE U.

The Rev. T. W. Dixon, sworn and examined 25th October, 1826.
(Maynooth Report, p. 322.)

"Was it generally supposed at Maynooth that Mr. Kenney, the Vice-president, was a professed Jesuit?"—"Certainly we believed him to be a Jesuit, and that he was at the head of that establishment at Clongowes, which was then in active preparation."

"Did he wear the Jesuits' dress at that time?"—"No."

"In point of fact, did the Jesuit order exist at that time?"—"We called him a Jesuit."

"At the period to which you refer, had the Jesuit order been restored by a Bull of the late Pope?"—"The late Pope, I believe, restored the Jesuits after his return from captivity; I am not confident about dates, but this I am persuaded of, that we called him a Jesuit."

"Did you like him the better or the worse for being a Jesuit?"—"We thought a Jesuit was a very fine thing; a most holy character; and we considered him a very talented, clever man, and had much respect for him as such."

"May not the Jesuits have had a physical existence at a time when they had not a Papal recognition?"—"Certainly."

"Are the Jesuits generally approved of by the Roman Catholic Bishops?"—"In Ireland they seem to be."

"In England are they?"—"I do not know much about the feelings of the English Popish Bishops."

"From what circumstance do you judge of their being favourites with the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland?"—"The circumstance of Mr. Kenney's being Vice-president of Maynooth is a proof of it."

"Is not the Commentary on the Scriptures that is selected for the College, Menochius, the production of one of the society?"—"It is; and one of the premiums that were given to me was the work of a Jesuit."

"What was it?"—"It was the work of a Spaniard, Rodriguez, on Christian Perfection, so that I know that they are held in very great respect and veneration at Maynooth."

NOTE V.

OATH of ALLEGIANCE to the Crown. (See DIGEST, vol. ii. pp. 222—228.)

“ In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Roman Catholic Laity were disposed to take the Oath ; but the Priesthood interfered, and it was not taken.

“ King James I. tendered an Oath of Allegiance to Roman Catholics, but the Pope prohibited them from taking it by two bulls. The Pope, also, granted *Indulgences*, to induce the people not to take the Oath, and it was not taken.

“ In the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. and Queen Anne, the Pope interfered, in a similar manner, against the express wishes of many of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, who were desirous of taking the Oath.

“ In the reign of George II. (1757) the Roman Catholic gentry drew up a declaration of allegiance ; but Rome interfered as before. Again, in 1762, the Roman Catholic gentry came forward with a declaration of fidelity, and a loyal address to the throne ; and testified, in considerable numbers, their disposition to take an Oath of Allegiance. This was submitted to the Pope, who refused to approve it.

“ In 1774, an Act passed enabling Roman Catholics to testify their allegiance ; but the Pope through his Legate issued his prohibition against it. Dr. BUTLER, Titular Archbishop of Cashel, (in his letter to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland, and in his Memorial to the Congregation de Propagandâ,) expostulated with the Court of Rome, expressing his regret that ‘ the Oath proposed by Parliament had been severely censured by His Holiness our Lord, and by the Sacred Congregation ; and he and his brother Bishops came forward in support of their tottering Religion, and for the support of their faithful people,’ and ‘ prostrate at the feet of our most holy father, as most entirely united to the Chair of Peter, and ready to shed their life’s blood for it,’ as ‘ certain that it is not the wish of the Apostolic See that all the Catholics of this kingdom should expose themselves to the hatred and suspicion of the Protestants, and the cruel force of the Calvinists, on account of certain probable doctrines, which, however strong may be the foundations on which they rest, are unsuited to the troubled state and character of this country.’ ‘ The Incomes (says the Bishop) of our Preferments are small, and will daily become smaller, while the laws under which we groan continue in force : these laws have been edged against us by certain doctrines of the Schools, which have been too generally, and with too intemperate zeal, disseminated among us. As the heretics believe that these things are intimately con-

nected with our religion, they therefore turn from us as hostile to the tranquillity of Kings and Subjects.’”

The editors of the *Digest*, Vol. ii., p. 76, say, “Until the year 1778, the Popes did not permit the Roman Catholics of these islands to take an oath of civil allegiance to a Protestant Sovereign; and the opposition was grounded partly on a special claim to Ireland as a fief, partly on the general principle that the sovereignty of all Christendom belonged to the Vicars of Jesus Christ. It is equally certain that the oath was not taken until permission came from Rome.”

Mr. PHELAN states, (*Digest*, ii. p. 228.)

“In the letter of Cardinal LITTA, in the name of the Pope, to the English Vicars Apostolic, in 1816, it is said:—‘His Holiness is ready to give his firm consent to the taking of an Oath of Allegiance in the event of Emancipation taking place in such a manner as would be favourable to all classes of Catholics.’”

NOTE W.

The Rev. T. W. DIXON. (*Ibid.* p. 322.) See above, p. 110.

“What amount of income did you lose by abandoning the Roman Catholic Church?”—“About 300*l.* a-year.”

“What prospect had you of obtaining any, and what income, in lieu of it in the Protestant establishment?”—“None.”

“Had you no sort of expectation of preferment in the Protestant Church?”—“None whatever.”

“Did you become entitled to any annuity, under any law, in consequence of conforming to the Established Church?”—“No.”

“What is the greatest amount of emolument you have ever had in the Protestant Church, since you conformed to it?”—75*l.* a-year, sometimes 80*l.*; when I was doing the duties in England it was more than that.”

“And you voluntarily gave up 300*l.* per annum in the Roman Catholic Church?”—“I did.”

“You must have had some conflict with yourself before you came to that decision?”—“I certainly had; for it is a very hard thing not only to sacrifice personal emolument, but to sacrifice the good-will and friendship of a person’s own family and acquaintance, and to alienate oneself from one’s family and one’s father’s house.”

“Did you become discountenanced by your family in consequence of taking that step?”—“In a great measure.”

“When you were at Maynooth, were the students required to take the Oath of Allegiance?”—“Yes, I recollect they were.”

"Did you take the Oath of Allegiance?"—"I did."

"Did you consider yourself bound by that oath?"—"I considered myself bound by that oath certainly ; but at the same time I considered that I could obtain absolution from the oath, if the *interests of the Church* should require it."

"The oath itself contains a declaration that you do not hold any such belief; did you make that declaration, believing it at the time, that is, did you make a false declaration?"—"I was very young at the time I took the oath, and I was very incompetent to the exercise of judgment. There were several at quarter sessions who came to take that oath: the oath and the declaration were read, and we were required to hold the book and kiss it, and, after this ordeal, to make our bow to the chairman and withdraw."

"How old were you at the time?"—"I am now thirty-three years of age, and I entered the college in the year 1810, so that I was about seventeen years of age at that time."

"Did you consider the oath when you took it, or during the period during which you afterwards remained in the Roman Catholic Church, a lawful oath?"—"I considered it a lawful oath under the conditions above stated. Being directed by my superiors at Maynooth to take this oath, I considered it lawful for me to take this oath, in consequence of their order; but then I considered that *they could absolve me from the obligation* of that oath the next hour, if they chose to do it."

"What reason had you to suppose that?"—"That was the general impression on my mind, and I am confident that it was an impression that prevailed generally on the minds of those who accompanied me."

"Have you ever heard any professor of the college of Maynooth at any time, under any circumstances, teach or express an opinion that the Oath of Allegiance taken to His Majesty was an unlawful oath?"—"I do not recollect that I have, because my intercourse with them was very limited—it was confined to the class hours; but I can state that the general impression upon the minds of the students is, *that it is an oath elicited by circumstances, forced by circumstances, and that a priest, or a bishop, or the Pope can absolve them from the obligations of that oath.*"

"You were a priest in the Roman Catholic Church, and had a cure of souls?"—"I had."

"You had charge of a parish?"—"I had."

"Did you inculcate upon your parishioners that it would be lawful for them to break that oath?"—"I do not think I am bound to answer that question.—[*The witness was informed that he would be required by the Commissioners to answer the question.*—]I certainly did not inculcate such principles. I never told the people that they were at liberty to

violate their oaths, but I know that they were fully of opinion, that I could absolve them from the obligations of that oath."

"The question is, whether you taught your parishioners that the Oath of Allegiance taken to His Majesty by Roman Catholics, and which you yourself took, was an unlawful oath?"—"I certainly did not teach them such a thing."

"Would you consider it your duty, as a Roman Catholic Clergyman, to inculcate that principle?"—"I would consider it my duty, as a Roman Catholic Clergyman, to inculcate that principle, if I got such instructions from the bishop, or the Pope, or any superior authority."

"The question is, what you felt it your duty to teach your parishioners?"—"While I was in strict obedience, and in perfect amity with the doctrines and principles of the Church of Rome, I considered the Pope's authority superior to any temporal one, and I considered that disobedience to him was the greatest crime that I could, generally speaking, be guilty of; and I certainly considered that he could absolve me from the obligations of that oath, and that if he required that I should preach to my people that it was necessary for any given reason to violate the obligations of that oath, I should consider it my duty to obey him."

"That was your sincere opinion?"—"That was my opinion then."

"Though you were a clergyman of the Roman Catholic Church, you never asked any prelate of that church to reconcile to you the extraordinary difference between what you expressly swore, and what it appeared to you the Church taught?"—"I was aware that I was obliged to believe the Councils, which enjoined that there was no faith to be kept with heretics, as true and canonical councils, and then of course there is an end of the matter. I was obliged implicitly to submit to the decision of those Councils, without having it in my power to withdraw my mind from that influence."

"Was it ever taught at Maynooth, that according to any Council of the Church, it was lawful to break faith with heretics?"—"We were taught that the Council of *Constance* was a true and Canonical Council, I believe."

"You were taught to believe that?"—"Yes."

"Were you acquainted with the decrees of that Council?"—"Yes."

"Is it from the Council of *Constance* you collected the notion that it was lawful to break the Oath of Allegiance that you took?"—"I know that the Council of *Constance* confirmed the Council of *Basle*, and I know that the Council of *Trent* confirmed both."

"The question put to you is, whether you understood that the Council of *Constance* taught that it was lawful to break faith with heretics?"—"I know that it confirmed the decrees of the other council,

and that there was such a connexion and chain, that I considered the Council of Trent to have certainly confirmed that doctrine ; and coupling with it the treatment that John Huss received, and the practical illustration of it in the persecutions of the Romish Church, I was firmly persuaded of it."

"State what were the feelings towards the Established Church among the students?"—"That the members of it were heretics, cut off from the possibility of salvation in a future life, unless they repented and became reconciled to the Church of Rome."

"The question has a reference to the Clergy rather than to the Laity, to the constituted Authorities of the Church?"—"We had more animosity against the Protestant Clergy ; the Orangemen, and general run of Protestant Laymen, we certainly considered as people that fully deserved our animosity and hatred, but the persons in particular who had robbed us of our possessions, we considered ought to be more peculiarly the objects of our indignation."

"What do you mean by robbing you of your possessions?"—"By possessing the Church Property, which devolved to them subsequently to the Reformation."

"Did you ever hear the question discussed as to the right they have to the Churches they now occupy?"—"Yes, that formed a part of our subject betimes. We thought that they were intruders, and had no right whatever, except by the strong arm of power ; we did not consider that they had any spiritual character—that they were neither Bishops nor Priests ; we considered them mere Laymen ; but that at the same time they were in the possession of our properties."

"What do you mean by your properties?"—"The present Church Property of Ireland, we considered to be the property of the Roman Catholic Church."

"Did you ever discuss at all what was to become of that property, in the event of the separation you have spoken of?"—"Of course the Church was to be reinstated in the possession of it."

"How far did you imbibe all those notions, that you describe yourself as possessing, before you came into the College?"—"It is possible that I might have imbibed the general disposition to them before I came to the College ; but when I came to the College, those arrangements used more fully to be canvassed among the students ; and I learned more as to their right to the Church Possessions after I came there, and that the Protestants were heretics, and already condemned to eternal torments."

"Did nobody ever suggest, upon the occasion of those discussions, that those notions were a little at variance with the Oaths of Allegiance, which all the persons present must have taken?"—"Possibly ; but

we thought that those oaths were required of us, in order to save appearances."

"Was the dispensing power in the Pope ever discussed upon those occasions?"—"Certainly, it was *fully established that the Pope could dispense with the obligations of the oath*; nor were we ignorant that he had actually carried into effect that power by *absolving Queen Elizabeth's subjects in Ireland, and depriving Henry the Eighth of his crown.*"

"At what time were those discussions in the habit of being carried on?"—"When we went out into the fields for recreation, we generally congregated together into groups, and discussed those matters."

"Did none among you take the part of the Protestants, and of the established order of things, upon the occasion of any of those discussions?"—"Certainly not, except for argument sake."

"Do you mean that not a single individual among you seriously took that side?"—"Certainly not."

"Or denied the Dispensing Power?"—"The Dispensing Power we all firmly believed."

"Although the Professor taught the reverse?"—"Although the Professor taught the reverse; because how could the Pope have attempted to have done it, if it was not a matter that was lawful?"

"Did the history that informed you that the Pope attempted to do it, not also inform you that the Roman Catholic Clergy and Laity resisted him?"—"We certainly knew that he was not restrained by the Council of Trent."

NOTE X.

Mr. E. MOLONY, late Student of Maynooth, sworn and examined
November 23, 1826.

"You took the Oath of Allegiance yourself, did you not?"—"I did."

"Did you consider yourself bound by the Oath or not?"—"I conceived myself bound by the Oath, but in fact I was not well acquainted with the articles of the Oath at the time."

"You state that you were unwilling to bind yourself to Allegiance to the British Government?"—"Yes."

"But when you took the Oath, did you not consider that you had bound yourself to Allegiance to the British Government?"—"When I took the Oath I conceived that I bound myself, but I conceived that that Oath might be dispensed with by the dispensing power."

"Do you recollect the Oath that you took?"—"I recollect some parts of it."

"Do you recollect that it contained a distinct clause, in which you

declare, before God, that you do not believe that you can be absolved from the obligation of that engagement by any dispensing power?"—" I do ; and that formed a subject of controversy among the Students ; it made them doubt whether the Pope could absolve them, and whether he had the dispensing power."

" You declared in the Oath, solemnly before God, that you did not believe that the Pope had the dispensing power ; did you make that declaration, believing, at the time, that he had the dispensing power?"—" Yes, I did ; I believed that the Pope had the dispensing power ; and that was a matter which I found it afterwards impossible to reconcile, and which the other Students found it likewise impossible to reconcile."

" Did you think the Oath binding upon you till you should be absolved from it by the Pope?"—" Yes, I was persuaded it was binding upon me unless absolved by the Pope, and I believed that the Pope had a dispensing power, and I found it difficult to know how I could swear that. I was not aware of that clause, or what the articles of Allegiance were, before I took them ; it struck all the Students with astonishment how they could believe in the Pope's dispensing power, and yet take that Oath."

" Did you think that the Pope could dispense with the Declaration, as well as the Oath?"—" I certainly believed that the Pope could dispense with it ; and I recollect that when the matter was controverted and spoken of by the Students, the historical fact of the case of King John was brought forward as a matter, which some used as an argument to prove that the Pope could dispense even with Allegiance, and they wanted to know how they could possibly take that clause in the Oath, which said, that they did not believe the Pope to have the dispensing power ; it came upon the Students suddenly ; when they came to the Court-house they did not know what the articles of the Oath were ; however, they took the articles of the Oath, and I, as an individual, took the Oath at the time, listening to the Declarations, and I thought it very strange."

" Had you any copy of the Oath in the College, or did you hear it for the first time when it was read in Court?"—" I heard it for the first time there."

" When you heard it for the first time in Court, were you not aware that it was an Oath sanctioned by the College?"—" Yes, I was aware that it was an Oath sanctioned by the College."

" Did you believe that the College would sanction you in solemnly declaring before God, that you did not believe that the Pope could dispense from that Oath, if, in point of fact, it was the doctrine of the

College that he could dispense from that Oath?"—"The College took no particular pains to inform me what the articles of the Oath were, nor did they advert at all to the fact of the Pope's dispensing power in this Oath; but all the Students were brought out of the College to the Court-house to take the Oath, and I, as an individual, went and took the Oath; but I did believe the Pope to have the dispensing power, and I found it impossible to reconcile the Oath with that."

"Was it within the precincts of the College that you took the Oath of Allegiance?"—"No, in the court-house of the town."

"At the quarter sessions?"—"Yes."

"Who gave you notice to attend at the court-house in order to take the oath?"—"I was a freshman in the College at the time; and as far as I can recollect, I think notice had been given by the monitors that were over us, as freshmen at the time, that we were to go and take the Oath of Allegiance; and I do not know whether it was the night before we took the Oath, or whether it was on the morning of that day."

"Did any one at Maynooth ever explain to you the nature of that Oath before you were taken to the Court-house, in order to subscribe to it?"—"No."

"Did you ever see a copy of it, or did you ever read it previously to your taking it?"—"Not that I recollect."

"How did you make up your own mind before you went to the Sessions-house, as to whether you might safely take that Oath or not?"—"I did not know a single clause in the Oath at the time I was going there."

"How did you make up your mind as to whether you might safely take that Oath or not?"—"I believed at the time that the professors of the College would not have the students take the Oath, unless they deemed it consistent with the Church rules; at the time I did not feel any uneasiness about it as being against my Creed."

"You have a general reliance upon the judgment of the Superiors?"—"Yes."

"When you went into the Court-house of Maynooth, will you describe exactly what passed with respect to your taking the Oath?"—

"There was, I think, something like a loft where the students all stood, up, I think, on two sides of the Court-house, and the assistant barrister was in the lower part, and he prefaced the solemnities of the Oath by a kind of compliment to the students, saying that they were not to take the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty from any distrust that His Majesty had of their loyal principles; and he stated the reason why it was taken. I could not say whether it was because the College was

endowed by Parliament or not, or what was the reason ; but I know he mentioned that it was not from any distrust whatever of their principles that they were called on to take the Oath."

"Had you any opportunity of reading the Oath upon that occasion before it was administered to you?"—"I was not offered it, nor do I know any student that saw the Oath."

"Did you read it, in point of fact, in the Court-house?"—"No."

"Was it read to you?"—"It was read."

"By whom?"—"By a clerk or by the Barrister ; I could not say which."

"What would have been the consequence to any of those students, if they had declined taking the Oath, when they were standing on the loft?"—"I cannot tell."

"Can you say whether they would have been permitted to remain at Maynooth?"—"I cannot tell ; I know that some of them made it a point to go home in the vacation at Christmas, in order to evade the Oath ; and I recollect that some of them said, that by that means they would evade it during their term in the College."

NOTE Y.

DE LA HOGUE, *Tractatus De Ecclesia* ; Maynooth Class-Book, p. 511.

"A Protestant, when summoned to the Judgment, will appear with no other protection than his own private judgment, by which he searched the Scriptures and proved all the articles of his faith Who among the children of the Reformed Churches, thinking upon this, and keeping in mind how easy it is for a man, from the frailty of his nature, to transgress, will not tremble at the sentence which is to be pronounced by a most severe Judge ?

"But how different will be the lot of the Catholic, although, which far be it from him to believe, he may have fallen into error by obeying the decrees of the Church concerning doctrine. If the Supreme Judge questioned him on this subject, could he not confidently reply, 'Lord, if that be error which we have followed, Thou Thyself hast deceived us by Thy so oft-repeated precept to hear the Church as Thee, unless we would have our portion with the heathens Thou Thyself hast deceived us by Thy Church, called by Paul the Pillar and Ground of Truth ; for she has always exacted of her children an entire assent in heart and mind, menacing against rebels, in Thy Name, an everlasting anathema We say with confidence, O Lord, if that be error which we have followed, Thou Thyself hast deceived us, and we are excused.'"

Dr. MILNER, *End of Religious Controversy*, p. 16.

" Catholics, if properly interrogated, will confess their belief in one comprehensive Article, ' I believe whatever the Holy Catholic Church believes and teaches.' "

Archbishop MAGEE. (House of Lords, April 29, 1825.)

" I am satisfied that a great many of the laity of the Roman Catholics do not know the doctrines. There is what is called an *implicit* faith admitted according to the established principles of that Church, and if a person can say—' I believe all which the Church believes and teaches,' he is not required to explain what that is. This sufficiently signifies that he is docile and devoted to the authority of his Church; and this, as I understand, is considered the great virtue in the Roman Catholic Religion."

Ibid. p. 780.

" To be a genuine Roman Catholic, he has, in truth, only one thing to believe, *i. e.* that it is his duty to relinquish the exercise of his private judgment altogether, and to repose his conscience in the keeping of his priest; and this being granted, it appears of little consequence what may be the specific doctrines he assents to besides."

NOTE Z.

Dr. HUSSEY, (late President of Maynooth,) Pastoral Address, 1797.

" Manly candour is peculiarly the character of an Irish soldier, who ought not to be ashamed of openly professing the Catholic religion, the religion of Irishmen. Instruct them that in all matters regarding the service of the King, their officers are competent to command them, and that they are bound to obey; but in matters regarding the service of the King of Kings, their officers have no authority over them . . . The Catholic faith is suitable to all climes and all forms of government; monarchies or republics, aristocracies or democracies, despotic or popular governments are not the concerns of the Catholic faith."

Dr. DOYLE, (late Trustee of Maynooth,) Pastoral Address,
November 19, 1822.

" Dearly beloved brethren in Jesus Christ," (such is the address to those whom Dr. Doyle proceeds thus to interrogate,) ". . . What is the period *you* have chosen to form a *dark and bloody conspiracy* against all that is established by the will of God in a country that should be more dear to you than life? Precisely when our gracious Sovereign visited us like a common Father . . . This was the period that you were impelled by the enemy of all good, to defeat the designs of Heaven

upon your country. Shall Ireland, my dear but infatuated brethren, be always doomed to suffer thus, and to suffer through the blindness and malice of her own children? We wish you peace and benediction"

NOTE AA.

Dr. DOYLE, late Trustee of Maynooth, Titular Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin; Letter to Mr. Robertson, M.P., p. 4.

"The Minister of England cannot look to the exertions of the Catholic Priesthood. This clergy, with few exceptions, are from the poorer ranks of the people: they inherit their feelings; they are not, as formerly, brought up under despotic Governments. If a rebellion were raging from Carrickfergus to Cape Clear, no sentence of Excommunication would ever be fulminated by a Catholic Prelate, or, if fulminated, it would fall, as Grattan once said of British supremacy, like a spent thunderbolt."

NOTE BB.

Col. John IAWIN. (Commons, May 19, 1825.)

"Are you of opinion that the Roman Catholics who claim properties which have been forfeited, retain their desire to recover those properties as a fixed governing principle of conduct?"

"No; I will not say as a fixed governing principle of conduct. I will not go to that extent; but that if there was such a convulsion as gave them any hopes of success, I do not hesitate to say, because I believe it, that they would come forward and claim. I hear a good deal, and do know several families who still hold for the claims to properties. . . . Very recently, a man told me of a family that I know, who live not far from me, who could advance a claim to some of your noble chairman's property, Lord Palmerston."

"How do you know that they look to the Protestant property?"

"I will give a very strong instance of it. A gentleman, descended from a family that once possessed a great part of one barony in our county . . . as soon as the French landed, raised a corps of two thousand men, joined the French, took possession of a gentleman's house and property adjoining, which he alleged had been the property of his ancestor, adhered to the French, was taken in arms at the battle of Ballinamuck, convicted and executed: that is a matter of public notoriety. It was in 1798."

The witness mentioned other instances from his own personal knowledge.

NOTE CC.

On the treatment of Heretics. (DE LA HOGUE, de Legibus, p. 179, and de Ecclesiâ, p. 404, Maynooth Class Book.

"Hæretici legibus ecclesiasticis tenentur; nec magis eximuntur, quam subditi in suum principem rebelles; retinet (Ecclesia) jurisdictionem in eos, quemadmodum dux militiæ jus habet *severiores* pœnas decernendi adversus militem transfugam."

And MENOCHIVS (the Scripture Commentary on Maynooth. See Note S. and above, p. 68,) on S. Matthew xiii. 29.

"Christ does not forbid *heretics* here to be *put to death*; on which point see Maldonatus on this place;" who thus observes: "There are some who abuse this place, by trying to prove that heretics *are not to be punished or put to death*. . . . They who *deny* that *heretics* are to be *put to death*, ought much rather to deny that murderers ought to be *put to death*; for heretics are so much the more pernicious than murderers, as it is a greater crime to slay the *souls* of men, than their bodies."

NOTE DD.

Dr. O'CONOR, Columbanus, iv. p. 84.

"It is true that the Irish Bishops have, by accepting the present Oath of Allegiance, renounced on paper the *indirect power* (of the Pope). But here is the spot where Columbanus has struck the hardest blows, showing that their practice is in diametrical opposition to their oath. Do they not hold that the *discipline of the Council of Trent* is as binding on Roman Catholics as the doctrine of the Seven Sacraments? and does not that discipline expressly grant to the Pope, and to Bishops as the *Pope's delegates*, powers which directly clash with that oath on this very article of indirect power? Will the *sworn delegates of Rome* condemn those bulls which maintain the indirect power as fundamentally erroneous? I venture to assert that they will not dare to do it. Will they condemn the bulls '*In Cœnâ*' or '*Unam Sanctam*?' When Archbishop BUTLER, of Cashel, had too hastily renounced the deposing power, and his example was followed so hastily by others that it was too late to retract, he received from the *sacred Congregation of Propaganda* a letter of *rebuke*, because he had *presumed* to transact a business so momentous, without *previously advising* with the Court of Rome."

NOTE EE.

Mr. PHELAN, Digest, ii. 62.

"Of Maynooth the Public know something, and the Government might know more, perhaps so much, as that Dr. O'CONOR would not

(otherwise) have dared to assert, as he did on his death-bed, that an *esoteric doctrine of the high transalpine school* was taught in that seminary."

NOTE FF.

The Bull *Unigenitus* (A.D. 1713) *condemns* the following propositions as heretical :—

"The fear of an unjust excommunication ought not to deter us from our duty ; rather, we ought peaceably to suffer an unjust excommunication and anathema, than to betray the truth." The above are the 91st and 92nd, among the ci. propositions of P. Quesnel, condemned "*tanquam falsæ, perniciosæ, Ecclesiæ et ejus praxi injuriosæ,*" by Pope Clement XI. See *Jus Canonicum*, part iii. p. 144, in the bull *Unigenitus*."

The condemnation of Quesnel's articles, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, which maintained the necessity and benefits of the study of Holy Scripture, and speak of the sin of withholding the same from the people, deserves to be noticed, but is not here cited, as not having immediate connexion with our part—the *political* one—of this subject.

POSTSCRIPT,

APRIL 4, 1845.

THE *amount* of the proposed *augmentation* of the grant to Maynooth, and the other details of the contemplated measure with respect to it, being now before the country, it remains only for us to leave the question in the hands of Parliament and the Public. We cannot do this without expressing our deep regret, that, as far as we have seen, no arguments have been offered (in behalf of the proposed increase) of such a kind as in any degree, in our opinion, to diminish the fears which such a proposal inspires.

Indeed, after a careful perusal of the report of the debate of April 3rd, I find only three reasons of any kind alleged in its favour: first, the justice and expediency of the measure; secondly, the hope of conciliating the Irish Romanist priesthood; and thirdly, the example of King George III. and Mr. Pitt.

I have already anticipated these arguments, and

have endeavoured to examine their value. With respect to the first of these arguments, it rests on a position, the fallacy of which seems to have escaped the notice of many persons, and therefore appears to require a few more words of observation.

It is said,—“England has given public aid to persons of various religious persuasions; why not then to the Roman Catholic Clergy?”

Granting, for argument's sake, that one act of this kind justifies a second, and that a second warrants a third, and so on *ad infinitum*, yet I deny, as I have already done (pp. 5, 6), the analogy on which this argument is founded; and in conformity with this denial, I have treated this subject, *not on religious grounds, but purely on civil ones.*

If the Dissenters here referred to had bound themselves by *solemn oaths* of *allegiance* to a *foreign* power; *if* they were *subjects* of the Crown of France, or of Prussia, or of Austria, and not of *England*; then the two cases *would* be similar, but *only then*. Let the Trustees and Professors of Maynooth enter into the condition of subjects of Queen Victoria; let them renounce what we affirm to be *unlawful* and *unconstitutional* oaths—viz. those of vassalage to a foreign potentate which they have taken—a vassalage incompatible with the duty which they owe to the Sovereign whom Almighty God has set over them; let them become, in the full sense of the word, *fellow-citizens* of the Protestants of England, Ireland, and Scotland; and then let the State

regard and treat them accordingly. *Until* this is the case, the augmentation of the grant to the College of Maynooth is nothing less than a sacrifice of our own strength to aggrandize a *foreign* and *hostile* power *against ourselves*. It is to be hoped that we may hear no more of this pretended analogy, which is unjust, unloyal, and untrue.

All intention of *interference* with the present *constitution* of Maynooth is distinctly *disclaimed* by the framers of the new measure.

Such being the condition of things, the case assumes a still more serious aspect.

In the absence of such reasoning as I have described, I have felt a stronger desire to search for arguments *against* my own conclusions. Nothing, I think, can affect the very momentous deductions which we have derived from the *relation* of the *Trustees* and *Professors* of *Maynooth* to the see of *Rome*, and the consequent *anti-monarchical* character of its agency and results. But it has occurred to me to consider, that it may perhaps be alleged by some, that the facts above stated, concerning the nature of the *Jesuitical* influence prevalent at Maynooth, are not of very recent date. It may be said that Dr. Murray, who evinced so much eagerness to introduce Mr. Kenney as his Colleague and Deputy in the Institution,—so that, as Mr. Kenney himself tells us, his election to the Vice-presidency was “the effect of the *earnest request* of the then coadjutor Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Murray), who

was at that time the President of the College¹—has *ceased* to be President since the year 1813; and that Mr. Kenney himself quitted the College in the same year; and that it is therefore *probable at least* that Maynooth may now be exempt from Jesuitical influence. To this we reply, that we would gladly indulge this hope: we would willingly believe that such is the case. But let us have *evidence* of the fact being so. This is what we desire. As we said before, we derive our knowledge of Maynooth from Maynooth itself. And from it we gather no such comfortable assurance as that just mentioned, but *the reverse*.

As we have said, we willingly consent to know nothing of Maynooth, but from Maynooth itself. And what is the most recent evidence from that quarter even concerning Dr. Murray and Mr. Kenney? and what inferences are we thence compelled to derive?

We find from the records of the College, that Dr. Murray resigned his office of *President* in 1813; but that he ceased to be President only in order to become *both* a *Trustee* and a *Visitor* of the College; being also titular Archbishop of Dublin (at a distance of only twelve miles from Maynooth); and that he holds this joint office of *Trustee* and *Visitor* at this day: and we now further find, that the *very person who introduced the Head of the Jesuits as*

¹ Maynooth Report, p. 381.

Vice-President into Maynooth is to be confirmed in both those offices by the new measure. And from Dr. Murray's own declaration—to quote his words—“that he was so happy as to be able to *procure the advantage of Mr. Kenney's assistance*” while he was President, and from his public avowal to the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry in 1826¹, that he “should be very happy that *all* should have a respect for the *Jesuit body*; and that *he himself had a great respect for the Jesuit body*;” and from his confession that “he was intimately acquainted with the Institution of the Sodality of the *Sacred Heart*,” whose connexion with the Jesuits admits of no reasonable doubt (see above, p. 65—68), and that its institution was in fact “*recommended by*” himself²—we may conjecture in what spirit he has exercised, still exercises, and will continue to exercise, his influence in his united offices of *Trustee* and *Visitor*, especially if, *instead of reprobation*, he should now only receive fresh honour, encouragement, and power, from Parliament and from the Country, when made fully aware of the principles in which he acted as *President*.

And further, though Mr. Kenney too quitted Maynooth in 1813, as we have seen, yet he left it only to become Founder and President of the *Jesuit College of Clongowes*, at a distance only of *six miles* from Maynooth; and he was specially invited, as

¹ Maynooth Report, p. 410.

² Ibid. p. 409.

we have also seen, by the authorities of Maynooth, from time to time, to resume his office there of teaching and superintendence; to quote his own words, "he was very often asked to conduct the spiritual Retreats" of the Students at the College¹. He was still, not in *name*, but in *fact*, Vice-President of Maynooth while he was President of Clongowes.

I will not travel beyond the records of Maynooth to trace him further; but I cannot fail to observe that in the most recent public official document which we possess concerning it, Dr. Crotty himself, the then *President* of Maynooth (in 1826), notwithstanding all the reserve which his situation would necessarily inspire,—especially in the presence of a Commission of Enquiry,—stated² that he "considered the school of Clongowes" (conducted by Mr. Kenney and nine other *Jesuits*) "to be the *best in Ireland* to which Roman Catholics can have recourse."

But even *if* Dr. Murray and Mr. Kenney had *now* no connexion whatever with Maynooth; even if *circumstances*, in this respect, *were* changed; yet the *Constitution* of Maynooth is *not* changed. Eleven of the fifteen Trustees are still nominees of the *Pope*, bound to him by the most solemn oaths. They are still a self-elected body; and elect the Professors,

¹ Maynooth Report, p. 382. See above, pp. 62—70.

² Maynooth Report, p. 92.

who are also bound by an oath of obedience to the Pope. The same causes will continue to produce the same effects. Mr. Kenney himself, in reply to the question of the Commissioners, whether "the Education given in the College of Palermo (at which Mr. Kenney was educated, and which, in his own words¹, "is *exclusively* under the management of *Jesuits*,") is the *same*, or materially different from that of *Maynooth*?" answered, that "*All the principles of faith and morals are precisely the same*?" As long as the organization of the College remains unaltered, whether this *individual* or that happens to be connected with it, is comparatively of little moment. *One Murray and one Kenney may disappear*; but *others* will soon rise up in their room. And it is now proposed not only *not to change* the system, but to give it greater permanence and greater power.

And as a further demonstration of this, let us observe, that, on the same occasion above specified, Dr. Crotty said², that though he *believed* that, "considering the *present* state of *public opinion*,—I mean (he adds) that of the *Protestant* portion of the empire,—the Board of Trustees would not *wish* to appoint a person *professedly* a *Jesuit* to any situation in the College, yet I beg leave (he said) to state, that I

¹ Maynooth Report, p. 396.

² Ibid. p. 382.

³ Ibid. p. 92.

think they would not reject him on *any other ground.*"

If, now, this *only* bar to the election of a Jesuit should be removed; if this sole *ground* of objection should be taken away; if the "*public opinion*," which was the *only* obstacle to the election of *Jesuits* "*professedly* such," (and there are many who *are* Jesuits without being such *professedly*,) which existed in 1826, and which was even then, as we have seen, *no obstacle at all* to the election of the *leading Jesuit of Ireland* to the much more responsible office of *Vice-President* of Maynooth,—if, I say, this impediment should now be removed, and if the "*public opinion*" (after all the evidence of the case has been placed before it) should be so changed, as to vote new honours and endowments to Maynooth; if it should *treble* the resources of the Trustees, and give them fresh dignity and permanence as a Body Corporate, and should thus signify its *approval* of their past conduct, and its *confidence* in them for the future, then the Constitution of Maynooth, thus strengthened and amplified, will bring forth its past and present fruits in tenfold abundance; then, instead of what we have *already* witnessed of both *Papal* and *Jesuitical* influence, we shall have the same multiplied in infinite amount and intensity; and we may form a reasonable conjecture of the tremendous consequences which will result, and that in a very short period of time, from the aggrandizement of that system, which

has already done so much to weaken the stability of the Monarchy of the United Kingdom. Every fresh stone added to the fabric of Maynooth will be taken from the foundations of the British Throne.

THE END.

GILBERT & RIVINGTON, Printers, St. John's Square, London.

A REVIEW

OF THE

MAYNOOTH ENDOWMENT BILL,

SHEWING ITS FATAL TENDENCIES,

AND OF THE

DEBATES IN THE COMMONS,

ON THE FIRST AND SECOND READING ;

WITH A PROPOSAL FOR

THE CONCILIATION

OF CONTENDING PARTIES IN IRELAND.



BY THE AUTHOR OF

"MAYNOOTH, THE CROWN, AND THE COUNTRY."

"In necessariis Unitas, in dubiis Libertas, in omnibus Caritas."—S. AUG.

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“*Maynooth, the Crown, and the Country*,” that Pamphlet
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¹ I quote the following testimony on this subject from a French work, published last year at Paris, *Histoire de la Société Domestique*, par M. L'Abbé GAUME, p. cxv. "Abolir la suprématie Anglicane en *Irlande*," s'écriait naguère Sir Robert Peel : "c'est l'abolir en *Angleterre* ; c'est rescinder la Constitution, c'est briser tous les liens qui unissent l'Eglise à l'Etat : or, l'Angleterre n'est pas mûre pour cette Révolution."

* "Dans une séance du Parlement, Février, 1844."

OBSERVATIONS,

&c.

THE following extract from the *Tablet*, Romanist newspaper, of April 19, 1845, will put the reader in possession of the provisions of the new measure for the endowment of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, and of the language with which it has been received by the advocates of Repeal in Dublin.

LOYAL NATIONAL REPEAL ASSOCIATION.

The weekly meeting of the Association was held on Monday, April 13, in the *Conciliation Hall*; EDWARD CLEMENTS, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, in the chair.

The LIBERATOR then brought up the Committee's Report on the Bill for the *perpetual endowment* of the College of Maynooth; which follows:—

“The bill now before Parliament on the subject of Maynooth College is intended to be an amendment of the former statutes respecting that subject. There are no less than three such statutes—two enacted by the *Irish* Parliament before the Union, and a third by the Imperial Legislature.

“In order, therefore, to understand the proposed amendments it is necessary to keep in view the present state of the law and

the nature and extent of the powers and rights conferred by the existing statutes.

"The *first* of these Acts was passed in the year 1795. Its technical description is 36th Geo. III. chap. 21.

"The *second* Act was passed in the year 1800. It is technically called the 40th Geo. III. chap. 85.

"The *third* Act was passed in the year 1808, and is called the 48th Geo. III. chap. 145¹.

"The first of these Acts, that of 1795, has for its title, 'An Act for the better education of persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion,' and after a recital²—probably an inaccurate recital—of the then existing law, it enacts that four persons—that is, the Lord Chancellor and the three chief Judges in Ireland (*all of whom must at that period have been Protestants*), together with six noblemen and gentlemen named in the Act, all of whom were Catholics, and *eleven dignitaries*³ of the Catholic Church in Ireland, with their successors to be elected in the mode in that act specified, should be Trustees for the establishment and continuance of the then intended College, and for its maintenance.

"It was thus that the board of Trustees were originally constituted: four Protestants, six lay Catholics, and eleven Catholic ecclesiastics—in all twenty-one.

"The perpetual continuance of that board was provided for by vesting in the *Trustees a power of filling up every vacancy* which should thereafter occur in their number.

"The only alteration that has been since made in the board is by the Act of 1808; by the 4th section of which the Chancellor

¹ The three above-mentioned Acts, together with the Statutes of the College of Maynooth, will be found in the *Eighth Report* of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry (1827), which relates specially to the College of Maynooth, and which I cite as "Maynooth Report," in the following pages, as I have done in those of *Maynooth, the Crown, and the Country*.

² See note, p. 11.

³ *i. e.* the four titular Archbishops and seven Bishops.

and Judges *cease* to be any longer Trustees. The number of the Trustees was thus reduced to seventeen, being *six laymen and eleven ecclesiastics, all Catholics*. It is believed that in point of fact this proportion of *laymen to ecclesiastics, continues the same to the present day*. But there is no necessity to keep up that proportion; and perhaps it *would be more wise* to have all the Trustees *clergymen* than to intermingle laymen in the management of an exclusively ecclesiastic seminary; however, if the majority of the Trustees should be of this opinion, they can easily effectuate their purpose on the death or resignation of the lay Trustees. No further legislative interference is necessary on the subject.

"The *lay* Trustees appear to be in reality rather honorary and *nominal than efficient Trustees*; under the circumstances it necessarily must be so. The *powers* of the Trustees under the existing acts are very comprehensive. In them is vested the entire property of the College. They have the power to *appoint the president, professors, and scholars*, and all the necessary servants and assistants; and to regulate the amount of all salaries; and to make bye-laws and regulations—in short, to *manage and control the entire system of education*, the order of studies, and the periods of attendance, as well as all the details for the subsistence and maintenance of the students.

"The Trustees act by the majority, and it appears that at least seven persons should attend, in order to constitute a board.

"Besides the Trustees there are other functionaries—namely, visitors, appointed by the existing laws. Those visitors were first appointed as a separate body by the Act of the year 1800. They consisted under that Act of five Protestants and three Catholics. The Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, however, was one of them. But as that office has ceased, the visitors now consist of four Protestants and three Catholics. This Protestant majority would certainly, to say the least of it, be very objectionable, only that the third section expressly provides that the authority of the mixed visitors, Catholic and Protestant, shall not

extend to, or in any manner affect, *the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, or the religious doctrine or discipline thereof*, within the College. And by the ninth section it is enacted that in all matters which relate to the exercise, or discipline of the Roman Catholic religion, the visitorial power shall be exercised exclusively by such of the visitors as are Catholics.

" Thus, therefore, by the existing law, all the trustees, in whom the entire management of the College is vested, are Catholics; and the visitorial authority over them is vested exclusively, as to all matters that may anywise affect the doctrine or discipline of the Catholic Church, in the Catholic visitors.

" The present Catholic visitors are, his Grace the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, HIS GRACE THE CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, and the Earl of Fingal.

" It is necessary to be observed that the present trustees are authorised by the act of 1795, to acquire lands exclusive of the College premises, of the annual value of 1000*l.* But it is *conceived, that*, as the law now stands, lands to *any amount* and value may be effectually vested in trust for those trustees.

" It will be otherwise if the present bill pass into law.

" The frame of the present bill is this—

" By the 1st section the *trustees of the College, and their successors, for ever*, are formed in a corporation or body politic, under the name of the trustees of the College of Maynooth; and by that name they are to have perpetual succession and a common seal; and by that name they are empowered to sue, and be sued. And this corporation is to have and possess all the powers vested in the trustees by the former Acts.

" By the 2d section the new corporation is entitled to acquire lands not exceeding the *annual value of 3000*l.** These three thousand pounds are to be *exclusive* of the property possessed at present by the trustees; and which property is, by the third section, vested in the new corporation.

" By the 4th section provision is made for the salaries of the President, Vice-president, Officers, and Professors of the Col-

lege, and for an increase in their numbers; and for these purposes the sum of 6000*l.* is allotted.

“ By the 5th section an annual sum of 40*l.* is to be paid to each of the twenty senior students; making the number of free students altogether 500 ⁴.

“ By the 7th section a provision of 28*l.* each is made for the maintenance of the twenty senior students on the Dunboyne Establishment, and of the 500 free scholars; making together a sum of 14,560*l.*

“ The 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th sections of the Bill make a provision to the extent of 30,000*l.* for repairs and new buildings for the College Establishment, to be expended under the inspection of the Board of Works.

“ By the 13th section the visitorial power in the *Lord Chancellor and Chief Judges is repealed.*

“ By the 14th section power is given to the Government to nominate five other visitors, all of whom may be Protestants. *But the three Catholic visitors at present existing are continued, and are entitled to appoint their successors; so that under this Act the visitors will consist of five appointed by the Government and of three Catholics.*

“ By the 17th section, *however, this Board of Visitors are to have no power or authority over any matter relative to the doctrine or discipline of the Catholic Church.*

“ By the 18th section the visitorial power as to every thing that relates to, or in any way affects the doctrine or discipline of the Catholic Church, is vested exclusively in the Catholic visitors.

“ Such is, we conceive, an accurate abstract of the Bill before the House of Commons. As far as we understand the matter, the Bill appears to be framed in a just and conciliatory spirit, and to present no matter of difficulty or doubt in any of its

⁴ The change here is very remarkable. The number of free scholars (i. e. of *poorer students*) is increased by the new measure from 250 to 500.

details to any Roman Catholic, however suspicious he may have been rendered by reason of the conduct of the present or any former Government.

"A question, however, arises *upon the principle* involved in the Bill. The Catholic clergy and laity have heretofore unanimously protested—and they do still protest—against any State provision for the Catholic Church in Ireland. They have repeatedly declared that they still are of opinion that no one class of Christians ought to be called on to support the clergy of any other persuasion than their own.

"Circumstanced, however, as this country now is, with its ecclesiastical State revenues, *originally granted for Roman Catholic purposes*, vested in the Protestant Church Establishment, it is deemed no infringement of *the voluntary principle* to receive, *by way of restitution*, the means of educating the Catholic clergy, especially when tendered in so satisfactory and conciliatory a manner as it is by this Bill.

"DANIEL O'CONNELL,

"*Chairman of the Committee.*"

Such, then, is the measure introduced into the House of Commons by the First Minister of the Crown on Thursday, April 3, 1845.

Let us now consider the *arguments* adduced in its behalf.

1. We are assured by Sir R. Peel that it "involves *no one new principle*;" and it seems to be his earnest desire and endeavour to persuade the House of Commons that they were parties to the Acts by which the College exists, and that they have already virtually given their assent to every tittle of the present Bill. He therefore addresses them as follows:—

"By the combined efforts of those three Acts³, *you provide for*

³ See above, p. 4.

the establishment of a college for the education of Roman Catholics only,—the words you make use of is the ‘establishment’ of a College. Whom have you appointed as the visitors of that College? Have you, by existing statutes, disclaimed connexion with that College, and repudiated it as a guilty thing with which you will hold no communion? You have appointed the Lord Chancellor and the highest judicial authorities as the visitors of that institution which you have so established. You provide only, it is true, by an annual vote, for the president, certain officers, and professors of that College; but the Acts which have received your sanction expressly speak of ‘Fellows’ of that College to be endowed. The Acts originally contemplated a perfect system of collegiate education, consisting of scholars, of masters, of professors, and of fellows. You have repealed the Statute of Mortmain in favour of that College. These are the enactments which have received the sanction of the Legislature; and I ask whether I have not completely established, that if it be a violation of principle to enter into a connexion with the Roman Catholic priesthood, that violation of principle has been deliberately committed by the Government and Parliament of this country?”

On the strength of these assertions, that the present House of Commons has sanctioned the foundation and constitution of Maynooth, and has, to all intents and purposes, identified itself with that College, Sir Robert Peel proceeds to say—

“We believe—indeed we know—that the question between us can only be a question of greater liberality and increased pecuniary means, because we have introduced no one new principle. We have, on the one hand, not claimed from the Roman Catholics any greater degree of supervision or intermeddling with their discipline, and, on the other hand, we have given nothing except upon the foundation and for the purpose which have been for a half century recognized.”

From these allegations, it would appear that Prime Minister is of opinion that he is calling the Legislature to do nothing but what they have already been doing, not indeed in *degree*, but in *kind* for half a century.

But is this really the fact? is it any thing like the actual state of the case, as shown by uncorroborated evidence? First, who were the authors of the two of the three enactments concerning Maynooth? Were the House of Commons? were they even bound by any ties to them? No. Both these acts were measures of the *Irish* parliament; they were antecedent to the Union,—one being passed in 1795, the other in 1800, August 1st; the Union was not carried into effect till the following January.

And, secondly, what was the tenor of these enactments? The first, as stands written on the face of its preamble, was an Act of *Relief* from certain pains and penalties? It *permitted* the Romanists to do what they could *not*⁶ do before,—“to *endow* a College

⁶ The preamble is as follows:—

“Whereas, by the laws now in force in this Kingdom, it is *not lawful to endow any College or Seminary* for the education of persons exclusively of persons professing the *Roman Catholic religion*; and it is now become expedient that a Seminary should be established for that purpose; Be it therefore enacted, &c. &c. that the Trustees shall have full power and authority to receive *subscriptions* and donations to *enable* them to establish and endow an Academy for the education of persons professing the *Roman Catholic religion*, and to purchase and acquire lands not exceeding the annual value of one thousand pounds, and to erect

persons exclusively" of their own religion. It appointed certain trustees of the College to be so endowed, and allowed "them to *receive* subscriptions and donations, to enable them to endow an academy for the education" of such persons ; and it makes a grant of £8000 for the year 1795 in aid of the said seminary. The second Act, that of 1800, gave no new endowment ; it was designed simply, as its preamble states, "for the better government of the College."

But, it will be said, the third Act, that of 1808, *was* one of the Imperial Parliament. In that the House of Commons had a share. Yes. And what was the drift of this measure? Merely to allow the Trustees to compromise suits on certain conditions, and to exempt the ground on which the buildings of the College stand, and the lands held under lease from the Duke of Leinster, from being considered part of the value of the £1000 which the Trustees had been allowed to purchase, and to which they were restricted. These are the *only* provisions of this Act of 1808 ; and no other Act, relative to Maynooth, has been passed since that time.

I think, therefore, that any one who will compare these three Acts with the Bill now before Parliament, will see reason to question whether the foundation

maintain all such buildings as may be by the said Trustees deemed necessary for the lodging and accommodation of the President, Masters, Professors, Fellows and Students, who shall, from time to time, be admitted into, or reside in such Academy."

of Maynooth is to be ascribed to the British Parliament; and whether, even supposing that had been the case, they could be bound by their antecedent conduct to acquiesce, on the ground of consistency in the present measure, "because *no new principle* has been introduced" in it. For, in truth, both the Agents and the Act are different; and, according to an examination of the language of the speakers on both sides of the House, I can scarcely find one who concurs in the fundamental principle—that of the similarity of the *present measure* to former Acts—which it is based by the Prime Minister.

Take, in the first instance, the expressions of Lord John Russell on the subject. He distinctly asserts—

"Neither can I agree with the right hon. gentleman Secretary for the Home Department, that this whole question *as to its principle was decided in 1795*; for, were I to assent with that opinion, I should in the same manner concede that the Charitable Bequests Act of last year contained—which I do not think it did—the whole question of the endowment by the State of the Roman Catholic Church. The Act of 1795, I understand it, *allowed the Roman Catholics to found their own College, and to give their own lands and money for that purpose*. Then, from year to year, we have voted a sum out of the funds thus contributed. I consider that a totally different measure—one differing in degree, differing in kind—is now before us."

And, in a similar manner, Mr. Macaulay declares—

"If you can show us that this is a question of principle, I am *one* shall be ready to give way*. But I defy you to do

I heard something about a contract made at the time of the Union by the Irish Parliament and this country, binding us to keep this College up, or to continue the grant. I do not admit this. *I do not admit the existence of any contract with the old Irish Parliament and the Irish people* which in the least degree absolves us from legislating for this College. *I consider that we have as much right to deal with this College as with any other Irish question. Moreover, I conceive that I am just as much at liberty to vote against the renewal of the grant, or against the grant altogether, as I am to vote upon a grant for the Artillery or the Marines.*" (Hear, hear.)

And Mr. Sheil rejoices in this measure as the commencement of an entirely *new* era in Irish legislation.

"This I consider to be the FIRST of a series of measures (loud cheers and counter-cheers), by which you may fasten the two countries together (cheers); and I am confirmed in that belief by the speech which was delivered last night by the right hon. gentleman the Secretary for the Home Department."

And, in a different tone, not of exultation, but of sorrow, the learned Member for Dublin University, Mr. Shaw, adds the weight of his judgment to that of those which we have already cited, and brings with him another witness in Mr. Gladstone.

"He (Mr. Shaw) was in Ireland when the report of the speech of his *right hon. friend the first Minister of the Crown* (Sir R. Peel) upon the introduction of the Bill, and a copy of the Bill itself, reached that country; and he recollected no event which had caused such painful disappointment, such deep depression, in the minds of the Protestants of Ireland. (Hear.) They regarded the present measure as what it had indeed in that debate, and especially by his *right hon. friend the member for Newark* (Mr. Glad-

stone) *been candidly admitted to be—the first regular endowment since the Reformation, of the Roman Catholic religion, in any part of the united kingdom.* He regarded it as a clear indication that for the future *Ireland was not to be treated as an integral part of the British empire; and as the 'heaviest blow' that ever had been struck by foe or by friend against the Established Church in Ireland.* (Cheers.) He (Mr. Shaw) had always considered the annual grant to Maynooth a matter of very doubtful policy, and he acquiesced in and legalized principally because its discontinuance would have brought pecuniary embarrassment and personal injury on the individuals whose main support it was (hear); but he was saved the necessity of arguing that it was not in pursuance of any compact, much less that it was partly of the same character as the measure then before the House, by only adopting the words of his right hon. friend (Mr. Gladstone), who, in his speech advocating the measure, declared it to be '*in substance a new measure,*' and that the Government, in proposing it, '*only carried the basis of the grant from an annual grant to a permanent Endowment by Act of Parliament,* but by placing the buildings under the immediate care of the Government thereby established as close a relation as it was possible to establish between the state and the College by any legislative measure."

To sum up the evidence on this part of the subject. On comparing the Act of 1795 with that of 1845, we find—

(1.) That the *circumstances* of the two cases were widely different. In 1795 (as I have before shown) all the Roman Catholic seminaries on the Continent were destroyed; and the Continent closed against British subjects. But in 1845 these Colleges exist in full operation. There are such Colleges at Valladolid and at Douay; there is

Collegio Inglese, and the Collegio Irlandese at Rome; there is the Collège Irlandais at Paris, which I know to be in a prosperous condition; and I believe that I am speaking the language of all intelligent Roman Catholics, both Ecclesiastical and Lay, when I say, (without any prejudice against the training at Maynooth,) that the Ecclesiastics educated in them are, from the very circumstances of their position,—from their wider experience of men and things,—of a more enlightened and liberal character than those reared at Maynooth, to which they are brought as freshmen from their own homes, and which they leave, as ordained priests, to become the spiritual rulers of their respective parishes. I impute, in *this* respect, no fault to the young men, nor to their teachers: the evil, and a most serious one it is, lies in the *system*; it lies with the State which sanctions it, and which now proposes to confirm, increase⁷, and perpetuate it.

(2.) Again, in 1795, British Roman Catholics had no private Colleges *at home*. As the preamble of the Act of 1795 states, the law did not permit⁸ them. But in 1845 the case is widely different. In England they have now private seminaries at Old Hall Green, Ushaw, Oscott, Prior Park, Stonyhurst,

⁷ By augmentation of *revenue* from 8000*l.* to 26,000*l.*, by multiplying the *Professors*, by *doubling* the number of *free scholars*. (See above, p. 7.)

⁸ Above, p. 10, *note*.

Ampleforth, Downside, Everton, Ratchliffe; and in Scotland at Blair's, near Aberdeen.

There is, then, we see, no want of Roman Catholic Colleges in England and Scotland. And what is the case with Ireland? Notwithstanding the foundation of Maynooth, to which the Country has contributed an annual grant of about 9000*l.* since 1795, *other Ecclesiastical Seminaries* have arisen in all parts of Ireland from *private* endowments. There are Institutions of this kind at ⁹Carlow, at Kilkenny, at Tuam, at Waterford, and Wexford. So that there appears to be very good ground for Sir R. Peel's supposition, as expressed in the following words,—though, for reasons already adduced, we cannot concur in the justice of his argument, that because the country has continued an *annual* grant, bequeathed to it by the Irish Parliament, of 9000*l.* a-year, under very peculiar circumstances, it should convert this annual grant into a permanent endowment of 26,000*l.* a-year, under circumstances totally different,—

*“ Remove the grant altogether, and you will find on the part of the Romanists of Ireland, I have no doubt, a disposition to make the pecuniary sacrifice, and to provide some, perhaps an imperfect endowment, by VOLUNTARY contributions, for the education of their priesthood. But the grant of 9000*l.* a-year, the public undertaking, on the part of the Government, to endow an institution, and to provide instruction, has the effect of discouraging the contributions of others, and yet that sum is ineffectual for its purpose. Now, what do we do? If it be a violation of principle to provide*

⁹ Maynooth Report, p. 9.

instruction for the Roman Catholic priesthood, we are guilty of that violation of principle now. (Hear.) A grant of 9000*l.* a-year, professedly for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood, is a violation of principle at least as great as any which I shall propose to the house." (Cheers.)

But what I would here inquire is,—granting that this endowment of 26,000*l.* a-year, given without any control or restraint of any kind, in a *manner* to elicit the approval of Mr. O'Connell, though in his opinion of such a *kind* as only to be regarded as an act of *restitution*, and as an earnest of other similar boons, as "the first of a series" of them (to use the words of Mr. Sheil),—allowing, I say, that this 26,000*l.* a-year may be very acceptable at *Maynooth*, yet how will it be regarded at Tuam and at Carlow, how at Rome, at Paris, and at Valladolid? to say nothing of Oscott and Stonyhurst? Will *they* rest easily and complacently at the sight of this magnificent endowment—greater than any which the STATE *has ever* conferred on all our own Colleges¹ at Oxford or Cambridge—bestowed upon *Maynooth* without any inquiry into its *political* tendency, and without examination of the uses which it has made of the public money it has received at the hands of the British nation, without even a glance being vouchsafed at the evidence, of the most serious and momentous kind and affecting deeply the peace of the country and the security of the throne, which has

¹ See below further on this point.

been already placed before Her Majesty's Government, and to which I shall make additions in these pages,—bestowed also without any provision for such control as is exercised by the same Government over every National School of England, to which it contributes a sixpence of the public money? Will these *other* Roman Catholic Institutions, I ask, remain unconcerned spectators of this boon to Maynooth? will *they* have no claims to prefer for similar acts of *restitution* to themselves? and if *these* also are to be granted, and on similar terms, *where* is this work of *restitution* to stop? where is the inexhaustible fund whence these largesses are to be drawn? and if they are *not* to be conceded, where is the work of *conciliation* which the grant to Maynooth is to achieve? where the end to agitation which it is to accomplish?

For my own part I see in this concession nothing but the opening of a door to a hundred claims of a similar kind, and to a series of acts of spoliation, sacrilege, outrage, murder, and (the least of all its consequent evils) of taxation, insupportable to the people, and exciting them to sedition and insurrection. And all for what? To satisfy demands which we ourselves shall have rendered *insatiable* by our *attempts* to satisfy them.

That no prescriptive rights of property in Ireland will protect it, if the interests of the Church of Rome should demand its sequestration, and if the Government should listen to her present claims on

the plea of expediency or any other, is unhappily too evident from the following language of Mr. Sheil, in the late debate, concerning the policy of England in Canada,—

“ You have placed the Roman Catholics there in their just relation towards the State, and, having performed this *act of wisdom*, you followed it up by *endowing the Catholic clergy there with a portion of those lands which had been reserved for the endowment of the Protestant Church*. (Cheers and counter-cheers.) That was, I am ready to admit, a very strong measure (hear, hear); it was *no less than taking a portion of the property of the Protestant Church for the purpose of bestowing it as an endowment on the Roman Catholic clergy*. (Cheers and counter-cheers.) In so doing *you acted wisely*. Have you now any doubt that, in the event of a war with the United States, you will derive the most *valuable results* from this course of proceeding? (Cheers.) I have shown you what has been the consequence of treating the Roman Catholics in Canada with justice and confidence. If you can conciliate the Roman Catholics of that colony, can you not *do so with the Roman Catholics of Ireland in their own country*? You can; and by pursuing that course towards them you will raise up a bulwark in that country, which will prove of more real security than all the cannon in the forts along its shores.”

And in a similar tone even a Protestant Member of the Legislature (Sir C. Napier) calls upon us to adopt this bill, from fear of the dangers to be otherwise apprehended from *France*,—

“ He was not a man, in the event of a war, to invite continental Catholic nations to carry a force into Catholic Ireland to fight against Protestant England; but he thought the hon. member for the University of Oxford and his friends ought to be careful what they were doing in order to gratify their own

feelings. That was not the moment they ought to push things to extremities; for if they did, even in peace Ireland would not remain quiet; and *in case of a war*, a storm might be raised that could not be put down. They had seen *French fleets* going into all parts of the world; they had seen Bonaparte attempt to invade this country in 1805, and but for the disobedience of his orders by one of his generals, he would have succeeded. Now, let him just call the attention of the hon. baronet to the state of their steam navy at this moment. (Laughter.) Hon. gentlemen argued the case in their way, and he must be allowed to argue it in his way. (Hear, hear.) *The French had at this moment an immense fleet, and by a French paper which he had received that morning he found that some steamers which had been built for the Transatlantic navigation were said to be unfit for the purpose, and were to be converted into men-of-war. They were capable of carrying each 2000 men; but he believed it was a blind from the beginning that they were said to be intended for any other purpose.*"

Mr. Colquhoun might well deprecate arguments of this nature,—

"With great surprise and with great regret he had heard the right hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel) make the appeal to Parliament, when he pointed, on the one hand, to the domestic difficulties he had to contend against in Ireland, and the strong combination of the party there who wished to dissolve the Union between the two countries, and then, two sentences further on, spoke of the dark and threatening cloud on the other side of the Atlantic, which he looked on, he said, with some apprehension. The right hon. baronet's words were, 'I own to you when I was called on to make that declaration, I did reflect with comfort and consolation that I had sent that night a message of peace to Ireland.' The right hon. baronet in that speech seemed to speak as if he were negotiating with a hostile nation *when he spoke of having sent a message of peace to Ireland. If it was right, if it was wise to establish on*

from foundations the College of Maynooth, let them do it because it was right (hear, hear); let them do it because in their strong, calm, deliberate convictions they regarded it as a measure of conciliation to Ireland which it was desirable to pass; but let him not tell them that Conciliation-hall was to subdue his judgment, and make him acquiesce in a measure which he condemned. In France what did they infer but that this was a concession to our terrors?"

Alas! what a course of sin and misery is that on which we are invited to enter. Sacrilege is now extolled as "an act of wisdom!" and violation of our solemn vows to Almighty God, and an act of robbery of Him and of His Church is proposed as an example for imitation, and lauded as a thing from which, in the event of a foreign invasion, "we shall derive the most valuable results!" And where in the mean time is the God of armies, He whose minister war is, He whose scourge the foreign foe is, for the sins of a faithless and ungodly people? *If* we sacrifice His truth to avert the armies of France and America, it will be a matter of wonder indeed, if, in the course of His Divine Judgments, the arms both of France and America shall not hereafter be found to be leagued against us! And we shall be left alone, without peace within us, and without hope from above; nay, rather with God's wrath and fury poured out upon our heads. Rather, then, let us expiate the national sins of which we have been already guilty, let us not glory in our iniquities, and augment their number, and thus aggravate their consequences.

And, (2,) the *agents* in the measure of 1845 are very *different* from those of 1795. In the latter case

they were the Members of the Irish Parliament, in the former, they *are* those of the Imperial Legislature. It is true, that in the Seventh Article of the Act of Union, it is stipulated, that "a sum not less than the sum which has been granted by the Parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years immediately preceding Jan. 1, 1801, in premiums for maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, for the period of *twenty years* after the Union, to such local purposes in *Ireland*, and in such a *manner*, as the Parliament of the *United Kingdom* shall direct." But more than *twice twenty years* have *now* expired since the Union; and if the original grant to *Maynooth* is to be continued as a matter of *right*, and as a legacy bequeathed by the Irish to the Imperial Parliament as its executor, and to be paid by it accordingly, why are not the *other* grants of the Irish Parliament "for pious and charitable purposes" to be paid likewise?

It was stated on one (the Opposition) side of the House by Mr. Ellice—

"That the *old* Parliament granted money profusely to every body. Even in *Ireland* it voted 700,000*l.*² to Charter Schools; for many years it gave 100,000*l.* a year to build Protestant churches; a million was given to the Protestant Church to indemnify it for loss on the settlement of the tithe question."

And it was, therefore, very pertinently asked on the other side by Lord Bernard—

"If the House was bound by *this* compact—if by an unwritten law of national honour they were bound to continue

² Query this *amount*; but it does not affect the argument.

the grant to *Maynooth*,—were they not equally bound by a compact in the case of the *Chartered Schools* of Ireland? (Hear.) Yet, instead of the House continuing the grant of 17,000*l.* a-year to those schools, they had thrown into the other scale an annual grant of 75,000*l.* in opposition to the Protestant Church of Ireland."

Still more; so far from *continuing* the grant to the *Chartered Schools*, the Government has *refused* all aid to the *Protestant Schools*, although solicited by the almost unanimous voice of the Irish Episcopate; and yet, a few months after, with no solicitation but from the Professors of Maynooth to Lord Heytesbury, because it happens to be *in debt*, they propose to *treble* the national allowance to Maynooth!

Well, therefore, might Mr. Hamilton observe, as he did in his admirable speech in the late debate—

"The House ought to recollect that there was a great struggle going on in Ireland between two great antagonist principles, asserted and maintained by two opposing Churches. The effect of this measure would be to throw the whole weight of the Government and the Legislature into the *Roman Catholic scale*. That, he thought, was a serious consideration—it was a serious thing to consider that, while means were *refused* for the education of the children of the *established Church* in the principles of that Church, while disfavour in that respect was shown to the Protestants; the only clergy for whose education, as such, any provision was made by the State were the clergy of the *Roman Catholic Church*; and that at the very time when nearly the whole of that clergy had declared themselves the enemies of the British connexion, and when many of that clergy, as at Dingle and Ventry, were endeavouring to arrest the free course of religious opinion by means the most unjustifiable and unwarrantable."

And yet, after all this, the crime, the great crime, objected against the Protestants of Ireland is the

paucity of their numbers compared with the Romanists. They are *few* in number! and, therefore, they cannot be supported!

Good heavens! Napoleon might as well have complained, when he had sacked Moscow, that the inhabitants were so few in number, that its population was now so much reduced, that they were to expect no mercy at his hands! Or, if Herod had been asked, after the murder of the Innocents, to contribute any benefactions to the Rabbinical School at Bethlehem, he might have as reasonably replied, that "really the children were now so few in number, that they must be left to educate themselves!" For it is indeed but too true, that the Protestants of Ireland *are* few in number; but let us inquire, *WHO has made them so?* Let *them* who have refused all support to the education of their children give the answer! *They* have made them few; and they are doing all in their power to make them fewer still; and when they *have* done so, when on the plea of making *peace* they have created a *solitude*, they will then find, I fear, to their cost, the bitter fruits of their exterminating policy.

It is true, again, that the *Romanists* of Ireland *are* numerous. I need not stop to inquire *how* they have become so. But, for *their own sake*, as well as for that of the empire, they assuredly deserve the most wise, charitable, and paternal treatment from their rulers. And, for *this very reason*, I would beg leave very humbly to implore our Legislators to pause before they proceed further in the very awful course

on which they appear to have entered. You cannot, I know, convert them from Popery by the mere agency of any legislative enactments. Some of you even may think it undesirable to endeavour to do so. Let it be so. But, by the affection you bear them, by your loyalty to our common Sovereign, and by your love and dread of our common Creator, Redeemer, and Judge, do not deliver them over, bound hand and foot, to the worst influences of Popery, to Popery leagued with Democracy, unrefined by literature, unhallowed by obedience to the will of God, and by reverence for those authorities whom He has constituted as His own deputies and vicegerents upon earth.

I do not ask, *how* it has come to pass that the College of Maynooth has become infected with these principles. Let the fault be the fault of *England*. It is vain, when a fire is raging in the street, to waste our time in looking for its author. But *there* the principles are. I feel it a duty to Ireland, yes, and to Maynooth itself, to show this to be the case; and I *have* done this already, and propose to do it still further.

Rescue then the Romanists of Ireland, if you can, from such a state of bondage and misery as this, which I have described; and by God's help you *can* deliver them; at least you can refrain from adding weight to the yoke which is already on their shoulders: if you cannot cure the evil, at least you can abstain from aggravating it, in hope that a better season may arise when the remedy may become more easy of application.

That I am here speaking the sentiments of many of the Roman Catholics themselves, especially of the Laity, I am certain. I have already shown how earnest and persevering, in spite of the most formidable obstacles, have been their exertions on the side of loyalty. The evidence of that fact is deeply interesting and important (Appendix to *Maynooth*, &c., p. 111, and *ibid.* p. 78—81), and I beg permission here to refer to it.

And as a further demonstration of what I have there stated, and what I here repeat, let me also request leave to transcribe the following very remarkable words, published not more than four years ago, by no less a person than the Earl of Shrewsbury* :—

“When we behold O’Connell not only identifying himself with, but *becoming the life and soul, the very CREATOR of, this third party in the State*,—this union of radicals and repealers,—when we see him invest it with a character and power hitherto unknown to it; but, above all, when we find him holding out the hand of fellowship to persons of similar views on our side of the channel—ay, and in *America too*—and *threatening to produce the same political excitement amongst us* which he has succeeded in establishing at home, then, indeed, it appears to me, who consider not only mischief to our prosperity, but absolute danger to our long and justly cherished institutions to lurk therein,—that the term of our admiration should pass, and that even our gratitude for former services should give way before the duty which he imposes on us, to deal with him only in the new character in which he now appears. *That duty must conquer our reluctance*,—every feeling of sympathy for small and partial grievances,—if necessary, every present desire for the full accomplishment of

* Second Letter to Ambrose L. Philips, Esq., by the Right Hon. the Earl of Shrewsbury, 1841.

reforms but half achieved, should, for the moment at least, be merged in the primary object of *every good citizen*, the *preservation of peace and order*, and the protection of the great *bulwarks of our constitution* from the *inroads of revolutionary violence*.

"Let us try the question. Mr. O'Connell declares that he has a paramount object to gain,—the Repeal of the Legislative Union, 'the *only* permanent and *rational* mode of procuring *freedom and prosperity* for Ireland.' By *what means* is he to carry it?—for public opinion, as it is now represented, even in Ireland, is opposed to it. By the extension of the elective franchise, is the reply. If one extension will not do, for the question must be carried, he must have another; *and we soon arrive at universal suffrage*, which, indeed, he has already declared to be *his* panacea. He has, however, another chance,—*intimidation*.

' Hereditary bondsmen

By your own right arms your freedom must be wrought.'

"If one degree of intimidation be not successful, of course another must be tried; for the question *must* be carried: 'As sure (says he) as to-morrow's sun will rise, the Irish parliament will again assemble in College Green.' Well, suppose it.—But what right has Mr. O'Connell to suppose that the Irish peers will be more favourable to the *freedom* of Ireland when sitting in College Green, than in Westminster? And if not, how are they to be disposed of? By the *tender mercies* of a *domineering democracy*.—Between a domineering democracy and Lynch law there is no wide interval; and might not Mr. O'Connell himself find that Lynch law was not exactly the most rational degree of freedom?

"This blessed principle of equality once in operation, the crown *rolls in the dust*, the *CORONETS follow*,—the mitre is trodden under foot,—the spoils are collected and divided, the triumph of the poor over the rich, of the illiterate over the instructed, of *physical* over *moral* force, is at *once complete*." (pages 9—13.)

The Earl of Shrewsbury was publicly rebuked for

these words by one of the Roman Catholic Prebendaries, as follows⁴,—

“True, my Lord: but whose doing is this? ‘The crown, the coronet, and the mitre’ league together to keep a nation in its rights. The case then, in natural law, will stand thus:—

“The crown, the coronet, and the mitre league together to wrong a nation, and to violate its rights. So much on the one side. That nation refuses to part with its rights. So much on the other.

“The two parties are fairly pitted against each other.

“Next, by right of combat, the party whose rights are attacked re-attacks the other. So far the scales are even.”

But to return to our comparison of the Maynooth Bill of 1845 with the Act of 1795.

We have shown that the *circumstances* of the two cases are very different, that the *agents* are very different, and let us now observe, (3,) that the *Acts* are wholly unlike.

The Act of 1795 was, as we have seen, one of *relief*; it was a removal of *disabilities*; it was an act of benevolence, in that it gave a certain contribution toward the accomplishment of the object which it made possible of attainment. It was an Act, if you will, of a promissory kind, creating a certain expectation, that, *unless* reasons to the contrary should appear, the grant then made to the College should be renewed from time to time *durante bene placito*, in aid of the same object.

⁴ Remarks upon the proposal of the Earl of Shrewsbury for the relief of the Catholics of England; by the Rev. John Smith. Liverpool, 1842.

the Bill of 1845 is very different from this. All this has been very well stated by Lord Ashley, whose words I beg leave to cite:—

*" I know that by the original constitution of this College, it was based on an Act of Parliament (not the Imperial but the Irish Parliament); but there is a great difference between the Act of Parliament proposed at that time and the measure now before the House. The Act of Parliament of that day was one for the repeal of a penal law. At that time it was illegal for the Catholics to found a college for the purposes of education in the Roman Catholic religion, and it was necessary to remove that disability. The College was founded, and a small sum of money granted towards establishing that seminary; but observe, the present Act not only founds the College, but gives it trustees in perpetual succession; and, what is of still more importance, endows it in perpetuity with the large sum of 26,000*l.* a-year. I cannot understand how it can be said that the difference between this Act and the Act by which the College was first founded is not sufficient to justify the opposition made to the measure. It seems to involve the whole distinction; the present Bill, by giving such an endowment, takes the expense of educating the Roman Catholic priesthood on the State, and whereas, by the other Act, only a small sum of money was given in aid of contribution for this purpose, this measure establishes a complete distinction, and makes the State the party to the education of those persons, and places the College, as one of the institutions of the realm, on the same footing—except that it is treated with much greater favour—as the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin. I believe that the endowment of this College in perpetuity, and the removal of the grant from the annual estimates, has more displeased and more alarmed the people of this country than if the grant itself had been increased threefold. They say that this measure is an immediate, direct, and perpetual recognition of the Roman Catholic Church, as one of the standing institutions of the empire. ('Hear, hear,' from Mr. Sheil.) No doubt*

the right hon. gentleman is quite right according to his view, but I am urging this as one of the objections to this measure.

And Sir Robert Inglis further said—

“ In 1808, Sir Arthur Wellesley stated in the British House of Commons, that when Maynooth institution was first established, *it was not intended that it should be maintained by the public purse*; and the memorial of the Roman Catholic Archbishop Dr. Troy, dated on January 14, 1794, showed that the objection to the contemplation of the Roman Catholics at that time was *not permitted to establish the institution at Maynooth with their own funds*. Mr. Perceval had declared, in 1808, that the Roman Catholics *promised to defray the whole expense themselves*, though the *Government and Parliament gave them 8000l.* per annum for the object, that was no reason that the country should be *subject to constantly increasing demands.*”

It is on these grounds that the same noble member above-mentioned, most truly said—

“ *This question, Sir, ought to receive from us the fullest and most minute investigation. It exceeds in importance any measure ever offered to this House, for good or for evil. I have never known any measure more important, for good or for evil, than the Catholic Relief Bill (hear, hear); and it exceeds in importance the Catholic Relief Bill (hear, hear); and it exceeds it on every ground,—when we removed the disabilities that pressed on the Roman Catholics, we removed restraints, and gave free scope to their opportunity to free action on their part; but, in the present measure, we not only remove disabilities and restraints—we ourselves give that free action, and give all our energy and all our support to the principles of the Roman Catholic religion.*”

And therefore it is that the eyes of all, who are well to the Institutions of our country, cannot but look with feelings of the most earnest solicitude

the course which will be pursued by all, and by each, of our Legislators in this most critical juncture.

The present Bill is essentially a *new measure* : and this fact cannot be too strongly enforced ; because it was introduced to Parliament, and recommended to its willing and confiding acceptance, on this very ground that it contained ‘ no new principle ’⁵ ; nothing to which the Legislature had not already given its consent.’ The Prime Minister defied the House to evade the difficulty in which they, as he alleges, had already placed themselves by their own acts. He asserts that, willing or unwilling, if they desire to be consistent, they must accept his measure.

But, as many other speakers have done⁶, Mr. Gladstone accepts the challenge, and does with perfect ease what was declared to be impossible. He shows that the mover of the Bill is endeavouring to make them pass a totally *new Bill*, on the plea *that it contains nothing new in it*. Mr. Gladstone does so in the following words :—

“ I conceive, that, by adopting the bill of my right honourable friend, we are about to *alter fundamentally* the relation of the State to the College. I take the various alterations which he proposes to make, and I must estimate their effect as a whole. He changes the annual grant into a permanent one, by a permanent Act of Parliament ; he increases threefold the amount of the grant, from about 9000*l.* (I think) to near 27,000*l.* ; he incorporates the Trustees ; he provides a sum for the restoration and extension of the buildings, and he likewise places the future care of the fabric in the hands of a department of the Executive Government. Further, I do not think we are to estimate the

⁵ See above, p. 10.

⁶ Above, p. 12—14.

importance of the increase in the grant to my present argument simply by the number of thousands annually that are added to the income of the institution; the increase, in my opinion, *alters in its essence* the position and function of the institution with respect to it."

And mark also the *inferences* which Mr. Gladstone proceeds to draw from these new *principles* :—

"I think this measure important, most of all important, regard to the *principles which it involves*. I am very far, from saying that it virtually decides upon the payment of Roman Catholic priests of Ireland by the State; but I *deny that it disposes of the religious objections to that measure*, mean, that he who assents to this Bill shall, in my judgment, *longer be in a condition* to plead religious objections to the project."

So that, in fact, in Mr. Gladstone's opinion, one who votes for the Maynooth Bill is *ipso facto* disabled from voting against the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland. And yet this measure is to be passed *sub silentio* as containing no new principle!"

How, and whence, the Romanist Clergy are to be endowed (*if* they are to be endowed) does not appear. But it cannot be premature to observe that Mr. O'Connell, who in his words—

"Agitation, I thank you; Conciliation Hall, I am obliged to you; Repeal Association, Maynooth ought to be for you"—

claims to *himself* the authorship of the Maynooth Bill, has not concealed from us his views on the subject of the *source* whence the Endowment of

Priesthood is partly to arise. The Irish Titular Bishops and Archbishops are now 27 in number, and the priests are about 3000. They will require a large sum for their endowment. Mr. O'Connell, *though* a determined advocate of the Voluntary System, yet declares that he will accept any thing on their behalf from England by way of *restitution*. And, in spite of his oath to the contrary, he has opened out by anticipation the prospect of one source of revenue, which he declares to be available for that purpose :—

“ The oath tells us (forsooth) that we are not to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion. *Protestant religion, that's the word used.* But what, we ask, is the meaning of this obligation ? Is it that we are not to try to convert a Protestant ? How *are* we to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion ? Is it by taking *the tithes* from it ? *Oh no ! surely not :* for tithes are money ; and surely it will not be contended that there is any relationship between money and religion. . . . We regard religion as a heavenly institution, and think that no two things can be more distant than it and the mammon of this world. We tell you, if your religion be money, we admit that we shall violate this oath, *for we shall seek to take away the tithes from the Protestant Church.* But if the Protestant religion be not money, but a divine institution, in this there will be no violation of our oath. *We look for the money, and will leave you the religion.* . . . What, again, is your meaning in talking of ‘ Protestant government ? ’ It is really too bad to be giving us conundrums in oaths. Your ‘ insisting upon that oath is a direct violation of the Treaty of Limerick.’ . . . As soon as we are well warm in our seats, ‘ we shall claim its abolition. We feel it dishonourable to take it. We feel a repugnance at taking it. What right has any Christian to make another man state any thing about his

religion? It is absurd to the last degree ; *and the time ought to be gone by when a persecution of that kind*—for it is a persecution—*should be tolerated in a Christian country*’.”

Let, then, those who are called upon to vote on the Maynooth Bill, be earnestly entreated to consider how they unfold wider the door, which the hand of Mr. O’Connell has already opened, to let the sin of Sacrilege as well as the full endowment of Romanism in upon the country.

But, further, the bill of 1845 differs from the act of 1795, in that the latter was an *experimental* and *tentative* measure ; this of 1845 is a deliberate and conclusive one. Here is additional reason for caution and reserve, before consent is given to it ; given, as it must now be, with full knowledge of the character and results of the Institution on which the endowment is to be bestowed, and given irrevocably.

As we have shown before (*Maynooth*, p. 10), the foundation of Maynooth was the consequence of certain stringent temporary *necessities*, and was accompanied with certain *expectations* of favourable results, and attended with certain precautions and *conditions* ; by means of which, in the event of *good* not being produced by it, *evil* at least might be corrected.

’ I quote this passage as cited in Mr. Dudley Perceval’s very important publication, “The Church Question in Ireland,” 1843 ; to which, as well as to his very valuable pamphlet, “Maynooth and the Jew Bill,” the public attention cannot be too earnestly directed at this juncture.

That grant was given on the understanding that it depended *entirely* on the approval of the Legislature. It was never even *made annual* by Law ; but it was contingent on the *good conduct* of the College. It was in practice renewed annually ; and an expectation was thus created that it would be renewed to the Institution, *quamdiu se benè gessisset*.

But *now* the country has had *experience* of Maynooth for fifty years. It sent in 1826 a Commission to inquire into its proceedings. The Report of these Commissioners was published in 1827, by order of the House of Commons : it consists of about 400 folio pages. And when the case of Maynooth was brought before the Parliament and the country, for a new endowment, we might have expected that reference should be made to the contents of this Report by the mover of the New Measure.

His silence on this subject, which is much to be regretted, could not have arisen from ignorance of the fact, that the allowance granted to Maynooth depended on the *good behaviour* of the College. This had been stated most emphatically by preceding Prime Ministers.

Mr. Perceval said in the House of Commons, on the 13th of May, 1805,—

“I have no hesitation in saying, that in my judgment Parliament did commit a *great error* when it established the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. And though I never could have consented to grant this indulgence, it would still be with great

pain that I should feel myself compelled to *withdraw* it^{*}. But the conduct of the Roman Catholics may place us in that situation in which we may find ourselves *compelled* so to act."—(See note here at foot of the page.)

And again still more explicitly,—

"And if the Romanists possess any thing, as they now do possess much, in the Elective Franchise, in their capacity to occupy various professions and offices, and in *the support by Parliament of their College at Maynooth*, (a support which the mere principles of *toleration could not, on grounds of justice, exact from us*,) if they did not feel grateful for these indulgences, at least they would be sensible of their value. They would feel that they were in the possession and enjoyment of that which *their good conduct*, and our *indulgence*, MIGHT PRESERVE to them; but which *their misconduct* might FORFEIT; and which no principle of right (at least as acknowledged by us) could entitle them to *demand*, or *oblige us to restore*. And that, *above all, if these indulgences should be found to be used either as the plea and pretence, or as the instrument, of keeping alive ferments and pretensions dangerous to the tranquillity of the State*,—that Parliament would unquestionably, on its own principles, feel itself *authorized*, and upon sound policy might possibly find *itself obliged*, to *abridge them of those indulgences*, which they would, by such conduct, compel us to perceive to be used by them, not so much to their own comfort as to our annoyance."

But not only have we Mr. Perceval's testimonies, in 1805, to the contingent nature of the grant; we have also Sir R. Peel's own assertion, so late as in 1840,

^{*} This was with only *ten years'* experience of its working. *We* have had *fifty*. Mr. Perceval, in 1809, *did actually reduce* the grant from 12,000*l.* to 7000*l.* See Maynooth, &c. p. 9.

that it was liable to be *withdrawn* by Parliament ; and what is very important, liable to be withdrawn for *special* reasons, namely,—to quote his words,—for the inculcation of “doctrines injurious to the supremacy of the Law, and destructive to the established Government and Monarchy of the Empire.” And, still more, Sir Robert Peel thus went on to say, that the “*House would abandon its duty*, if it were to avow that it was pledged to say to Maynooth, ‘You may inculcate what doctrine you please.’”

The House of Commons was reminded of these words of the present mover of the Maynooth Bill by Mr. C. Bruce, and by Mr. Spooner also, whose language I beg leave to quote :—

“In the debate on the Maynooth Grant of the 23rd of June, 1840, the *right hon. baronet* said :—‘He could not agree in the opinion that the *system of instruction* pursued at Maynooth ought to be a matter of *indifference to the house*. The *system of education* was a *legitimate matter for the consideration of Parliament*, and the *house would abandon its duty* if it were to avow the doctrine, that because the grant had been continued for 30 years, it was therefore pledged to say to Maynooth, ‘You may inculcate *what doctrine you please, however injurious to the supremacy of the law, and destructive to the established government and monarchy of the empire.*’ But what did the *right hon. baronet* now propose to do ? To take away the control the house had over the annual grant, and to remove the power of visitation for any effective purpose ; they would have visitors only to inspect the bricks and mortar, the food and the clothes, but who could not examine a book or interfere at all in the system of education ; thus practically leaving the College to ‘inculcate what doctrine it pleased.’”

It is difficult to reconcile these words with those of the Prime Minister in the present debate:—

“We propose that the Lord-Lieutenant *should have the power of directing a visitation whenever he may think proper.* (Hear.) *But, observe, the visitorial powers shall not extend to any matter relating to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of Rome.* (Hear.) We will not *spoil this Act* by any attempt at undue interference with *such matters.* (Hear, hear.) By improvement I mean improvement of means only, *not an interference with the course of education, poisoning all the good that you might derive from your liberality.*”

It seems hard to understand how that control over the Institution, which, in 1840, the House was bound to exercise; and which, if it did *not* exercise, it would “be abandoning its duty,” should have become in 1845 “an interference with the course of education, poisoning all the good they might derive from their liberality.”

But we must venture to believe that no Minister of the Crown can have renounced the opinion, so justly and distinctly expressed by him, that the Legislature would be “abandoning its duty, if it said to Maynooth, or to any other seminary in the United Kingdom, ‘You may inculcate what doctrine you please, however injurious to the supremacy of the law, and destructive to the established government and monarchy of the empire.’”

We can never suppose it *possible* that any of Her Majesty’s ministers will ever renounce, for any

worldly consideration, such an opinion as this. We do not hesitate to say, that, if they do repudiate it now, they are not true either to the Crown, to the country, or to themselves. And the *present* Government, above all, *cannot* renounce it. Their own acts would cry shame upon them, in the face of England, Europe, and the World, if they ventured to recant a syllable of it. For why, otherwise, in 1829, did they sentence the Jesuits to banishment^{*} for life?—why, in the most favourable enactment to Romanists that has ever passed in this country, did they insert *ten* entire clauses of pains and penalties against the members of the Order of Jesuits, and *of all* other religious orders, if *now* it be a truth that a seminary of Romanists “may inculcate any doctrine they please, however injurious to the supremacy of the law, and destructive to the established Government and Monarchy of the kingdom;” and if all interference with such doctrine is to be reprobated as “spoiling the acts of national liberality,” and as “poisoning all the good that we might derive from it?”

If this be so, then we affirm those ten clauses against the Jesuits are worthy only of the code of the Inquisition; they are acts of persecution and cruelty; they require not only to be expunged from the statute-book, but to be expiated by Bills of Indemnity, and by compensation for damages.

^{*} 10 Geo. iv. cap. 7. See *Maynooth, &c.*, p. 69, 90, 91.

And we assert further, that the practice of supervision exercised by the Privy Council through a Government Inspector, according to an Act of the present Government, passed July 9, 1844, over every national or grammar-school of the country, to which it contributes the most slender pittance of the public money, ought also to be rescinded as arbitrary and inquisitorial, if all interference of this kind is to be considered as "spoiling our acts of national liberality," and "poisoning all the good we might derive from it."

But no : we acquit the Government of the charge of entertaining such a principle as this ; being utterly irreconcilable, as it is, with their own recorded public acts and words, and inconsistent with their solemn duty to the Crown and to the Country.

I, therefore, beg leave to repeat my regret that the mover of the Maynooth Bill should not have referred to the Report of the Commissioners concerning the political doctrines taught at Maynooth. Even, if the question had been nothing more than concerning the *continuance* of the *old grant* of £8000, such a reference might have been very naturally expected at his hands. We assert, also, that if this principle be true, then the practice of all other nations is most iniquitous ; for, as we have shown (*Maynooth*, p. 20—27), every country, yes, every *Roman Catholic* country in Europe, exercises, most vigilantly and strictly, that very *control* over its Romanist Semi-

naries, which is here vituperated as useless and injurious. And who are *we*, let us inquire, that we should plume ourselves on our own superior sagacity, and despise those safeguards which they, who are most favoured by Rome, while *we* are *denounced* by her, consider as absolutely necessary to their own peace and safety?

Well might Mr. Gladstone say,—

“I do not know of *any religious* endowment held by the *Church of England* or by the *Church of Ireland* upon terms so easy and unconstrained (as that now proffered to Maynooth); nor do I know whether the Church of any *foreign* country, being in *communion* with the See of Rome, will afford such an example. The Bill, be it recollected, confers all that it purports to confer upon *terms more liberal than* those granted to the *established religion* of the country, or than *those required by great foreign states* from the Roman Catholic Church in their own countries.”

And does not *their* example suggest most forcibly what ought to be *our* practice? It might, even on any proposal for the continuance of the *old* grant, most justly have been said, “The College of Maynooth has now enjoyed a reasonable term of probation—fifty years; it has received about *half a million pounds* sterling of the public money; let us now see what benefit the Nation has derived from it.”

The people of England, Scotland, and of Ireland, too, would have all agreed that this proposal was right and equitable, and was even dictated by the circumstances of the case.

And, *à fortiori*, when a Prime Minister comes forward to *treble* its endowments, to increase its Pro-

fessors, to *double* the number of its free scholars, (*above*, p. 15,) to demand 26,000*l.* a year for it from the public purse, to expend 30,000*l.* more on its buildings, to make its Trustees a Body Corporate,—and yet to *relinquish* all control over it by changing the *nature* of the grant from that of an *annual* contribution, subject to be withheld for misconduct, into that of a *permanent* charge on the Consolidated Fund, they cannot find words to express their astonishment ! And this surprise is increased, when they find that no care is taken by the framers of this measure, to inform them *who* the *Trustees* are who are to be so incorporated, to what influences they are subject, by what oaths and pledges they are bound, what are the political doctrines taught by the Institution, which is so highly favoured above all the other Seminaries of the Country, and which is held out to them as an object of imitation ; and what has been the conduct of those concerned in its management, what the results of its system of Instruction, what the services it has rendered to the Nation.

I have appealed to testimony from various quarters, concerning the character and results of Maynooth ; and have shown from thence that, even for the sake of Maynooth itself, and for that of those who are educated within its walls, and especially for the interests of that large population which will be afterwards subject to their influence as Priests, it is essential to the peace of the country that some control should be exercised over it, which does not exist at present. (*Maynooth, &c.* pp. 8. 96—98.)

To this testimony I will only add a most striking one of one other witness; and he no less a person than the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Lord Redesdale¹, in a despatch to the Duke of Portland's Cabinet in 1807 :—

“There remains a subject for consideration which requires serious attention, but which is a subject of great delicacy and difficulty,—the College of Maynooth. The Chancellor and chief Judges are, with some Roman Catholic clergy and noblemen, *nominally* visitors; but their visitatorial power, by the terms of the statute under which they act, is a mere farce. They are bound, once in every three years, to exhibit themselves as a spectacle at Maynooth, in a *state of ridiculous nullity*. They can do nothing but view a set of young men, trained up in a system of obedience more degrading perhaps than was ever practised in a *college of Jesuits* in South America; and it is impossible to avoid remarking in the countenances of those young men the degradation in which they are kept. Not one of those young men dare lift up a complaint to the visitors, whatever injuries they may suffer, however improperly they may be treated. They are generally the sons of the lowest description of peasants; they have no friend, no protector; and are compelled to submit to the most absolute despotism. No *college of Jesuits* was ever half so dangerous to any Catholic kingdom, or so completely in the power of their masters. Their education is said to be very imperfect: much worse than in the foreign colleges: and the friends of some youths having taken them from the college to give them a better education abroad, the resentment of the college, and of the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland, has been severely felt. What may be the consequences of this institution to the peace of Ireland, it

¹ From Mr. Dudley Perceval's opportune publication, “Maynooth and the Jew Bill.”

is difficult to foretell in their full extent. It is easy to perceive that it must *ever be the greatest obstacle to the extension of the Protestant religion, and to the quiet settlement of the country.*"

Such was the opinion of the highest judicial authority in Ireland concerning Maynooth in 1807; and Mr. Wyse (certainly no prejudiced witness against that Institution) informed the public in 1829, that the reason why there was so great a change for the worse in the respect of the Irish Priesthood for the rights of the Crown was that '*Maynooth* had begun to be *felt*'.

It is vain, and worse than vain, it is highly culpable, to attempt to pronounce any opinion concerning Maynooth without a careful study of its Constitution. It was with this view that I endeavoured to give a full representation drawn from authentic documents, of the personal organization of that Seminary (*Maynooth, &c.* p. 30). I showed that the whole Government was in the hands of fifteen Trustees; eleven of whom are Titular Bishops, and therefore (*in Ireland*) nominees of the Pope, and his sworn subjects and vassals; and, further, that these Trustees are a self-elected body; that neither the Crown nor any other authority whatever has any control over their election; that they elect the President and the Professors, who are also bound by most solemn oaths to the Pope as his subjects: that therefore the College, *called a Royal* one, is in

* "Sketch of Catholic Association," vol. i..p. 203.

fact a *Papal* one, just as much as if it stood not at Maynooth but at Rome, except so far as the Pope has no expense in supporting it, but the charges of its maintenance are defrayed by the British Nation.

It was also proved, on uncontrovertible evidence, that the Gallican articles, which *affirm* the *independence of the Crown*, i. e. the right of the Sovereign to the throne on which she sits, were *not* taught at Maynooth, and that this *doctrine* had been *rejected* by the Trustees of Maynooth (p. 24, 57). And I now add that this doctrine has been condemned this very year and month *at Rome two days after the first reading of the Maynooth Bill* by the authority of the present Pope¹, who on Saturday, April 5th, placed in the Index of condemned and prohibited books, the "Manuel du Droit Ecclésiastique Français" of M. Dupin, Député de la Nièvre et Procureur général; the whole tenour and scope of which work is to maintain the article of the Independence of the Crown, as formerly asserted by the Church of France in 1682.

By this act of condemnation, we do not hesitate to say, that Rome has placed herself anew in an attitude of defiance against all temporal Sovereigns; and we cannot conceive a more inauspicious moment than the present for placing fresh power, without

¹ "Univers Catholique," Mardi, 22 Avril, 1845. This condemnation has been adopted by the French Bishops, who have published pastoral letters against the same work.

any control or restriction whatever, in the hands of those who are the devoted servants and subjects of the Papacy, such as the Trustees of Maynooth are, and from the nature of their vows must inevitably be.

We now also add, that the Trustees of Maynooth go beyond even the *present* French bishops (whose ultra-montane principles are now showing themselves daily in their public acts and writings⁴); that they have sanctioned, and do sanction, both by their synodical acts and by their theological text-books⁵, not only the Doctrine, but the *Discipline*⁶ also, of the Council of Trent, which is not received in France.

It may be asked, perhaps, how does this *discipline* affect the security of the throne, the safe tenure of property, or the peace of the subject? Let me reply, briefly, in the words of Dr. O'Connor, himself a Romanist, as follows:—

“ Dr. Milner (Vicar-Apostolic of the midland district of England, Bishop of Castabala, the organ of the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy) informs us, that ‘ the *discipline of the Council of Trent* is as obligatory on five millions of British subjects (i. e. on the Romanists of Ireland) as the doctrine of *Seven Sacraments*’.”

“ The DISCIPLINE of the Council of Trent has been rejected and proscribed in *Catholic France*; because it *deprives princes of*

⁴ See the “Univers Catholique,” from the 12 Février to 22 Avril.

⁵ “Maynooth, &c.,” p. 104.

⁶ See also Phelan’s Digest, vol. ii. p. 115.

⁷ Dr. O’Connor’s Historical Address, part ii. p. 3.

their temporalities in the twenty-fourth Session, and assumes a *temporal dominion* over Catholic princes with regard to ecclesiastical immunities in the twenty-fifth; because it declares bishops independent of the civil power, and subject to the judgment of the Pope *exclusively* in criminal causes even of the greatest magnitude; a decree which is not only subversive of the Gallican liberties, and of the fundamental laws of the realm of France, but is also in diametrical opposition to the most venerable canons of the Christian Church, as most ably shown by Dupin (a Romanist), in his excellent work, 'De Antiquâ Ecclesiæ Disciplinâ,' Dissert. ii., from p. 98. to the end¹."

"The Council of Trent empowers bishops to enforce their sentences against *Laymen*, by seizing the *profits of their estates*, and even *imprisoning* their persons; to convert the revenues of hospitals to other uses; and to take them under their own exclusive jurisdiction, even though they should be Lay foundations,—nay, even though they should be under the immediate jurisdiction of the civil and of the *regal* power²."

Such, then, is the *Discipline* of the Council of Trent, which the Trustees of Maynooth have adopted, and which the Theological Text-book³, in present use in the College (the Dogmatic Theology of Dr. De la Hogue, late Professor at Maynooth, p. 454), declares to be the "Manual of the Priesthood, in respect of *Discipline* (!)"

I add, thirdly, that the same Episcopal Trustees have formally, in a Synodical act, acknowledged the power of the Pope to *depose princes*.

¹ Dr. O'Connor's Historical Address, part ii. p. 115.

² Ibid. p. 121.

³ Maynooth, &c. p. 52. 109.

As the same Romanist authority tells us²:—

“The Irish Bishops, assembled in *Synod* so lately as on the 6th of June, 1809, have extolled as *just, holy, legitimate*, those Bulls of Pope Pius VII., by which he has *absolved all Frenchmen* from their *oaths of allegiance* to the Bourbons, *expressly* alienating not only the Crown of France, but also the properties of all French loyalists, *secular* and ecclesiastical, and hurling down from their sees above a hundred Bishops, who are guilty of no other crime than that of conscientious regard for their oaths, and fidelity to their *Prince*³.

² Dr. O'Connor, p. 5. This work, as is well known, has now become extremely scarce, for reasons which it is not difficult to conjecture.

³ Mr. Perceval was aware of this fact, as appears from the following memorandum found among his papers:—

“The Protestant advocates for the Irish Catholics ridicule the idea of apprehending any danger from the *dependence of the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops* on the Pope in his present subjugated state, and the thralldom to which Buonaparte has reduced the Popedom. But we owe to Doctor O'Connor^{*} a discovery that fully meets this plea, and sets it aside for ever. From him we learn that, in a National Synod held by the Irish Bishops at Tullow, June 6, 1809, these Bishops, without any necessity, says the Doctor, without being called upon by any legitimate authority, voluntarily declared that the ‘Holy Father, Pope Pius the Seventh, has only yielded by the concordat what the dreadful exigencies of the time demanded from a true shepherd of the Christian flock; and that in his measure for the restoration of the Catholic unity in France, he has validly, and agreeably to the

^{*} In his celebrated “Historical Address.”

It was shown, further, that the Pope, who is the Sovereign Lord of the Trustees of Maynooth, asserts his claim to Ireland as a fief of his own See (*Maynooth, &c.* p. 107); that the Irish Titular Bishops are Peers of his creation; that the Priests are his subjects; the laity his vassals and feudal liegemen⁴; the impugners of his authority, rebels; and, I fear we are compelled to add that, in the Papal theory, the lawful Sovereign of Ireland is regarded only as an usurper.

Now, is it not, we ask, deeply to be deplored, that they who have withdrawn themselves from their allegiance to their lawful Monarch, and have placed themselves under a Power which puts forth such injurious and arrogant pretensions as these, should be selected from the whole range of the United Kingdom by the advisers of the Crown, for national honour and endowment? Is not this an act which all must contemplate with sorrow? And

spirit of the sacred Canons, exerted the powers belonging to the Apostolic See.' The measure they allude to, Doctor O'Connor observes, *is the disinheriting of the Bourbons, the crowning of Buonaparte, &c. &c. &c.* After such a solemn and deliberate declaration, passed, according to Doctor O'Connor, in one of their *secret* Synods, let their Protestant advocates say what we have not to dread from what the exigencies of the times, and the measures concerted between the Pope and Buonaparte, *may demand* from the true Shepherd of the Christian flock, and from the exertion of the powers belonging to the Apostolic See."—(*From Mr. Dudley Perceval's Work*, p. 79.)

⁴ Digest, p. 30.

will not therefore the Legislature, and, with the deepest reverence be it said, especially the reverend Prelates of the Church, raise the voice of authority, and remind the Nation and the Government of its duty to their Monarch, and to Him, the King of kings, from Whom her power is derived, Whose honour is outraged by these unjust assumptions of the Papacy, and by this endowment of them at Maynooth?

But, still more,—we have also shown that the College of Maynooth is under the influence of the *Pope*, not only through its *Trustees*, but of the *Jesuits* also, and of the Pope through them. It is well known that the *Jesuits* take a “solemn *vow* of special obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff, with regard to *Missions* ⁵,” and that “*Ireland* is considered at Rome as a Missionary country ⁶,” and it has been proved that the late President of Maynooth, Dr. Murray, now Titular Archbishop of Dublin, in whose diocese, be it remembered, Maynooth is, introduced the HEAD of the JESUITS into the College, as his own deputy, when he was President; and Dr. Murray declared in evidence before the Commissioners (p. 410), that he “should be very happy that *all* should have a respect for the *Jesuit body*; and that *he himself* had a great respect for the *Jesuit body*,” and allowed that “he was intimately acquainted with the Institution of the Sodality of the

⁵ Maynooth Report, p. 392.

⁶ Ibid. p. 392.

Sacred Heart," whose connexion with the Jesuits admits of no reasonable doubt (*Maynooth, &c.* pp. 65—68), and that its Institution in the College was in fact "*recommended* by" himself'.

We find from the records of the College, that Dr. Murray ceased to be President only in order to become *both* a *Trustee* and a *Visitor* of the College; being also Titular Archbishop of Dublin (at a distance of only twelve miles from Maynooth); and that he holds this joint office of *Trustee* and *Visitor* *at this day*: and we now further find, that the *very person who introduced the Head of the Jesuits as Vice-President into Maynooth is to be confirmed in both those offices by the new measure*, the Maynooth Bill now before Parliament!

Deeply do I regret to introduce any names of individuals, such as Dr. Murray, Titular Archbishop of Dublin, and Dr. Kenney, the Head of the Jesuits in Ireland, into these pages: and Heaven forbid that I should question their sincerity in the profession of those principles which they have espoused!

They believe the Pope of Rome to be Christ's vicar on earth, and to be invested with powers of spiritual and temporal supremacy. With them his will has the authority of a Divine Revelation. They conceal not their principles, and they act consistently upon them. Regarding their principles as *contrary* to the Law of God, do I, however, reprehend these two reverend Ecclesiastics for carrying them out in

' Maynooth Report, p. 409.

practice? Do I charge them with duplicity in doing so? No, far from it. Their consciences are, I believe, in error, and that of a most grave and dangerous kind, and require to be reformed; but they act according to them. I do not charge *them* with inconsistency.

No! I charge *ourselves* with inconsistency and folly, yes, and even with want of charity toward them; in that we being cognisant of their principles, and holding such an opinion as we do and must hold of those principles, we give them free *scope*, and *encouragement*, and *aid*, to subvert the institutions of our country! We say, then, openly to Dr. Murray and his brother Trustees of Maynooth, We know your political tenets—we are aware that you have given your sanction to the moral and dogmatic theology of Peter Dens^a, in which we find

^a As this matter has been questioned, I beg to subjoin the proof of the fact. "At a Meeting of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, assembled in Dublin on the 14th day of September, 1808, they unanimously agreed, that *Dens' Complete Body of Theology* was the best book on the subject that could be republished, as containing the most secure guidance for such Ecclesiastics as may, by reason of the peculiar circumstances of this country, be deprived of the opportunity of referring to public libraries, or consulting those who may be placed in authority over them; in consequence, an edition of the work *was ordered* to be printed by the *present publisher* (Mr. Coyne) to the number of 3000 copies. The work is now very rare and scarcely to be met with: and, *inasmuch as his grace Dr. Murray, Dr. Doyle, Dr. Keating, and Dr. Kinsella, have made it the Conference-book for the Clergy of the province of Leinster, the publisher* (as well to

it stated, that while the ecclesiastical power is from God, the power of princes is only from the people. (ii. p. 375.) We learn also from the same work what punishments you declare to be due to those whom you term *heretics*; that is, to Protestant kings, princes, and people⁹. (ii. p. 88.) This is the book sanctioned by you for the *province* in which Maynooth is.

obviate the difficulty experienced by them in procuring the work, as also to advance the cause of religion and morality in the other parts of the Irish Church) *is induced to reprint a limited number of copies.*

"*An additional volume, which is now for the first time added to the present edition contains,*" &c. &c. Here follows a list of contents. The Advertisement concludes thus :

"*The supplementary Matter above referred to, has been added WITH THE SANCTION AND APPROVAL OF HIS GRACE THE MOST REVEREND DR. MURRAY ; to whom the work of Dens is dedicated by the publisher.*"

⁹ "The punishments which the Church of Rome decrees against heretics are confiscation of property, exile, imprisonment, and death.

"What are the punishments decreed against those infected with that stain ?

"*Their temporal goods are for this very cause confiscated.*

"Finally, they are only justly afflicted with other corporal punishments, *as with exile, imprisonment, &c.*

"Are heretics justly punished with death ?

"St. Thomas answers—22. quest. 11. art. 3 in corp., '*Yes, because forgers of money or other disturbers of the State are justly punished with death ; therefore also heretics, who are forgers of the faith, and, as experience testifies, grievously disturb the State.*'

[This

We know also from your own mouth (*Maynooth, &c.*, p. 109) that you have authorized Dr. De La Hogue's Treatise of Dogmatic Theology, and that you place it in the hands of all your students at Maynooth, and we see that it declares "the Council of Trent to be the Manual of your Priesthood in respect of *Discipline*;" and we have seen how this discipline affects the security of thrones, and the property and peace of the subjects, both clergy and laity. (Above, p. 46.) We know also that you have given your sanction to Bailly's Theology, and that you have placed that likewise in the hands of the scholars of Maynooth (*Maynooth, &c.*, p. 109); and we read there the doctrine stated of full power in the Church, that is, in the superiors of the Church, the Pope and the Bishops (*ibid.* p. 53), to dispense with oaths; we have seen your recent synodical acts, in which you have given your cordial approval to the deposition of sovereigns by the Pope.

We are cognisant of these things; we deeply deplore them, both for your sakes and our own, because we believe and are persuaded that such

"This is confirmed, because God, in the Old Testament, ordered the false prophets to be slain; and in Deut. chap. xvii. ver. 12, it is decreed that if any one will act proudly, and will not obey the commands of the priest, let him be put to death.—See also the 18th chap.

"The same is proved from the condemnation of the 14th article of John Huss, in the Council of Constance."—*Dens.*, vol. ii. pp. 88, 89.

doctrines as these are opposed to the will of God, and destructive of the peace of society, which is God's work, and of man's life, who was created in God's image; and if for no other reasons—and such reasons there are of great force and abundance—yet even from the very charity which we are bound to bear toward you, our fellow-Christians and our fellow-subjects, whatever *you* may do, *we*, with our principles, are solemnly bound, in the sight of God and man, *not* to give our assent to such doctrines as these; we are obliged, by the most sacred ties, to reprove and withstand them; and we should be abandoning our duty to God, and our Sovereign, and ourselves, if we did not resist them, and much more, if even tacitly we gave them our countenance and support; and, further still, if we voted away the money of our fellow-citizens, or rather say the silver and gold of Almighty God Himself (for all worldly substance comes from Him), to give further aid and aggrandisement to such principles as these.

You may, indeed,—we cannot believe you will,—threaten us with insurrection and civil war, if we refuse to grant you this additional boon to Maynooth. If, we reply, you are such persons as to menace us with rebellion, because we act consistently, and even charitably toward yourselves, we fear that no largesses from us would ever win your affections. We fear that we could not then reckon on your friendship. We are sure that you would despise us for our gifts. We, therefore, while

your principles are such as you avow, see no *preservative* against a civil war in giving you fresh power; and we know also full well, that no apprehensions of a civil war *can* justify us in an abandonment of our *duty*. Such a course would be nothing else than 'doing evil that good may come,' a course, as you will remember, most vehemently condemned by the Apostle of Christ¹. Tertullian says, "There can be no necessity for sinning to us, whose *one* great necessity is, *not* to *sin*."² And as St. Augustine, again, says, "All sin is an act of the will, so that if it be not an act of the will, it is not sin," and therefore it is *impossible* that any one should be reduced to such a strait as that he must necessarily commit sin. We may indeed be called to *suffer* evil; and if so, God's will be done! but no call can ever be powerful enough to compel us to *do* it.

And if you threaten us with civil war, because we are doing that which it is our bounden duty to God, our Queen, our fellow-subjects, and to you, we say to you, plainly and boldly, "God will defend the right!" Think not that we will surrender our true strength, that is, our firm trust in Him, our animating sense of rectitude, our encouraging assurance of a reward hereafter for our labours in the cause of truth, our love for our country, and our care for our posterity, because of your intimidations. If we abandon the right, we shall have indeed good

¹ Rom. iii. 8.

² De Coronâ Militis, cap. 41.

cause to fear ; but if you resist it, you will have also reasons for the worst apprehensions for yourselves. And we say further, that no inconvenience or apprehension of danger can justify the adoption of, or the continuance in, a wrong course, when once known to be wrong ; whereas, on the other hand, the evil consequences, if any should haply attend a return to the right path, will come mingled with mercy, and be followed by those blessings both of earth and heaven, which are promised by God to those who rely upon His power for aid, and upon His goodness for reward.

We further inquire of Dr. Murray and his brother Trustees. Do you expect us to put swords into your hands against the sacred persons of our own Princes ? And if even Ministers of the Crown should do this, is no one to step forward to warn them of the peril to which they are exposing their Sovereign and themselves ?

Shall not their friends and adherents have sufficient regard for the honour, and peace of mind, and true happiness, of the Members of the Administration, to arrest their arms when they are giving weapons of destruction to those who will use them for the worst purposes ?

Their friends say, “ We do not like to embarrass the Government ! ” But would not you embarrass (as you call it) a man who is about to throw himself over a precipice ? What an opinion they, who use such language, must entertain of the character of the

Members of the Administration, if they think that *hereafter* they will not *thank* them for the language of warning,—even though it should be unpalatable *now*—I cannot conceive. What a *benefit* would *that* man have conferred on them, who could have saved them from the triumph (as I suppose it was called by some) of Friday, April 18th! Such a victory was, in fact, the most signal defeat which the Conservative cause has sustained since the Reform Bill. It shook that party from its foundation. And why? because it deprived them of their real strength, the *confidence* of the people.

As Mr. Stafford O'Brien most truly and eloquently said—

“He was the more determined to vote against this measure when he remembered the occurrences of 1829,—*when he saw what a severe wound was then inflicted on our Protestant Constitution, how slowly that wound had healed, and how deep a scar remained.* The same principle which at that time induced the right hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel) to resign his seat in that House, would lead him (Mr. O'Brien), *if he felt it his duty to support this measure, to resign the trust bestowed by his constituents into their hands.* (Hear, hear.) When he saw such a measure brought forward by the head of a great party—when he remembered how that party had formerly acted, under what banners they had fought, and under what colours they had ultimately triumphed, he felt that he could not support this proposition without lending his aid to a *system which tended to shake public confidence in public men.* (Hear.) *The destruction of public confidence was one of the most dangerous evils that could befall a State; for it at once benumbed those who ought to be vigilant to guard, and stimulated those who were ever ready to destroy. He found that throughout this country there was a general distrust of public men—a distrust of that*

House; and he could not, and never would, lend himself to promote such a feeling. If the chief virtues of a public man consisted in truth and integrity, let it not for a moment be supposed that any substantive good could be attained by surrendering one of their noblest attributes."

Yes, in good truth, and what could be a more melancholy spectacle, than that of the Conservative portion of the late Ministerial majority on that unhappy occasion!

Mr. Macaulay exclaimed, that if it were not for the consistency of his friends,—(though, by the way, I cannot see why the political descendants of Lord Somers and the maintainers of the principles of 1688 should ever have given their sanction to the Maynooth Bill)—

"It seems to me, that, if it were not for our consistency, we should have nothing before us but one vast shipwreck of all the public character in the kingdom. (Hear, hear.)"

But still, in the midst of this wreck, hope remains; it is not too late for the Legislature to repair the shattered fleet, and to collect the scattered crew. Now, that they have sounded the shoals, and explored the coasts, and seen more of the storms which are hovering around them, let us trust that they will take such measures of caution, and deliberation, and delay, as the common safety requires.

Some persons, as we have said, do not wish (as they term it) "to embarrass the Government," and so they would allow it to go on in the course of

self-destruction! Such is *their* attachment to the Administration, such *their* loyalty to the Crown.

Some again allow that the measure of endowing Maynooth is a most pernicious one, pregnant with most baneful consequences to the State, but yet they will not oppose its progress. And why? because they would thus be the means, as far as in them lies, of bringing the late Government into power, and because it is an undeniable fact that no one *can* govern the country but Sir Robert Peel. So that, in fact, we are come to this condition at last, that a Prime Minister may be invited to do all conceivable mischief to his Country, and that he is to be approved and supported in all measures however pernicious, "because he alone can *govern* the Country."

We reply at once, If the Maynooth Bill is to be regarded as a specimen of *Government*; if to undermine the foundations of the Monarchy, to patronise those who preach the deposing power of the Pope, and that heretics may be murdered, and their property plundered; if, to hand us over to the tender mercies of the Jesuits, whom, under the auspices of the same Prime Minister, we banished in 1829, is to be called *government*; then, I do not hesitate to say, that the less of such *government* we have, the better; and if these are to be the principles of *Conservative Government*, then, let the *Destructives* be in office to-morrow, and we shall have been great *gainers* by the

change! For we may indeed have bad measures; but, at least, we shall have better means of opposing them than at present.

And is it, also, we inquire, come to this; that we are to abandon all our trust in God's power, and "to do all manner of evil, in order that good may come;" and all for the sake of retaining any one individual in office—whoever he may be? Granting this present measure to be a good one, yet, with reverence be it asked, is Divine Providence resolved into the person of any one man? What a monstrous supposition is this! How injurious to the Divine attributes! Yes—and how degrading to our Country!

"Now, in the name of all the gods at once,
Rome, thou hast lost the breed of noble bloods!
When went there by an age since the great flood,
But it was famed with more than with *one man*?
When could they say till now that talked of Rome,
That her wide walks encompass'd but *one man*?^a"

No! whatever his courtiers may say, Canute will have the wisdom to repudiate such flattery as this: he will tell them, that though he does sit on his throne on the shore, yet he cannot compel the waves of the popular voice of England, which murmur against the endowment of Romanism, to retire.

I cannot forbear advertng here to one gratifying circumstance, which, among all the perils which

^a Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar.

encompass us, in connexion with the present measure, is full of encouragement. It would be an act of presumption to mention the name of individuals ; but let any one read carefully the debates of the House of Commons alone on that Bill, and he will see from them, that England, and Ireland, and Scotland have, still, abundance of ability left, united with sound constitutional principles, for her protection and government ; and the character of the rising generation is such as to lead us confidently to believe that this supply will gain every year an accession of strength.

But I was saying, Shall a Conservative Government put weapons into the hands of the enemies of the Crown, and shall not they be withheld by Conservatives from doing so ? If a man in the crowd were to present a pistol at the person of the Sovereign, would not every one become a policeman and wrest it from his hand ? Certainly he would. And the present ministry, any English ministry that ever was or will be, would *thank* him for his act. Now the Ministers themselves are giving ammunition to those who have got the pistol in their hands ! they may not know it, but so it is. They are giving honour, and money, and power to the very man who introduced the Head of the Jesuits as Vice-president, into the Royal College of Maynooth, and who initiated 200 students at once into their secret Societies ! And yet they come forward and tell us, " Be quite easy ; he will do no harm to any one ; let him alone ; don't meddle with him ;

any control over him would only 'poison' the gift; it would spoil all the grace of the boon of the powder and shot we have given him."

But this is a sad and solemn subject. As I said before, I quarrel not with Dr. Murray, nor with the Head of the Jesuits; *they* are true to the principles which they have publicly professed; but a true Conservative must feel it a most sacred duty to protest against the course which our Legislators are pursuing, in voting national honour and public money,—and that without any restriction,—to those very men, who have abused their Trusts for the introduction of persons openly professing Jesuitical principles into a Royal seminary, and to the College of Maynooth, which College, as we are informed by a Jesuit himself, who knows it well, having been its Vice-President, 'holds precisely the same principles of faith and practice as a College of Jesuits'.

And that no one may remain in ignorance of what the principles of Jesuits are, I here subjoin a very accurate abstract of them, made by one of the most learned and moderate of our own Divines, a late Bishop of Lincoln, from their own works⁵.

"Having represented and explained the doctrine of the Jesuits the Bishop draws up a short summary of it, of which this is the substance in his own words:—

1. "That both *Ignatius* and his Successours agree, That to

⁵ Maynooth Report, p. 382. ⁶ Bp. Barlow's Remains, p. 408.

attain a perfect obedience, it is necessary *Inferiours* should renounce all use of their own *proper Wills, Senses, and Judgments*, upon their *Superiour's* bare word. *Reg.* 1, and 13, of the *Summar. Constit.* Sect. 31. p. 17.

2. "That, as their *Ignatius* says in his 2nd *Epistle of Religious Perfection*, printed at *Rome* the 12th of *March*, 1547, they must not only *renounce*, but *mortife*, and *slay*, and *sacrifice*, as a kind of *Victime*, their own *Wills* and *Judgments*; for *Maclate* is his word: Nay, that they must believe that *Providence moves and rules them by their Superiours*; and therefore that *they must be as so many dead Carcases, or Slaves in their Superiours' hands, and let them tamely turn and wind them whithersoever they please*, as appears in *Constitut. with the Declarat.* Part 6. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 234. And that they must entirely and readily obey them without any excuse, or any tryal or examination, whether they be just, or lawful, or agreeable to God's Will, or no: *Summar. Constit.* Sect. 31. pag. 17. and part 3. cap. 1. Sect. 23.

3. "And that the Will of their Superiours is to be the Rule of their Wills and Judgments: That if the Superiour commands any thing, that is warrant enough to oblige them to believe the thing well commanded, and to be not only just and good, but so good, that nothing better, or more pleasing to God, could be done proceeding from their own Will and Judgment; as may be seen in *Constit.* Sect. 31. pag. 17. *Constitut. with Declarat.* part 6. cap. 1. pag. 233, and 234.

4. "And lastly," concludes Bishop Barlow, "it is all the reason in the World, were their Principles true, they should pay this absolute Obedience to their Superiours, since they believe them to be as so many *Vice-gerents* and *Vicars of God and Christ*; and that their commands are to be respected as the Commands of *Jesus Christ*, as they teach in their *Summar. Constitut.* Sect. 34. pag. 18.

"From the consideration of which premises (the Bishop tells us), he thinks we have but too much reason to believe, that while there are any *Jesuits in England*, or any such *Superiours* as the

Pope, or their General, or Provincials, to Command, and any Inferiours to Obey, it is impossible any Protestant King or Subjects can be safe, unless they could repent of their Wicked Principles, and Bloody Practices, which they cannot do so long as they are so strongly bewitched to believe them just and true ; or unless God himself interposes, as he has hitherto done, by his wonderful Providence, to detect and defeat their mischievous Contrivances and Attempts ; for that, as it is but too notoriously known by many repeated Instances, how unwearied their attempts have been all along against Queen Elizabeth, King James the First, King Charles the Martyr, and his Son King Charles the Second, and their People and Religion, by War, Conspiracies, and Plots of all sorts, and Poison, Pistol, Stabbing, and all sorts of Murthering Methods : So (pursues he) we cannot reasonably doubt, but that as long as there remain any Person of such pernicious Principles, they will be perpetually designing ; and whenever they meet with power and opportunity, will ever be ready to execute the like designs against our Country and Religion in all Generations. And therefore though (the Bishop protests) he would not, to save his own Life, wrong the least Jesuit ; yet that on the other hand, to save the same Life, he would not so far betray his Religion, (which (says he) all Good Men should ever value a thousand times beyond their own Lives) as to conceal their Principles, which are so eminently dangerous to his Country and Religion. And besides what he has already said and proved of them, he begs leave to add, what desperate Resolutions themselves profess to have taken against us, and what they further say of themselves.

"1. Father Campian, reputed a famous Martyr at Rome, though executed for High-Treason at Tyburn, tells us plainly his mind, and the resolution of his whole Society, viz. That all the Jesuits in the whole World have long ago entred into a Confederacy to cut off, by any method they can, all Heretick Kings. And says the same Jesuit again, As for what concerns our Society, I would have you to know, That all we who are of the Society of

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Jesus, and who are far and wide dispersed throughout the whole World, have entred into a Holy Confederation, that we shall easily surmount your devices, and shall never despair of it so long as one Jesuit is left alive. See Campian's Letter to the Lords of the Queen's Privy Council, Printed at Treves, Ann. 1583. pag. 22. And Hospinian citing it in his History of the Jesuits, pag. 246, adds what Creswel the Jesuit says in his Philopater, viz. That all Catholics are so to be instructed, that whensoever they meet with an opportunity to kill Hereticks, they should suffer no manner of Impediment to divert them from it; so that even Kings, if they be Hereticks, must be killed whenever opportunity serves: This is the Jesuits' express and avowed Doctrine in print.

2. "And this is the more credible of them, because they believe a thousand such Murthers of *Kings* or *Subjects*, is no mortal sin."

Such, then, are the principles which are now selected as objects for national honour and encouragement!

Even before the tenets inculcated at Maynooth were matters of public notoriety, a late Prime Minister, Mr. Perceval, in his letter ⁶ to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, insisted on the necessity of an inquiry into that matter. In 1807 he had "lamented the Institution of the College⁷," and in the letter just referred to he says,—

"I think the inquiry into the College of Maynooth ought to be so conducted as to produce a full statement and disclosure of the Institution in all its parts. What are its bye-laws, as well

⁶ Maynooth and the Jew Bill, p. 19.

⁷ Ibid. p. 90.

respecting ecclesiastical matters, as matters of mere discipline? The state of the College at this present time? Whether the time of the professors is wholly employed within the College, or how much of it they dedicate to private tutorage, or to the lay College?

“What is the *course of their studies*? What *books the students are made to read*? What books of *religious instruction they are taught from*? And especially what books, in the nature of *Catechisms*, comprehending the articles of their religion, they are required to learn and read? And then, beyond these questions, to inquire as to the opinion of these selected visitors: particularly what they would suggest with respect to the propriety of introducing the *authority of government* into the *appointment of the professors*.”

What would Mr. *Perceval* have said to the books of the Society of the Sacred Heart—the Manual of the *Jesuits* (*Maynooth, &c.* pp. 66. 68. 127), introduced by its present Visitor and Trustee? What of the Jesuit Commentary on Scripture, that of Menodius, printed for the special use of the College (*Ibid.* pp. 68. 109)? What of the Jesuit “Retreats” there held (pp. 64. 126)? Would *he* have thought these fit grounds for conferring additional honour on the College, for *trebling* its revenues, for increasing the number of its free students from 250 to 500, for enlarging its buildings, incorporating its Trustees, and settling its maintenance as a permanent charge on the Consolidated Fund?

Little doubt, I think, can be entertained of what *his* course would have been from his words above quoted, and from the following language in the same

despatch to the Lord Lieutenant in 1808. (*Ibid.* p. 17.)—

“ My objection to maintain and to educate four hundred students, for Roman Catholic priests’ orders, is *not to be overcome by any representation* of what the Roman Catholics may think to be the demand of the country for so large a supply. *There is NOTHING that CAN RECONCILE me to such a proceeding.* IT IS TO ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES ESTABLISHING THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION IN IRELAND, AND GOING VERY FAR INDEED TO PERPETUATE IT.”

Let us now proceed to consider some other arguments adduced in behalf of the above measures. The majority of them are of such a character as to require but brief notice; and indeed it is somewhat singular that the reasonings of some of the members of the Administration on its behalf are successfully refuted by others of the same body.

Thus Mr. Goulburn says that the augmented endowment of Maynooth will tend to protestantize Ireland—

“ I believe that whatever the priests of Maynooth may acquire under the proposed system will be so much gained to the Protestant cause.” (Hear, hear.)

But Sir R. Peel replies—

“ I do not bring forward this measure under the futile pretence that it will promote the Protestant religion.”

And Mr. Gladstone uses still stronger language—

"I will venture, sir, likewise to notice one more argument, which, I confess, appears to me to be in itself little short of ridiculous. It is given by some persons as a reason for augmenting the revenues of Maynooth, that we are thereby to promote the extension of Protestantism in Ireland."

So that the Country is called upon, it appears, to approve a measure, while the promoters of it themselves are contending with each other about the reasons of it!

We have already seen a similar collision among them concerning the more important point whether the present measure involves *new* principles or no.

Another argument is expressed in the following terms by Sir Robert Peel, who asked, if they did not grant money to Maynooth, how could they consistently do it to Presbyterians, and how to Roman Catholics in the Colonies?—

"How shall we act *when we come to the vote for the Presbyterian Ministers?* (Hear.) *Shall we continue that vote? A portion of it is distinctly allotted to the support of men of religious principles* which we totally repudiate. (Hear.) Again, what position shall we stand in with regard to *our colonies* if we avow that an Act of this kind is improper and illegal? (Hear, hear.) In what relation do we stand with the Roman Catholics of *Malta, Gibraltar, Canada, the Mauritius, and various other possessions?* (Hear, hear.) There are many in our West India islands too."

To the latter part of this inquiry a ready reply was given by Sir Robert Inglis—

"His right hon. friend had referred to the Roman Catholic Church in *the colonies*; he asked how they could discontinue this

grant if they did not also refuse to support the Roman Catholic Church in their colonial dependencies? *But in Malta they maintained the Roman Catholic Church*, right or wrong, according to a specific treaty. On the same ground they supported the Roman Catholic Church in the *Mauritius*, and in *Canada*, after having *withdrawn all the support the Protestant Church* received from them. The reciprocity was all on one side; the endowments were all for the Church of Rome; the withholding of support all for the Protestant establishment."

But, as we have seen above, Mr. Sheil has shown us that the treatment of the Church in Canada is a matter which the English Nation ought to mourn over with tears of the bitterest repentance and self-abasement, rather to propose to herself as a precedent for imitation. Woe indeed be to us if acts of sacrilege are to be cited by our Legislators as authorizing other deeds of a similar nature!

But what, it may be asked, is to be said of the grant to Presbyterians, commonly called the *Regium Donum*? As the history of this grant does not appear to have been familiar even to our legislators themselves, I shall dilate a little more fully on this subject. A pamphlet, giving an authentic account of it, was published by Dr. Rees and other nonconformist ministers, by authority, in the year 1834^{*}. From page 73 of that work I beg to quote the following passage:—

"A very slight acquaintance with the history of the public re-

^{*} London, Longmans.

venue, would suffice to dissipate the entire force of the objection, that *this grant* (the *Regium Donum*) *violates a fundamental principle of Dissent*, (i. e. *the voluntary principle*), as if the money was derived from the *compulsory* taxation of the *people*."

This, Dr. Rees shows, is *not* the case. He proves that it is in no way derived from such taxation, but that it originated in an eleemosynary bounty from the *privy purse* of the *Sovereign* (as indeed its *name* indicates) to the widows of poor dissenting ministers of the three denominations, Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists; and when the hereditary revenues were commuted (as they were on the accession of King George III.) for a fixed sum by Parliament, this item was charged on the Civil List as a necessary consequence of the change; and thus (p. 77) the *Regium Donum* assumed the *appearance*—but the *appearance* only—of a *Parliamentary grant*.

But, as Dr. Rees says, p. 79—

"This charge must still be deemed a gift of the royal bounty, which the Parliament, for certain explained reasons of State expediency, has undertaken to pay, on the behalf, and as the substitute of, the Sovereign, out of the proceeds of the hereditary revenues of the Crown."

So much for the argument urged by numerous speakers in the late debate, in favour of Maynooth, from the *Regium Donum*.

But Mr. Gladstone states that—

"Independently of the *Regium Donum* in Ireland, Parliament granted 2100*l.* last year to the Belfast Academical Institution ;

that some of the Professors of that Institution are, he believes, understood to hold Arian tenets, and that the grant has not been withdrawn."

He does not show that this grant was made to this College, *as a Dissenting College*; or to these Professors, *as Arians*; and I remember very well, a few years ago, soon after I had visited Maynooth, when I was at Belfast, and within the walls of that institution, and in conversation with a Professor of it, hearing him say, "that he was elected to his office"—and for what reason do you suppose?—"because he was a member of the *Church of England*!" It is, in fact, a *mixed* College; and if any one wishes to see the *evils* of such mixed Colleges—with *more* of which the country appears to be threatened—let him go to Belfast. The present Bishop of Ely exposed the miserable practical working and results of such institutions, in his very useful pamphlet concerning Dr. Doddridge's Northamptonshire College; and I can bear out fully the truth of all that he says from the notes which I made, and have now before me, of the history of the Academical Institution of Belfast.

But supposing the country *does* give 2100*l.* a year to Belfast: supposing that there *are* Arian teachers in it—and Sir Robert Inglis very justly and wisely, like a Christian statesman, assures the country that *if* it be *found*, on inquiry, that the public money is abused to maintain those who deny the Divinity of our Blessed Lord, he certainly for one will oppose

the grant, (as what Christian would not ?) and that he will not consider such an *abuse* as meriting any other treatment than *removal*, and not (God forbid !) as deserving to be drawn into a *precedent* and example for other similar acts of the Legislation of this Christian country—but supposing, I say, that there *are* Arian teachers at Belfast, yet the parallel between that Institution and the College of Maynooth will never hold. Belfast, as we have said, is a *mixed College*; but the College of Maynooth is a purely *Romanist* one: *not a single Protestant student is, or ever has been, admitted within its walls.* And here again is another of the strange inconsistencies, and extravagant anomalies of which the country is now invited to be guilty,—to treble the endowments of an old *exclusive* College with *one* hand, and to found new *mixed Colleges* with *the other* ! But let that pass for the present. We see that Belfast and Maynooth *cannot be compared*: their constitutions are the very *reverse* of each other. And, further, though it is, I firmly believe, inconsistent with the solemn duty, and most pernicious to the dearest interests of a country, to give endowments to *any other* form of Religion except that which is established by Law and is interwoven with the civil and social institutions of the Realm, and though I am also firmly persuaded that it is the bounden duty and best policy of the Legislature to support, and encourage *that* form of Religion by all means in its power, as it values God's favour and

blessing, and the peace and prosperity of the kingdom (and on this point we shall be led to offer some other observations in these pages), yet I see a wide difference, yes, and our present *Government also sees it*, and has very recently insisted upon that difference in the most emphatic manner, between giving public money to religionists who *refuse* to admit of *any State control*—and who are bound by oaths of allegiance to a *foreign, hostile power*, as is the case with *all* the ecclesiastical functionaries of *Maynooth*,—and to those who *do* admit of civil control, and are bound by *no* such ties.

Well might Mr. Fox Maule express himself as follows, in relation to this topic:—

“This Roman Catholic establishment of *Maynooth* is to be maintained by the State, and is to be taken into connexion with the State, without reserving to the State *any right of control whatever over it*! This, he maintained, was *not* a course consistent with the principles which those who formed the *Government* had with great emphasis laid down. With regard to the *Church of Scotland* a very different course had been pursued. Two years ago he came before the House with a petition claiming for the Church of Scotland the management of their spiritual concerns independent of the influence or interference of the State. He was then told by the right hon. baronet, and the view was repeated on that (the *Opposition*) side of the House, that the idea of an establishment existing in connexion with the State, but over which the State had no control, was monstrous and unconstitutional! (Hear.) If that was the view taken of the claims of the Free Church of Scotland, how could they come forward and ask for the support of that Church to a proposition which was to create another Church over which there was to be no State revision?” (Hear, hear.)

Yes, we add also, *if* the grant to the Professors of Belfast was given to them, *as dissenters*, and if they had bound themselves by *solemn oaths* of *allegiance* to a *foreign* power ; *if* they were *subjects* of the Crown of France, or of Prussia, or of Austria, and *not* of *England* : *if* they taught doctrines at variance with the safety of the Monarchy, and the peace of the country, then the two cases *would*, in civil respects, be similar, but *only then*. Let the Trustees and Professors of *Maynooth* enter into the condition of loyal subjects of Queen Victoria ; let them renounce what are *unlawful* and *unconstitutional* oaths—yes, as *unlawful* and *unconstitutional* as that Oath of the Solemn League and Covenant which the Act of Uniformity * commanded to be *renounced* ;—let them, we say, abjure the oaths which they have taken of *vassalage to a foreign potentate*,—a vassalage incompatible with the duty which they owe to the Sovereign whom Almighty God has set over them ; let them become, in the full sense of the word, *fellow-citizens* of the Protestants of England, Ireland, and Scotland ; let them in a word submit *to the Laws of their country* ; and then let the State consider in *what respects* it will be fit to regard and treat them accordingly. *Until* this is the case, the augmentation of the grant to the College of Maynooth is nothing less than a sacrifice of our own strength to

* 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 4

aggrandize a *foreign* and *hostile* power *against ourselves*. It is to be hoped that we may hear no more of this analogy between Maynooth and other Protestant Institutions, which, we cannot forbear saying, is *unjust, unloyal, and untrue*.

We have here a reply to Mr. Macaulay's inquiry, why has so much been done for the English Universities, and why so little for Maynooth?

"It is with a peculiarly bad grace that a member of a university, to which I have the honour to belong, comes forward to oppose the new grant of 26,000*l*. (Hear, hear.) I think an objection of that sort comes with very bad grace from any person who represents either of *our universities*. (Hear, hear.) When I consider with what magnificence religion and science are surrounded at those places,—when I remember the long streets of palaces, those venerable cloisters, those trim gardens, and those chapels, with their organs and altarpieces and stained windows—when I remember their schools, and libraries, and museums, and galleries of art—and when I remember, too, all the solid comforts provided in those places, both for instructors and pupils,—*when I remember the stately dwellings of the principals and the commodious apartments of the fellows and scholars*,—when I remember that the very sizers and servitors lodge far better than you propose to lodge these priests, who are to train the whole people of Ireland;—when I remember the bowling-greens, and the stabling, and the combination-rooms,—the display of plate on the tables, the excellent cheer on feast days, and the oceans of excellent ale in the buttery—and when I remember, too, from whom all this splendour and plenty were derived,—when I remember the faith of Edward III., of Henry VI., of Margaret of Anjou, of William de Wickham, of Archbishop Chicheley, and of Cardinal Wolsey,—and when I remember *what we have taken from the*

Roman Catholic religion;—when I remember King's College, New College, Christ Church, and *my own Trinity*, I look at the miserable '*Do-the-boys Hall*' we give in return, and I must own I blush for the Protestant religion."

The right honourable gentleman will probably remember, that when he was admitted to a fellowship "in his own Trinity," he took an oath of the *King's Supremacy*, and that all the Maynooth Trustees and Professors have taken an oath of the Supremacy of the *Pope*. This, he will allow, makes some little difference between the two cases. He will remember, also, that before he was admitted to his B.A. degree, he declared himself "to be a bonâ fide Member of the Church of England," and that he is, therefore, bound by the xxxviiith Article, which affirms that—

"The *Queen's Majesty* hath the chief power in this realm of England, and *other her dominions*, unto whom the chief Government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is *not, nor ought to be* subject to any *foreign* jurisdiction; and that the *Bishop of Rome* hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England"—

and I trust that I may be pardoned in expressing my surprise, that no Member of the House of Commons should have reminded the very numerous alumni of our two Universities, who have seats in that house, of the solemn obligations by which they have bound themselves as *Graduates of our Universities*, to maintain the just rights of the Crown, and to resist the encroachments of the Papal Domination; and

having shown what the Constitution of Maynooth is, that it is a *Papal* College, directly under *Papal* influence, and that it tends, in the most dangerous and active manner, to aggrandize the power of the *Papacy*, to the destruction of the *Royal Supremacy*, in matters Civil and Ecclesiastical, let me hope to be pardoned if I, very respectfully, state that a vote in favour of the Maynooth Bill appears to be somewhat at variance with the Academical engagements of which I have spoken.

But to return for a few moments to Mr. Macaulay's comparison of the two English Universities with Maynooth, and their respective emoluments from the *State*,—

From the *Crown* revenue an annual grant¹ is made to the University of

	Oxford,	£	to Cambridge	£
Paper duty remitted by the State, inclusive of £500 for Almanacs on an average of the last ten years, per annum		151		148
		4134		2754

Total .. Oxford £4285 to Cambridge £2902

Total to both the English Universities £7187.

¹ From an official return moved for in the present year by Sir R. H. Inglis and Mr. Christie.

But, on the other hand, the State has received on an average of the last ten years, for stamps for Degrees per annum from the University of Oxford £2731, from Cambridge £3243, for Matriculations.

Total from both the Universities £5974

So that, on the whole, we have a balance in favour of both the English Universities, of receipts from the State, amounting to the sum of 1213*l.*, being *one twenty-fifth part* of the annual revenue which the Government proposes to give in perpetuity to the single College of *Maynooth* !

But Mr. Macaulay will, perhaps, reply, "True; the English Universities receive little benefit from the State; their endowments are derived from *private* munificence: still, on the one hand, the Romanists of Ireland are too poor to support *Maynooth*; the State has undertaken it, and what the State undertakes, "it ought to do *well*;" and, as the Ecclesiastical endowments of the Churches and Universities of England and Ireland were conferred by persons professing the Roman Catholic Religion, the State ought to grant a liberal endowment to *Maynooth* by way of *Restitution*.

Here are three pleas :—(1.) the poverty of the Irish Romanists :—

Supposing, for argument's sake, that individuals

in a community *are* poor; it does not follow that the State is to come in and take under its charge all their starving and impoverished institutions. If this doctrine were true, then what a glorious harvest would be reaped by embezzlement and malversation! what a premium offered for insolvency! A bankrupt society would be the most flourishing concern in the world! I see the "Catholic Institute of Great Britain" declares itself to be penniless; Is the State to step in and set it up with recruited finances? No; the Romanists do not expect that the Government will lay a charge on the consolidated fund for circulating their tracts: like sensible men they meet,—Bishops and Nobles together—at Freemasons' Hall (it was about a week *after* the first reading of the Maynooth Bill), and they agree to reorganize the Institute: and they would do the same for Maynooth to-morrow (as indeed Sir Robert Peel allowed²), if the connexion of the State with it were dissolved.

And now a few words as to their *poverty*:—At that very same meeting, one of their Vicars Apostolic, the Bishop of Samaria, Dr. Sharples, informed his audience that in *his own* district, that is,

"In Lancashire, 8000*l.* a-year are spent in educating the young—(hear)—and we have the Christian Brothers in all our schools. In Liverpool alone there are eighteen of these invaluable brethren, and the Catholics of Liverpool expend 2000*l.* a-year upon their schools."

² Above, p. 16.

And to cross from Lancashire to *Ireland*, if the Romanists of that country are so indigent as is pleaded, where does Mr. O'Connell's Repeal *Rent* come from? *that I see*³, for the *week* which has just expired, was £417. 12s. 11d.—and whence arise their splendid contributions to the Romish Propaganda? We find a curious statement on this subject in the *Dublin Statesman*, which we beg leave to transcribe—

“POVERTY OF MAYNOOTH AND THE PROPAGANDA.

“Simultaneously with the lamentations about the miserable poverty of Maynooth, we find published in the Popish prints here, the curious illustrative fact, that *the Romanists of Ireland*, for the *month* ending the 7th of April, 1845, have contributed the sum of *about 1000l. sterling to the Popish Propaganda!* This sum goes expressly to the very same purpose to which will be applied the newly-proposed grant of the Protestant people of England's money—viz., to *manufacture and support Popish Priests for the British empire*. By former documents published, we learn that *this Irish contribution to the Propaganda is entirely expended in Scotland and England—chiefly the former*. Would it not be well for Sir Robert Peel to tax at once the Scotch Presbyterians directly for the sum necessary to propagate Popery amongst them? If the thing be a desideratum, the short, honest, straightforward way of procuring it, is surely the best in this as in all other cases. The sum now proposed to be lavished on Maynooth is equivalent to funding at once for the benefit-of that institution ONE MILLION STERLING.”

And in a book put forth under Government auspices⁴, as it is said, we find the following statement:

“The zeal and *increased wealth* of the Catholics in Ireland

³ Tablet, May 3.

⁴ “Past and Present Policy of England toward Ireland,” p. 291.

have been employed, not only in building and repairing *chapels generally*, but in constructing *some very magnificent churches* in some of the towns."

And if they can and do construct *magnificent Churches*, why not build and endow Colleges and Ecclesiastical Seminaries? But, as we have before said, we need not put this question. They *have already* built and endowed them. They *have already* Colleges of this very description at Tuam, Carlow, Kilkenny, Waterford, and Wexford, supported by private contributions. I shall be extremely surprised if Dr. M'Hale, the titular Archbishop of Tuam, is not very angry with the preference given to Maynooth, in the diocese of his brother of Dublin, and if we do not hear soon that his College also at Tuam is in debt, as well as Maynooth; and if we do not have similar representations from the other Romanist Seminaries, with solicitations for Government aid, especially since it is given so liberally, without any of the deleterious elements—so common in England,—of inspection, restriction, and control.

But we say, *If* the Irish Romanists can give a *thousand pounds* in a *month* to the Romish Propaganda, and *four hundred pounds* a *week* for Repeal, surely, before we put ourselves and our constitution in peril by the virtual endowment of Popery, we may leave them to take care of Maynooth.

But (2.) Mr. Macaulay tells us, what the State does "it ought to do *well*:"—

"Is there (he asks) any thing more frivolous than this whole

question between 9000*l.* and 26,000*l.* ? Can any thing be clearer, than that whatever it is lawful for us to do, we should *do well* ? (Hear, hear.) If it be right to keep up this College, can it be wrong to keep it up respectably ? (Hear, hear.) This is a national question. It may be right to withhold patronage altogether. *That is a very grave question.* But what I say is, there can be no question that if *you do* give patronage, it should be worthy of the greatness of the object, and worthy the *greatness of the donor.*" (Hear, hear.)

To all which we say :—this term "doing a thing *well*," is a very ambiguous one. It may mean morally well, or physically well, or politically well. *If* Maynooth is, indeed, a *national benefit*, let it by all means be rewarded *as such* ; by increasing its powers we shall then be acting both morally and politically well : *but, if* it is a national *evil*, then, I apprehend, by *augmenting* its resources, we shall be acting *neither* morally nor politically well, but (if I may use the expression) we shall only be acting very *badly well*. Indeed, in that one grave question, whether *it deserves* public patronage or no, lies the whole of the argument ; and this question has never yet been answered in the affirmative ; and I feel persuaded it *never can be*.

But (3.) Mr. Macaulay seems to suggest that a State endowment to Maynooth would partake of the nature of an act of *Restitution*, in consideration of property given by *Romanists*, before the Reformation, to promote the interests of Romanism, and transferred, at the Reformation, to the religious uses of the Churches of England and Ireland.

We have seen⁵ also that Mr. O'Connell *consents to receive* the proposed endowment to Maynooth, (if he can obtain it,) on the plea of its being an Act of Restitution; and he would not scruple to conquer his objections to Religious Endowments, and receive all the Tithe property of Ireland on the same ground.

But here, we rejoice to say, Mr. Gladstone again comes to our aid, and says very forcibly and truly—

“There is an argument that has been advanced as a ground for the adoption of this measure, which I think it *my duty most emphatically to disclaim*; I mean the argument that we ought to vote these funds to the College of Maynooth by way of *restitution* to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. *I do not much envy those who adopt this argument as their own*, and who shall, after having adopted, endeavour to limit and control it. I will not now enter into the detail of all the objections that may be urged against it. For the present I protest against it *in every view and upon every ground: in the name of the Law and the Constitution*, in the name of whatever I know of *our religion and our history*, I disclaim and repudiate this argument.”

Indeed, Mr. Gladstone may well do so. Sir Robert Inglis, on a recent occasion⁶, said that “he had always denied that the greater part of the revenues of the Universities were derived from Roman Catholics;” and he gave conclusive evidence in support of that statement; and the same is true with respect to *Church* property in England and Ireland. He has shown that the religious endowments in both coun-

⁵ Above, p. 8.

⁶ Thursday, April 10.

tries were given, in a great measure, at a time either antecedent to the existence of Popery,—*such as Popery has become since the Council of Trent* in the sixteenth century, and *such as it is now*,—or else were conferred by members of the Churches of England and Ireland *subsequently* to that period; and that the Reformation was not the setting up of a *new* Church, but the restoration of the *old*, unfettered by the bondage of Papal usurpation.

But let it even be true that the revenues of the national Church were given by Romanists (yes, and even by Tridentine Romanists,) for Romanist purposes *as such*, and not for the glory of God and for the edification of His Church,—which is the *true* state of the case—yet even then, I affirm that,—When the Sovereign, the Nobles, the Clergy in Synod assembled, and almost without exception individually in their parishes, when the Universities in their Convocations, and when the People in their Parliaments *join together with one consent*, as they did at the Reformation, and adopt *that* form of pure, ancient, catholic, and evangelical form of service and worship, which is contained in the Book of Common Prayer of the Churches of England and Ireland; and when they alone (of all the religious communities in these countries⁷) have an uninterrupted succession of Bishops to show, and when they have maintained their form of worship, so received and established by national consent, practice, and law, for three centuries,—they and they

⁷ See below, p. 87, 88.

alone have a lawful claim to the title of the CHURCH of England and Ireland ; and if there is any property in the world which rests on a solid basis, both of Divine and human Statute, it is that property which they hold.

And we go still further, and say that,—*When* the Crown, the Clergy, the Parliament, the Universities, and the People of England shall all have so *changed* their present character and principles, as that, instead of the English Prayer Book they shall agree to adopt the Roman Breviary, and to substitute the Decrees of Trent for the Thirty-nine Articles, then, and not till then, can any plea be urged from the ground of *human* law, for what is called *restitution* of Church property to *Romanism* ; and not *even then* could such a plea be acted upon without *sacrilege* ; inasmuch as Church property is not *man's* property but God's ; and God is Truth ; and the doctrines of the Council of Trent cannot be reconciled with His written Word.

Lord John Manners, indeed, appeared to hold that the Churches of England and Ireland are in a *Schismatical* position, because they are separated from the See of Rome,—that is, have been *excommunicated by it*,—when he said

“ He was far from denying that he regarded the position of the Irish Church as one of imminent and great peril. She was indeed in danger ; but it was from herself—from *her own children* that that peril had arisen. (Cheers.) *'Twas not from the Vatican* ; it was not from the Jesuits ; it was not from Maynooth ; but it was *from her own sons—from those who would have her separate herself*

from the whole of Catholic Christendom, that the Irish Church was endangered."

And by parity of reasoning, I suppose that his Lordship would wish us to think that the *Romanist* clergy and laity form the true Church of England and Ireland, because *they* are in communion with Rome; and therefore he seems to approach very near to those who claim for *them* the revenue of those Churches by way of *restitution* :—

"It was in vain (he said) that he looked into history for a precedent to show that the *Church of Rome in Ireland could now be looked upon as guiltily schismatical; nor if he looked into the formularies and doctrines of our Church, or read the works of her greatest divines, did he find any thing which should make him think that he was acting disloyally towards her in supporting the proposed grant to Maynooth. (Hear.) That Church regarded the Roman Catholic Church as a true, though not altogether a pure branch of the great Church universal."*

His Lordship, I am sure, is aware that *Schism* is usually defined to be "the setting up Bishop against^a Bishop, and altar against altar;" and I therefore very respectfully submit the following brief but most important statement to his consideration, with the view of deciding the question whether the Romanist hierarchy in Ireland are not in a schismatical position.

"Of nineteen Irish Bishops present in the Parliament at Dublin (anno 1560), by which the Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity were passed, only two (Walsh of Meath, and Leverous of Kildare,)

^a Archbp. Bramhall, i. p. 112 (Ed. Oxf. 1842).

refused to sanction those enactments, and were deprived of their Sees. Both these Bishops were only served as they had served their predecessors (Staples of Meath, and Lancaster of Kildare, respectively), who were deprived by the government of Queen Mary sixteen years before, for the grievous offence of being married men. Being thus irregularly intruded into their Sees while the rightful occupants were living, it may be doubted if these two men had any claim for compensation at all. *With the exception of these two, all the Irish Bishops of that time remained in their respective Sees; and from them the present Protestant Bishops have derived their orders; being thereby the true and unquestionable successors and representatives of the ancient Irish Church—for, ubi Episcopus, ibi Ecclesia.* The titular Bishops of the dissenting Romanists *derive their orders from the Pope alone*, and have therefore nothing wherewithal to support their pretension to represent the National Church. (See King's Primer of the Church History of Ireland, pp. 289. 306. and 342.)”

I beg also to observe, as a corollary from the above statement, that, according to the rules of order and discipline which have been universally received in the Christian Church from time immemorial, the endowment on the part of the State of the titular hierarchy and Romanist clergy (*as long as they remain out of the communion of the Church settled in that country*), would be a *national* act of *Schism*, and would merit those judgments from Heaven upon us and our land, which fell upon those who followed “in the gainsaying of Core.”

Lord John Manners, in the paragraph last quoted

’ Perceval’s Church Question in Ireland, p. 86. And, further, these two deprived Bishops did not attempt to ordain; and for many years there *was no Popish Bishop in Ireland.*—O’Sullivan’s Case of the Protestants, p. 202, ed. 1836.

from his speech, does not appear to make the distinction, which is very necessary to be made, between Romanism in a country where there is *no* other branch of the Catholic Church, beside that in Communion with Rome (as in Italy, and Austria), and Romanism in a country where there *is* such a branch of the Catholic Church, as England, Wales, and Ireland: and thus, I apprehend, he falls into inconsistency. In this same speech, he dwells with great earnestness and eloquence on the rights of "the Catholic Church in Wales," meaning thereby very properly that branch of it which is in Communion with the *Anglican* branch of the Church Catholic; and every true member of these sister Churches ought to thank the noble Lord for the appeal he then made to the Government to preserve the Welsh sees in their integrity. I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of inserting his observations on that subject—

"The right hon. baronet and the House might believe him (Lord J. Manners), that the opposition and great resistance given to the *present grant* by so large, and he admitted, so respectable, a body of the Clergy of the Established Church, was not the less determined, sustained, and profound, because they felt and believed it was based upon a principle and regulated by *conduct far different from that which had been pursued with reference to the Catholic Church of England* (hear, hear); not to the Church of England in this country alone, *but in Canada, in India, in Australia, and, above all, in Wales.* (Cheers). *Yes, the English Church did feel herself aggrieved, insulted, and wronged* (loud cries of 'Hear, hear.')

But, my Lord, let me be permitted to inquire, if the Church of *Wales* is allowed to be Catholic, is not that of Ireland Catholic also?—and if it *be*, are we to have *two* Catholic Churches in the same country!—*two* universals! the very name is a contradiction; and I cannot, therefore, see how your Lordship, with your opinions, as stated by yourself, could have been brought to support a measure which tends directly to such a conclusion.

As Lord John Manners appears to entertain a respect for Archbishop Laud, and cites a passage from that prelate's writings in his speech, I beg leave to quote some other expressions from the same quarter, in reply to his remarks on the Protestant Church of Ireland, as if she were separated from the rest of Catholic Christendom. The Archbishop says—

“I never said or thought that the Protestants made this rent. The cause of the schism is yours; for you thrust us from you, because we called for truth and redress of abuses. A schism must needs be theirs whose the *cause* of it is. The woe is against him that *gives* the offence¹. *The Protestants did not depart, for departure is voluntary.*”—Archbishop Laud against the Jesuit Fisher, p. 109. Again—

“The Church of Rome challengeth us for breach of this peace in our separation from them; but we say, and justly, *the breach was theirs by their separation, not only from disputable but from evident truth.* Nor are we fallers out of the *Church*, but they fallers off from *verity*. Let them return to primitive truth, and our quarrel is ended.”—Archbishop Laud's Sermons, 1651, p. 19.

“While they seeke to tye all Christians to Rome by a divine

¹ Matt. xviii. 7.

precept, their ambition of sovereignty is one and maine cause that Jerusalem, even the whole Church of Christ, is *not at unity in itselfe this day.*"—Ibid. p. 122.

"The *Pope*, which Bellarmine hath put into the definition of the Church, that there might be one ministerial head to keepe all in unity, is as great as any, if not the *greatest, cause of divided Christianity.*"—Ibid. p. 258.

Such is the language, my Lord, of that venerable Archbishop. And further, your Lordship complained very earnestly of the assertion made, as you alleged, by certain parties, that—

"*The Roman Catholic religion was the religion of anti-Christ, and that, therefore, any support of the College of Maynooth was treason against Christianity.* (Hear, hear.) Those who held that opinion were not only right, but were imperatively called upon to wage the war they were waging against this grant. But as no reasoning would have any effect upon such a conviction, I shall pass from that consideration, contenting myself with asserting, that *the Church of England nowhere imposes so tremendous a belief upon its members*, and that I am altogether uninfluenced by it." (Hear, hear.)

I know not, my Lord, whether such an assertion was made or no in the present debate; but I beg permission to trouble your Lordship with another distinction, very necessary to be observed in this matter. As far as the Bishop of Rome holds the true faith, and administers the rites of the Christian Church, by virtue of his episcopal office, so far the Church of England regards him as a Christian Bishop. But *when* he assumes to himself the title of Universal Bishop; when he imposes oaths of subjection and vassalage to himself on his

brother Bishops; when he asserts that all their authority is derived not from God, but from himself; when he claims to himself the right to depose kings, to dispose of their kingdoms, and to absolve their subjects from their allegiance to them²; and thus sets himself above those earthly powers which God has appointed to be His own Ministers and Vicegerents in their several kingdoms; *then*, we say, he *does* assume to himself a power, which not *we*, nor *man* alone, but God Himself, in His unerring Word³, has denounced as anti-Christian: and we affirm, that a College, which maintains that such proud prerogatives as these belong to the Bishop of Rome, —as we have abundantly shown, from evidence supplied by itself, that the College of Maynooth *does* maintain,—teaches, *pro tanto*, anti-Christian doctrines; and therefore they who abet it and encourage it, in such teaching, do, we assert, however your Lordship may reprobate us as bigots for our affirmation, promote the advancement of anti-Christian principles, and even in your Lordship's own strong words, are *so far* "guilty of treason against Christianity."

Let me assure your Lordship that I am saying nothing more than—nor even *so much* as—has been said much better before, as long as twelve hundred years ago, by a person for whom your Lordship deservedly entertains a high respect, Gregory the First, Bishop of Rome: "I confidently assert," says he,

² Maynooth, pp. 34—40.

³ See Maynooth, &c. p. 72.

“that whoever calls himself or desires to be called Universal Bishop, in his arrogancy, is the precursor of anti-Christ; and he is impelled by the same pride as that Wicked One, because, like him, he desires to appear as a God above all men’.”

And as, my Lord, you appeal to the authority of the Church of England on this topic, let me take the liberty of referring your Lordship to a passage to be found in the second page of every Bible that has been printed in England for more than two centuries, sanctioned by our divines of the most learned age of English Theology, and authorized by our Sovereign Princes, and by both our Universities from which these Bibles issue. The appellation, the “Man of Sin,” there given by our English Translators to the Pope of Rome, is ascribed to him, not as a Bishop of the Christian Church, but as assuming those arrogant, anti-scriptural, and anti-Christian titles, and as claiming to exercise those monstrous powers, which, if Scripture be indeed the Word of God, are the special attributes of the Wicked One who is to be the scourge of the world in these its latter days, and who will be destroyed by “the breath of Christ’s mouth, and consumed by the brightness of his coming’.”

But, here, we are met by another argument, from a very different quarter. We are assured, that Reli-

‘ S. Gregorii Magni, Ep. vii. 33, p. 881.

’ 2 Thess. ii. 8.

gion is no concern of Governments; that its duty is limited to the things of *this life*; and that, if it provides religious teaching for the people at all, or education for the Ministers of their Religion, it has no concern with the articles of their respective Creeds, but ought to be guided by the *numbers* and the *opinions* of the people in dispensing endowments for their instruction.

The doctrine that Governments have nothing to do with Religion, and that their cares are to be confined to the objects of this world, was, I regret to find, broached in the late debate, though, apparently, not received with much approbation; and it is a sad truth, that this doctrine is to be found also in the pages of a Christian Minister, who has written on Irish Romanism, and whose wit, in treating this subject, too often borders very nearly on the edge of an abyss of wretchedness and horror:—

“What is the object,” he asks, “of all Government? The object of all Government is roast mutton, potatoes, claret, a stout constable, an honest justice, a clear highway, a *free chapel*.”

To which strain of unhappy, and, I must needs add, of profane jocularly, let me reply in the grave language of an eminent statesman, Mr. Burke “—

“Religion is so far, in my opinion, from being out of the province or the duty of a Christian Magistrate, that it *is* and it *ought to be*, not only his care, but the PRINCIPAL thing in his care;”—

* Works, x. p. 43.

and of a venerable Prelate, a late Bishop of Winchester⁷—

“If Princes were ordained of God for those things only which are needful for this temporal life, their power would consist in meats, drinks, and apparel, and they would have no more care of their people than they have of their hounds and their horses, to see them well fed and smooth kept—which is a VERY BRUTISH OPINION : ”

and so Hooker⁸—

“As if God had ordained kings for no other end and purpose, but only to *fat men up like hogs*, and to see that they have their *mast*.”

And in the late debate, Mr. Shaw, the right honourable and learned member for Dublin University, declared with great spirit and eloquence—

“He would at once repudiate the doctrine of the hon. and learned gentleman, or *the markish fallacy as it appeared to him* (Mr. Shaw), *that neither men, nor states, nor Parliaments could take cognizance of what was truth or error in religion*. (Hear.) He fully admitted the fallibility of all human judgment; and that whether with the supreme power of the State or in the mind of the individual, the question must be what they believed to be truth or error; *but still*, if both did not practically act upon *that* belief, *then religion* would be but an empty sound (Hear, hear,) and a cold philosophy; latitudinarianism

⁷ Bishop Bilson's Christian Subjection, p. 339.

⁸ VIII. iii. 2.

and infidelity would soon usurp its place in *all the relations of public, social, and domestic life*. (Cheers.) The hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Roebuck) professed contempt for *all arguments drawn from this source*—he said they wholly eluded his understanding; it might be so; upon the highest authority *it always had been so, with "the wise, the scribe, the disputer of this world;" but we might depend upon it, it was sufficiently plain to the common sense, the religious feelings of the community*. (Loud cheers.) Was it for Englishmen to deny that *laws or constitutions were to distinguish between religions?* (Hear.) If so, why was it an essential condition of the existing dynasty that *the Sovereign of these realms must be a Protestant?* (Hear, hear.) Why the law of the land, that Protestantism was the established religion in every portion of the united kingdom?"

It is in one respect a cheering, and in another a distressing circumstance, that while the Representatives of the two *English* Universities have been divided on this great question now before the Country, *both* the Members for the University of Dublin have asserted the duty of the State to maintain religious truth, with a vigorous power of reasoning, and a noble dignity of style, which carries conviction home to the mind, while it affords it the highest intellectual gratification.

I have just cited some paragraphs from Mr. Shaw, and I wish that the limits of such a publication as this would allow me to borrow more from the same quarter; but I cannot deny myself the gratification of inserting the following periods from that of his colleague, Mr. G. A. Hamilton, whose speech, in my humble opinion, is in itself

a sufficient vindication, if any were wanted, of the Protestant University which he represents, and reflects honour on the country to which he belongs.

"The hon. gentleman, the member for Bath, had declared, and not now for the first time, that in his opinion the 'State had nothing to do with religion ;' and, strange to say, the argument of the right hon. gentleman, the late President of the Board of Trade, now certainly advanced for the first time, appeared to him (Mr. Hamilton) to come nearly to the same thing ; for the right hon. gentleman, although he had stated that a complete unity and coincidence in religious opinion between a State and every subject of it would indeed be the consummation of political happiness, yet he admitted that, where this was not the case, all forms of religion, without reference to their truth or error, had equal claims upon the consideration of Government. Now, he (Mr. Hamilton) was not ashamed or afraid to state, without entering upon any questions of political ethics or metaphysics, that he had always felt, and nothing he had heard in the course of the debate had altered his conviction, that considerations of religion and of truth in religion, just as much as considerations of truth in reference to principles of morality, or trade, or commerce, did form the subject-matter and come within the scope and responsibilities of Government ; and that it was the paramount duty of a Christian State, a duty that was owing to the Ruler of all States, to affirm that principle by recognizing and acknowledging some intelligible principles of religious truth ; and, if religion were something real and practical, and of paramount importance and definite ; he meant, if religion involved necessarily certain great essential doctrines, and if its essence consisted in the truth of those great doctrines, he could not but feel that, although it was manifestly the duty of a state to tolerate and protect every subject in the free exercise of his own conscientious opinions, yet that it was most inconsistent, and a gross dereliction of the homage that was due to truth in religion, for a State to countenance and support two systems of religion diametrically the opposite of each other, and still more

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so to pay for the promulgation of doctrines held by the State to be erroneous. (Hear, hear.) It would not, he thought, be denied that the Protestant religion was the *religion of the State, and as such held by the State to be true*; that the British Empire and British Constitution were an *empire and a constitution protesting against* the errors of the Church of Rome; and this being so, he (Mr. Hamilton) did not see how it was possible to make it consistent to endow the Roman Catholic Church or a Roman Catholic *ecclesiastical College, without affirming* the opposite principle from that which he had been asserting, namely, the principle of the member for Bath, that *States had nothing to do with religion, or religious truth or error*; and if that principle were sound and true, why it would follow that *the British Empire ought to be un-Protestantized*—the CORONATION-OATH^{*} was an invasion of the rights of conscience—the ACT OF SETTLEMENT was at variance with sound policy, justice, and toleration—and Her Majesty ought to be *free to become a Roman Catholic to-morrow*. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Hamilton) could not recognize the distinction which had been drawn by the right hon. gentleman and another hon. member between the duty which appertained to any member of *that house in his individual and in his collective capacity*. He thought that the same duty precisely which, as he believed, belonged to the State, belonged also to those individuals who entertained the same essential religious opinions which were held by the State to be true. Believing, as he did, that the Protestant religion was the religion conformable to God's revealed will, and the Roman Catholic religion opposed to it, he (Mr. Hamilton) could not reconcile it to his conscience, he should *feel he was guilty of a great sin*, and that he was acting most inconsistently with his own principles, if he gave his vote for a measure expressly designed to encourage the promulgation of what, in common with the State, he considered error, essential error, on the most important of all subjects. The hon. and learned gentleman, the member for Bath, had argued as if there was some great degree of arrogance and

^{*} See Note at end.

pharisaical assumption on the part of those who, holding their own opinions in religion to be true, acted upon the belief of their being so. He (Mr. Hamilton) could not see that this was the case ; he could not see how opinions in religion differed in this respect from opinions on any other subject. The hon. and learned gentleman held, and no doubt most honestly, very strong *political* opinions ; he was never very backward in avowing and urging them, and certainly he was not very sparing of those who presumed to differ from him. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Hamilton) did not at all complain of that ; he was a great admirer of truth, whether in politics or religion, and he felt certain that great and essential truth in either one or the other would be much more likely to be advanced by every conscientious man maintaining and *upholding what he believed to be true, than by that false liberalism, which, by confounding what were thought truth and error, placed truth and error on the same footing.*" (Hear.)

On this powerful statement we beg leave to offer a single observation. As long as the University of Dublin sends such senators to the Imperial Parliament as these, whose words we have been quoting, who can despair concerning the Protestant Institutions of that country ?

But—to say a few more words on this very important question of *Encouragement of various* Creeds by the *same* State, and particularly with reference to our own Country at the present time.

It is pleaded by some, that it is the duty of a Government to provide religious instruction for the different classes of the community, and to supply *such* instruction as shall accord, not most nearly with the *truth*, but with the *wishes* and *opinions*, right or wrong, of those several classes.

Further, it is added, that our own Country *has* already *sanctioned* this principle; and that, whether it be right or no, it is obliged to act upon it, if it desires to be consistent with itself.

On one side, some persons, who feel an ardent zeal for the maintenance of the Church in unity and efficiency, and who think that she is *desecrated*—to use a strong term—by her civil connexion, and *degraded* by civil control, especially under existing circumstances,—are heard to use such language as the following:—"The State has abandoned the cause of truth; it is tinctured with heresy and schism; we therefore leave it to itself; we will plead with it no longer; let it pursue the unhappy course which it has chosen; and let *us* follow *our own* path: we bid it adieu, and part company with it—perhaps, for ever!"

On the other side, we find a class of individuals, although of very different *principles* from those just described, yet virtually, as far as *practical* effects are concerned, acting in the *same* manner,—“You are pursuing an impartial and politic course,” they say to the State; “*As a State*, you are to know nothing of religious truth or error, except so far, that you are to provide for the teaching of various religious doctrines, in proportion to the numbers and power of those who hold them. This is a wise and liberal policy; carry it out to its full extent, and you will doubtless see it produce the most advantageous results.”

And *both* these two parties *unite* in their conclusions, and say to England at this time, "Follow out the principles you have adopted; judge of religious truth, not by the Word of God, but by the tables of the census of your population; you are Anglican in England, Presbyterian in Scotland; now, be Romanist in Ireland."

But we reply first to the *former* of these two parties. Allowing, for an instant, for argument's sake, that the case *is* so deplorable with England as you describe; granting that all your allegations are true, (which, as we have shown¹ and shall further show, is *not* the fact), that England *as a Nation* is infected with Heresy and Schism; yet, we ask, do not the very *corruptions* of which you speak indicate your own duty? do they not appeal to you, *not* for the stern language of *renunciation*,—but rather for the *charitable offices of correction*? Are you to spurn and cast off the patient, lying, as you say, in a dying state? Are you to look on his wounds with indifference, and to pass by on the other side? When a State is degenerate and corrupt in matters of religion,—which are of the greatest concern to the members of the community, both as Christians and Citizens,—when it is torn by factious Ecclesiastical and Civil,—*who*, I would ask you with all deference, are they, that are specially called upon to come forward, and each in his respective sphere to endeavour to exercise a salutary and remedial influence upon the State, *as a State*? Surely *they*, whose

¹ See above, pp. 69—74.

hearts are warmed with an ardent desire for religious Unity—whether they be Clergy or Laity. They have a sacred commission for the performance of this work ; and the more urgent the public emergency is, and the more aggravated the national malady, the greater, we humbly conceive, is *their duty* to undertake it. They will say, perhaps, that as *individuals*, they will do what they can ; but that with the State, *as a State*, they will have nothing to do ; for that it has unchristianized itself, and that they will therefore hold no intercourse with it ; and that if they did communicate with it, such communion would be vain and fruitless : that the State has made its choice ; that it has entered on an irreligious career ; and that it would be futile on their part to endeavour to check it in its course.

I venture to dwell longer on this topic, because one of our worst present symptoms seems to be this,—that we are prone to *imagine* public evils which do *not* exist ; and also to regard those evils, which *do* exist, as reasons for despair and reprobation, rather than for exertion and recovery. And as the piety and virtue of those individuals, to whom I now specially allude, seems to suggest such an appeal, I would request permission to refer to the examples presented to us in the pages of Holy Scripture, for the guidance of our conduct, whether we be Clergy or Laity, in times of national difficulty, degeneracy, danger, and distraction.

May we not, then, inquire, whether the Prophet Elijah, in a corrupt and idolatrous age, did *not* say

to the Israelitish Nation, *as a Nation*, "How long halt ye between TWO OPINIONS?" *Did* he tell them,—"*I alone* am left a prophet of the Lord²; Baal's prophets are *four hundred and fifty men*; you are an idolatrous people, reprobate, and abominable; and I therefore renounce and abandon you. Follow your own devices. Endow Baal; set up his altar by the side of Jehovah's; maintain, if you will, the priesthood of *both* one and the other. You may do what you list, and I will hold my peace." No: *His* language was—"If the Lord be God, follow *Him*, but *if* Baal, then follow *him*:" Yes; and he was "very jealous" for the honour of his God, and for the welfare of his country; and when his zeal began to cool, and his faith and his charity to fail through despondency, then God himself interposed, and sent Him anew with a message of warning and remonstrance to the sovereign of His people³.

The conduct of the prophets too in the times immediately preceding the captivity of Jerusalem, and that of our Lord and of His Apostles in the age before its final destruction, appears to inculcate this same duty of charity to the State, and of piety to God. And the inspired record which presents to us a view of the Apostle, St. Paul, brought before the civil Rulers of the world, standing at the bar of the licentious Felix, of the avaricious Festus, of the literary Agrippa, of the prudent Sergius, of the philosophizing Gallio, and appealing, at length, to the tri-

² 1 Kings xviii. 21.

³ 1 Kings xviii. 22.

⁴ Ibid. xxi. 17.

⁵ Ibid. xix. 10.

bunal even of the sanguinary Nero, seems clearly to intimate, that the Christian Church has a mission to execute in *every age of the world*, however vicious or virtuous it may be ; and that she has a message to deliver to States and Rulers, in their *public capacity*, concerning their Christian rights and duties, as Powers instituted by God.

And let us now speak of the laymen also who move in the high and honourable spheres of public life, and refer to *their* position,—as we do with all the deference which is due to its dignity and importance ; and let us accompany this reference also with an appeal to the same infallible, scriptural, guide which they revere, and which we have just now been consulting.

Our own times are, doubtless, times of no ordinary kind ; they sift men through and through ; they test their principles, prove their faith, and try their courage ; and they who shall come forth from the ordeal, unscathed and unblemished, will be no ordinary men. Therefore, the inference is,—let men be firmly settled in their principles ; let them carefully examine, and, when they have examined, let them hold fast that which they have proved to be right. Let them buy the truth at any cost, and let them not sell it at any price. Let them be the *same men in all places* ; not Christians in their own houses, and of no religion in public life. Christianity cannot be put on and put off like an article of dress : it cannot be worn within our doors, and laid aside when we go forth into the world.

They *have* difficulties in public life, but they knew of those difficulties before they entered it; no one forced them into it; the entrance was their own choice, and the retirement from it is in their own power. Shall they then sacrifice their principles, because they are called on to encounter what they foresaw, or ought to have foreseen? And can any struggle with difficulty bring with it such an amount of *evil* to themselves and to others, as will ensue from the abandonment of a right principle, or the adoption of a wrong one?

In this world there can be nothing *good* and *great* which is *not difficult*; and the *conquest of difficulties* is the *road to glory*. We cannot suppose that the great Men and States of old had no difficulties to contend with in *their* exertions for Religion. There were Philistines in David's way before he brought back the ark. He had Jebusites to contend with before he placed it on Mount Zion. Hezekiah had a corrupt populace to resist, when he restored Religion in Judah and Israel. Josiah had idolatrous priests and people to control when he destroyed the high places. Zerubbabel and the Statesmen who acted with him had Samaritans to encounter, when he set forward the rebuilding of the temple. Nehemiah and his Coadjutors had Sanballats to fear, when he rebuilt the city, and re-established its religion and its laws. The Maccabees contended for their faith against a persecuting and sanguinary King. And the names of all these men are glorious in earth and heaven. And why? Because they carried

their RELIGION with them into *public life*; because they were the *same* at *home*, in the senate, and in the field; because no difficulties, arising from opposing force or numbers, could daunt them, and make them swerve from the straight path of public duty.

However corrupt, therefore, a Nation may be, yet, we repeat, it is evident, from these reasonings and examples, that every one, in his own sphere, has a *public* duty to perform—that of resisting evil and maintaining good: and from this duty he cannot shrink on the plea of national degeneracy and irreligion.

And, therefore, we say,—“*Let England be* in the condition of schism and heresy, which has been alleged, *let her* have encouraged religious indifference and religious discord by her national Acts, still, we affirm, it is inconsistent with Christian faith to distrust God’s power, and to despair of her reformation; and it is incompatible with Christian charity to abandon her as past recovery, and not to labour, by all means in our power, for her restoration.”

But, further, we have said something already⁶, and have much to say in exception against the allegations of national delinquency, which have been brought so freely and eagerly against England by her own children.

If we may venture on the grave and serious task of speaking in behalf of our country, we would say, — *What the practice* of England has hitherto been,

⁶ See above, pp. 69—74.

with respect to the encouragement of *various forms of religion*, is indeed a very important question ; and we do not scruple to affirm that it deserved a great deal more attention, and was entitled to be treated with much more *accuracy* of statement than was the case in the recent debate.

God forbid that we should *exaggerate* the failings of our Country, who ought to be as dear to us as a parent ; and, much more, Heaven forbid that we should charge her with delinquencies,—of which she has *never been guilty* ! that we should take an unfilial delight in going forth, as it were, on voyages of discovery, to cruise about for her errors ; that we should travel to Malta, to Canada, and even to the Hebrides, with all the ardent enterprise of Argonautic navigators, for the purpose of bringing back a golden fleece of some national sin, of which, perhaps, we ourselves, in our own ministerial character, may have been the authors !

I perceive by a Roman Catholic print⁷, only about a fortnight old, that an application is now being made to Her Majesty's Government for the establishment of the *Jesuits* at *Malta*. Bishop Tomlinson, it is there said, is strenuously opposing the petition. But, if Government should yield to it, and should think fit to settle the Jesuits in that island, will it be just and patriotic that their act should be quoted hereafter as a sufficient reason for repealing the ten clauses above mentioned of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and for fixing the Jesuits in our own

⁷ Tablet, April 12, 1845.

country,—and, perhaps, even for demanding, in their behalf, an endowment from the national exchequer?

We have seen how the names of Canada and Malta have been mixed up with the present question on Maynooth. It has *also* been shown, from Sir Robert Inglis and others, that they are *not* cases in point; we have seen also what use has been made of the *Regium Donum*, and of the *Belfast Institution*, and it has been proved that these are no *precedents* at all for the endowment of Maynooth. And what then are the inferences from all this? Surely the following,—First, that, even *if* these *had* been cases in point, they ought not to have been cited as *rules* and *laws* for the practice of the State, *if* the *principle* which they involve is *not true* but *false*; (as if States *could* have *no repentance*! and ought to have *none*) no! these are of the nature of *warnings* what to *avoid*, not of *examples* for *imitation*. Next, that it is the duty of the Members of an Executive Government to take care how they lend their sanction to an erroneous principle in our Colonial possessions; and least of all is it right or honourable to *create* bad precedents there, and then to *import* them into England, for the detriment of our own Constitution! And lastly, that it is the part of true, patriotic sons of England to treat the faults of their country, as they would the failings of their parents; not to *impute* to her sins which she has never committed, not to use them as *arguments* for fixing *new* sins upon her, and thus to degrade her, haply, even by means of their own errors, and by the instrument-

ality of their own breach of duty ; but rather to endeavour to remove her blemishes, or at least to cover them with the veil of charity.

We now proceed to show, how the case of the *Presbyterian* endowments in *Scotland* is equally inapplicable, with that of *Canada* and *Malta*, to the question now at issue.

Every one must feel it to be desirable that countries united together so closely as *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* should have one and the same national Church : and we do not presume to say any thing of the *policy* of uniting kingdoms with *different* religious Establishments. We speak only of facts as they *are* ; and no one, who gives a moment's consideration to the subject can, we think, fail to see the very wide difference between the reception of a nation into union like *Scotland* with a certain religious establishment already formed *differing from* our own, and the setting up of Romanism in *Ireland*, which Great Britain has received into union with itself on the solemn pledge* of *maintaining* a religious Establish-

* Article Fifth of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, 2nd July, 1800.—“That it be the Fifth Article of Union, that the Churches of *England* and *Ireland* as now by Law established, be united into *one Protestant Episcopal Church*, to be called, *The United Church of England and Ireland* ; and that the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of the said United Church shall be and shall *remain in full force for ever*, as the same are now by Law established for the Church of *England* ; and that the continuance and preservation of the said United Church, as the established Church of *England* and *Ireland*, shall be *deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental Part of the Union* ; and

ment which is *similar to our own*, and which *Romanism* threatens to destroy. In the one case we maintain what *we find*, because we have bound ourselves to do so; in the other we should *destroy* what we find, *although* we had *pledged* ourselves to *maintain* it.

Let me be allowed also to point out another essential difference between the two cases. In that of Scotland we maintain Presbyterianism, and Presbyterianism *alone*; and if the Kirk should ever accept Episcopacy as its form of Church Government, instead of Presbyterianism,—if, I say, the religious Establishment of Scotland should ever again become Episcopal, as it once was,—no impediment would then obstruct such a transition: and why? simply because there is no other co-ordinate national religious Establishment in that country.

But in Ireland, if we set up and endow Romanism as a religious Establishment, we shall either have two co-ordinate Churches, and thus destroy all means and hopes of religious unity in that country; or we shall violate all your pledges, and destroy the Protestant Church, and produce an amount of misery and crime, public and private, of which it is impossible to calculate the amount; and we shall sever the tie of a common Church which now binds us to that country.

And, thirdly, let me be permitted to observe, that for a *Protestant* State to endow *Romanism*, as long

that in like manner the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of *Scotland*, shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by Law, and by the Acts for the Union of the two kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*."

as Romanism continues to be what it unhappily is in Ireland, is a most perilous experiment to make.

I do not come forward as the advocate of the various sects of *Protestants*; I know that the principles of the *Puritans* were dangerous to States; I know, to use the words of Bishop Sanderson¹, that by claiming to their "Consistories full and absolute jurisdiction over Princes, and exempting their Congregation from all spiritual subjection to them," they withdrew themselves from obedience to lawful authority, and assumed to themselves a supremacy and domination over it, dangerous to the public safety; and I know the Oath of the Solemn League and Covenant to be an illicit one, and that its abjuration was therefore required by the State¹. But I know also that in these claims, as in some other respects, to use the same Bishop's words, "they symbolize with the *Papists*;" and I argue, that the same reasons which led the Legislature to require the renunciation of that oath, and thus to reprobate *Puritan* principles, will render it impossible for it, consistently with the public safety and its own dignity and honour, not only to *tolerate*, but to *encourage* and *endow* those, —who—to state the matter in the most favourable manner to them—profess similar *principles*, and who take similar *oaths* with the Puritans.

I do not hesitate to declare, that the oath taken by a Romanist Bishop to the Pope in the sense in which it is taken in Ireland, is an *illegal* oath²; that

¹ On Episcopacy, p. 41.

¹ 13 & 14 Car. II. c. 4.

² See Maynooth, &c. p. 40—44.

to *it* the words of the Act of the Legislature just referred to, concerning the Covenant, most fully apply, that it is "an unlawful oath, imposed on the subjects of this Realm, against the known laws and liberties of the Kingdom;" that the reception of the Pallium³ from Rome, by Irish Titular Archbishops, accompanied as it is with an Oath of civil subjection, and feudal vassalage on their part to a foreign potentate, is an *unlawful act*; and surely there can be no doubt that if the reception by a British subject (without the Sovereign's consent) from a Foreign Prince, of a piece of ribbon with a star attached to it, but without an *oath*, is an illegal act, then, the reception of a *robe*, with an *oath* of *subjection* to the sender of it, is much more so. I know also that, even in the *eleventh* century a king of England⁴ declared to an English Archbishop, when he had received the pallium from Rome, and had taken an oath much *less servile* to the Pope, than that which is *now* taken in Ireland, he would "banish him from the kingdom," if he violated his allegiance to the Crown on the plea of compliance with that oath; and I know also, that it has always been held, by the soundest Ecclesiastical lawyers that England has ever produced, that they who take such illicit oaths and perform such illegal acts, do *so far* as these oaths and these acts go, by their own knowledge, will, and deed, incapacitate and disqualify themselves not only from national *encouragement* and *endowment*, but even from *tolera-*

³ See Maynooth, &c. p. 40.

⁴ William II.,—Archbishop Anselm.

tion. What, I here ask, is the justice of the Act of Uniformity against the Covenant, and what the sense of the clauses of the Roman Catholic Relief against the *Jesuits*, and all *other* Roman Catholic Religious Orders, if this be not true?

Let not, therefore, this language be accused of uncharitableness, lest the charge fall on those very persons who now support the Maynooth Bill, who, I am persuaded, did an act of *charity* to the Country and to the Crown when they framed those clauses in 1829, for the protection of both : and in support of those clauses, and of the principles just now stated, let me cite the words of one of the first Ecclesiastical Lawyers of his age,—an age fertile in men learned in the history of the Church and Commonwealth of England, and of their relations to each other.

In his excellent treatise on the true principles of Toleration in matters of Religion, Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, thus writes :

“*Salus Populi* is (in all States) *Suprema Lex*, the Supreme Law, and utmost end of all authority. The public safety may and must be secured. And why should any power tolerate that, which *will ruin itself*?

“No State *can*, therefore, grant a toleration to such, who (although they allow and will take an Oath of Allegiance, yet) by the principles of their religion, acknowledge a power which can absolve them from that Oath, and arm them against their Prince, depose him, and dispose of his kingdom, nay, of all the kingdoms of the world. For, in such a case, the Prince can never be secure of their loyalty to him. This the Papists do, as appears by

General Councils of their own (and the most authentic they have), and amongst their greatest authors. *Bellarmino* tells us, *Non potest Papa, ut Papa, ordinarie Principes deponere tamen potest mutare regna, et vim auferre, et alteri conferre, tanquam summus Princeps Spiritualis, si id necessarium sit ad animarum salutem*. What safety can a Prince have, who has such people for his subjects, who acknowledge the Pope to be *Summus Princeps*, above all Kings (so that they are indeed not absolute or supreme, but *feudatory* Princes), and that so far above them, that they may dispose of and give away their kingdoms, *Si id necessarium sit ad animarum salutem*. Now the Pope himself being judge of this necessity (if he have *power*), he can never want a *pretence* to depose any King; especially if he be a *Protestant*, and so (with them) an *Heretick*.

"I do *not* speak this against *all Papists*, as if none of them could be good subjects, (for I *both believe and know* the contrary,) but—

"1. I do not see how *the Jesuits*, and those who believe and own *their Principles*, (who are indeed the *Puritans* of the *Roman Church*,) can be good subjects to a Protestant Prince, or capable of a Toleration, without *endangering the publick peace and safety of the Commonwealth*.

"2. And as no King (in prudence) can give a Toleration to such religions and ways of Worship as are destructive to the Civil State and publick peace of the Commonwealth; so, *pari passu* (and for the same reasons), he cannot tolerate such as are destructive of the Ecclesiastical state or peace of the Church; at least *so far as they are so*, and without such restrictions and qualifications, as may rationally secure the Established way of Worship. For otherwise he should be *cruel to the true*, while (by a Toleration) he is *kind to a false Religion* ¹."

¹ "Remains," p. 21, ed. 1692.—Let me be allowed to observe here, as a circumstance giving greater weight to Bishop Barlow's opinions as now cited, that, in the sketch given of him in a recent

And now we may be permitted to ask this one question—"Can it be possible that those principles of the Church of Rome,—whose first boast is that she is unchanged and unchangeable—which were so destructive to a Protestant state a century and a half ago, that they were incapable of *Toleration*,—can have now become so innocent and even meritorious, that they are to be *encouraged* and *endowed* by it?

But it may, perhaps, be urged by the supporters of the Bill—"You entirely mistake the state of the case. We frankly confess that we propose to endow Maynooth—and we would endow the Romanist Clergy of Ireland also—not *because they are loyal*, but in order to *make them so*. We would endow Maynooth in order to *improve* it. We would have the Romanist Clergy stipendiaries of the State, in order that they may be attached to

Biographical Dictionary of very decided *Whig principles*—Gorton's Dictionary, ed. 1830, p. 179—it is said, "Bishop Barlow deserves *approbation*, as the *constant advocate of Toleration* during a period (1635—1691) distinguished for the prevalence of a spirit of bigotry and persecution." The biographer is alluding to the "Treatise on Toleration," from which I quote; and this is another proof of what I have before asserted, that the *Whigs* of 1688 would, on constitutional principles, have been the most strenuous opponents of the Maynooth Bill; and I hope it is not presumptuous for me to say, that it is perfectly just, that this *Conservative* measure, so called—the Maynooth Endowment Bill—should be resisted by some of the *Whigs* of 1845, on *Whig* principles, as *too destructive* for them.

the institutions of the country, in whose safety and prosperity they would then have an interest.

This argument was well put, in 1805, by Mr. Perceval².

“ The principal of the arguments in favour of a national and compulsory payment for the Roman Catholic priest is, that it will give the *Government* a hold upon the Roman Catholic priest; that it will make a *mutual connexion of good-will* between them; and be the means of attaching the priesthood to the interest of that Government, of *which*, at present, *they* are wholly *independent*, if they be not *radically hostile and averse to it*.”

But it was also completely *refuted* by the same eminent statesman, in the most conclusive manner, as follows:—

“ Now, Sir, if there be any chance of this result; and, if this be either the avowed, or the suspected object, of the indulgence; will it not, I ask, instantly *defeat itself*? Will not a true and zealous Roman Catholic either *reject* an offer which has such a tendency; which invites him to a *dependence* on a Government in his mind *heretical*; and gives that Government a strength and stability which is quite hostile to all his favourite views? Or, would he not, by accepting it, become an object of jealousy to *his own body*; of *distrust to his own flock*? Would it not detach him greatly from it; and so deprive the Government of all the hope of utility proposed by the connexion; and give rise to a *new set of popular and independent priests*,—most probably of the *Regular Orders*,—who will enjoy the lost influence of those whom Government has purchased; and fall into possession of many of those sources of revenue from voluntary contributions among the Roman Catholic people, which these new *hirelings of Government*, as they

² Speech, p. 35.

will then be called by their rivals, will have forfeited, or perhaps have been bound, by their contract with us, to relinquish?"

And are these subsidiary and succedaneous Regulars and Mendicants, starting up in a never-ending series, to be endowed also? But to apply this to *Maynooth*. Supposing that your experiment succeeds *there* to the utmost of your desires; supposing that you improve its character, and make it a loyal seminary. But by *its* endowment, you will have offered a premium for disloyalty. And what will you now do with all the *other* Roman Catholic Colleges of Ireland? You will have encouraged them to be disaffected to the Monarchy: will you also bribe them into loyalty? You have endowed Maynooth; will you now proceed to endow Clongowes? When Carlow, and Tuam, and Kilkenny, and Waterford, and Wexford, shall have made out a strong claim for national support by their anti-national teaching, will you also take them under your care, and give them charters, and Trustees, and new buildings, 250 new free³ scholars, and £26,000 a year?

But, again: — The natural inference which the *people* of Great Britain will draw from the endowment of *Romanism* by the side of *Protestantism*, will be, that Parliament is *indifferent* to Religion.

³ One of the principal features of the present Bill is the addition of 250 *new free scholars* to Maynooth, i. e. of Priests from the *lowest orders* of Society, who are confessedly the agitators of Ireland at present. Surely this is to *aggravate* the *evils* of Maynooth—not to *improve* it: it is to *endow* the *worst elements* in its constitution.

And, let us ask, on this subject, in the words of Mr. Perceval ⁴,—

“If, after all, hon. gentlemen will fear no danger from *the power*, and none from the *increase of Popery*, do they, I would ask, fear no danger from the people of England being led to believe that Parliament is *indifferent to the Religion it professes*?”

And, again, the same first Minister of the Crown thus speaks ⁵,—

“There are too many, nominally Churchmen, who, in fact, are persons of perfect *indifference* about most questions of religion. *Few* things, as I before remarked, are more to be *deprecat*ed than that the people of this country should mark the *same indifference* in *Parliament*.”

And why to be so deprecat^d? Because those among the people of England, who have religious principles strongly rooted in their mind, will be led by this indifference to abandon all their confidence in public men; and their attachment to the Institutions of their country will thus be weakened; and because, from this indifference, there will arise a general doubt and uncertainty and scepticism concerning the fixity of *all religious, moral, and political* principles whatsoever; and a general diffusion of infidel opinions, and licentious practices, and profligate habits, and criminal excesses, throughout the land, will be the inevitable result.

If the people see no Religion in the State, or an indifference to *all Religion, which is the same thing*,

⁴ Speech, p. 20.

⁵ Ibid. p. 49.

a vast number among them will soon cease to respect and to practise Religion in their own persons.

The foundations of society will thus be broken up; there will be no regard for rank, no security for property, no respect for things sacred; but a general chaos, and reign of anarchy and terror will ensue, and involve all things in confusion and ruin.

For evidence of this, let us look at France at this day. There, the State endows all religions, Romanist, Protestant, Jewish indifferently. It endows *all religions*; and what is the consequence? It has the support of *none*! It is without the strongest safeguard of public peace—Religion. And, more than this—The State endows all Religions; it is *indifferent to them*; and they, in their turn, are *all indifferent to the State*; yes, and they are all even *opposed* to it. Let us, for evidence of this, refer to the pastoral letters published by almost all the Eighty Bishops of France within the last month; and we shall there see that, although they are *all stipendiaries* of the *State*, although by far the greater part of them have been appointed to their Sees by the *present king*, yet they are all now actually taking the part of the Pope against the Crown*!

What the loyalty of the Jews may be to the

* The viiith Article of the French Charter of 1830, which endows *all* forms of Christianity, was the most *favourable* Act to the *Papacy*, which *was ever done in France*. It detached the Church from the *State*—and, by consequence, bound them more closely to the *See of Rome*.

Throne of France, I have not had the means of ascertaining; but the sentiments of the *Protestants*, in return for *their* State endowments, may be sufficiently gathered from the work of Dr. Scherer, one of their Ministers, published during the last year. But I will first quote a French Roman Catholic testimony, given in 1844⁷:—

“Admettre l'égalité de tous les cultes, n'est-ce pas dire : ‘A nos yeux toutes les religions sont également bonnes, également vraies, également dignes de protection et d'encouragement ?’ N'est-ce pas dire : ‘Le Christianisme n'est plus notre foi ?’—Il y a donc *défection, apostasie*, puisqu'il y a *anti-christianisme*.”—p. clxxix.

“Vous établissez, en principe, la liberté de tous les cultes; ce principe est *l'athéisme déguisé*.”—p. c., note.

Now for Dr. Scherer's declaration on this subject⁸:—

“Our *legal* constitution, by overthrowing the key-stone of our organization, has not ruined institutions only but the doctrine of our Reformed Church.”—p. 37.

“Unhappily this is not all. The bearing of this fact is not limited to the ruin of a religious society, but extends to the ecclesiastical forms of French Protestantism in the most general sense, and even to the *destinies of Christianity amongst us*.”—p. 39.

“The equality of rights granted to *error* and to *truth* in regard of salary, becomes, from the very nature of things, a decisive privilege accorded to *error*.”—p. 51.

“Yes, the legal salary, when it is, as with us, independent of

⁷ Abbé Gaume, *Histoire de la Société*, tom. i.

⁸ On the Present State of the Reformed Church in France. By Edmond Scherer, D.D.—Lond. 1845.—Paris, 1844.

every dogmatical guarantee of all religious control, establishes an absolute equality of the rights of truth and of error for religious instruction ; and this equality is, at bottom, a *true inequality to the profit of error*.”—p. 53.

Such is the testimony of French Roman Catholics and Protestants concerning the endowment of various Creeds by one State.

In the mean time, on one side Ultramontane and Jesuitical⁹ opinions, and, on the other side, Infidel and Democratic ones, are making hourly progress in France. And *this* is the condition of things, to which, I fear, the measure now before Parliament, for the perpetual endowment of Maynooth,—“the FIRST REGULAR ENDOWMENT of POPERY in England, (to use Mr. Gladstone’s words), since the REFORMATION”—is hurrying *Great Britain*.

But, it is alleged, “This measure will *conciliate* Romanism in Ireland, it will prevent or postpone the Repeal of the Union.” We are almost spared the trouble of showing that it will be worse than abortive, for such purposes, by the virulent and contemptuous language with which it has already been received in that country. Over those expressions we gladly throw a veil ; and we content ourselves with asking, “How can it be expected that the *boon* will conciliate, when even the *offer* of it has been, as it were, the watchword of sedition ?”

And how can we hope that the repeal of the Union will be deferred by an Act which virtually *repeals*

⁹ See Note 2, at the end.

it? The permanent endowment of Maynooth, the taking it into connexion with the State, as an established Institution of the Realm, is, we affirm, in substance, the abrogation of the Fifth Article of the Union, which guarantees the perpetual inviolability of the Established Church¹. We cannot have *two* Established Churches in a country; especially when *one* of them has such domineering pretensions as the Church of Rome. The Maynooth Bill is the endowment of Romanism². The *endowment* of Romanism is, in reality, the *disendowment* of the Church of Ireland. *Two* Churches in the same country are in fact *No* Church.

Let us hear what Mr. Perceval said on this subject in 1805. What sort of *conciliation* does *he* anticipate from such a measure as this? His words are prophetic, and may Heaven grant that they may not come too late!

“When once it shall have been carried, that the *two religions* shall share the endowments of the Church, the *Roman Catholics* will soon feel and assert that their great numerical superiority, and their comparative poverty, entitle them to the *whole*. Their tenets, which deny any real existence as of right to *our* Church, will then come into play against us. What! They be content to share the endowments of the Holy Church Catholic with a paltry body of heretics and schismatics! No, Sir. The end of *conciliation* will not yet have been attained; the argument of *conciliation* will be revived in its full force. The disaffection will still exist, and still clamour to be appeased. Every principle upon which

¹ See this Article quoted above, p. 109.

² See Mr. Gladstone's words, p. 121.

that clamour can be met and resisted, will long ago have been *cut from under our feet* ! Parliament will have that extorted from its weakness which its wisdom would desire to withhold. And then, Sir, will it be seen and deplored, but seen and deplored too late, that, by once admitting a *claim of right* in the Papist to *any endowment whatever*, the State will, in fact, have been erecting a *Papal establishment*, which *can never rest satisfied in its first position* ; but, having exalted itself, first in opposition, next in rivalry, will proceed in the same career till it has obtained a complete *ascendancy*, and will rest only when at last firmly seated on the ruins of the Establishment of the United Church in Ireland."

And, further, there is another question, and that too was asked by Mr. Perceval³:—

"I will not pause to ask whether this measure, so *conciliating* to the *Irish Roman Catholics*, will be found thereupon so very conciliating to *our own Constituents*⁴?"

Will not the People of *England* say that they have been wronged, grievously wronged, and betrayed by their own Representatives? Will not their confidence in public men be shaken to its

³ Speech, p. 42.

⁴ "We have before us a list of the *Petitions* hitherto presented to the *House of Commons* for and against the proposed grant ; there are no less than 7,629 petitions praying for its rejection, signed by 982,862 persons. To oppose this formidable array there are, on the other hand, 46 (forty-six !) parchments in *favour* of the bill, signed by 15,483 persons. These are in addition to 13,428 brought forward from the last report. The sense of the nation is very fully and satisfactorily conveyed by the 982,862 petitioners *against* the grant, it being known that the whole of the electors of Great Britain do not exceed (but are somewhat under) that number." (*The Times*, May 7.)

very foundation? Will not a deep wound be thus inflicted on the community, which years may not heal?—and, instead of conciliation, will not, it is to be feared, a feeling of acrimony be engendered between the two kingdoms?

And, after all,—*We* speak indeed of conciliating *men*, as if this was all that we had to care for. But we now ask, is this a measure of such a kind—to say it with reverence—as to conciliate the favour of the Supreme Ruler of the World? Will it, can we hope, *conciliate* HIM?

He has declared Himself to be a “jealous God⁵,” and therefore, in the words of Lord Bacon, “His worship will not bear admixtures⁶.” He is the God of oaths and of compacts; and will avenge their violation⁷. He has called Kings and Princes to the support of His truth: He will aid and bless them, in this world and the next, for its maintenance and advancement. He *tries* their *faith* in Himself by the very *difficulties* with which they have to contend,—such difficulties, for instance, as we have in Ireland, the difficulty of a very large population alienated from that Church, which we believe to be a true Church, and which we know to be an established one, and which we have bound ourselves, in the eye of the God of treaties, to maintain. By means of these untoward circumstances He proves us, and searches us out, and shows to

⁵ Exod. xx. 5.

⁶ De Unit. Eccles. iii.

⁷ See note in p. 109.

ourselves and to the world what manner of men we are. He reminds us that human impossibilities are occasions of Divine intervention and succour to those who believe His truth, and who adore His power; who depend on His aid, and who appeal for it aright.

Is not this His common mode of working? To cite but one instance:—In the fourth century, the world seemed almost to have *lost* the *truth*; (to use the words of St. Jerome) “it groaned with astonishment, that it had lapsed into Arianism.” If *numbers* were then to have been the test of truth, truth must have been lost for ever, even on that cardinal point of Christian faith, the coequal and coeternal divinity of Christ.

But there was *one* man whom no intimidations could terrify, no numbers could appal, whom no persecution could deter from the steady and courageous assertion of the truth—Athanasius. He fought for fifty years in its behalf, as if every day was to be the eve of victory. Bishops deserted him, princes exiled him; but he was not abandoned by Truth, he was not banished by his own conscience. He allowed no compromise between Rimini and Nice. He triumphed; and ever since the day of his victory, the faith of Athanasius has been the faith of the world, and that of his adversaries has been proscribed by it as heresy.

And now we are supplied, I apprehend, with a ready reply to Mr. Macaulay’s somewhat novel and ingenious argument. He said:—

"I do not aim at propagating error. To do so is not only wrong, but diabolical; but I say that it is of the greatest importance that Christianity, even in a form which I think greatly tainted with error, should prevail in Ireland, and have influence on the peasantry; and seeing not the slightest probability that it would have that influence except from the Roman Catholic religion, I think we are at liberty to confer this boon, in spite of the error which is to be found in the Roman Catholic religion."

And he also pleads, in confirmation of this opinion, that, by maintaining the Established Church, we maintain a Church in which "a great deal of error is taught;" and this being the case, we are justified, he thinks, in contributing to the endowment of Romanism in Ireland.

"Look at the Churches as they now exist in this country. Will any gentleman say that they all teach truth without error? Do both the Church of England and the Church of Scotland teach truth without any admixture of error? Is it possible, when you endow both the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, that you can be certain you are not endowing error in one or the other of them? Go into either of them, will you not find error?"

Now, first, as to there not "being the slightest probability" of Ireland ever receiving the doctrines of the Church established in that country, or any other, save those of Romanism, are, we would ask, the doctrines of the Church *true*, or no? If they *are not* true, then, indeed, let them be rejected; but if they *are* true, is it consistent with faith in God to despair of the reception of *truth*? And, secondly, has the *experiment* ever been fully and fairly *tried*?

This is a most important question, and it was answered by Mr. Perceval, most emphatically, in the *negative*; and the proper mode of trying it was pointed out by him as follows⁸:—

“But, sir, if we would be wise, if we would be consistent, if we would be useful to our country, we must go further. We must *support the* Established Church; we must *encourage it*. We should adopt measures for repairing the dilapidated Churches in Ireland. We should adopt measures for reversing the fatal policy of those unions, which, unhappily for that country, have committed the care of 2000 parishes to not more than 1000 Rectors, of whom not more than 500 have any houses belonging to them, on which they can reside. We should take measures for procuring a resident Clergyman in every parish. We should take measures for repairing rectorial houses where they are decayed,—for rebuilding them where they have been demolished. We *should*, in short, *give to the people of Ireland the means of worshipping as Protestants*, of which, in many parts of that country, *they are now wholly deprived*. No circumstance has more fatally tended to thwart the progress of the Reformation; to diminish the numbers of the Protestants, both real and apparent; to aid the success and to spread the tenets of the Roman Catholic priesthood. Moreover, sir, we should review the system of the *Protestant schools* in Ireland, which, though instituted upon the best possible motives, have their objects defeated and counteracted by some impolitic and inconvenient regulations. We should by such measures, without any oppression, without the most distant approach to persecution or intolerance, mark the firm determination of a Protestant Parliament to endeavour, under God’s blessing, to promote and uphold the true religion of the Gospel, and to discourage the growth, and prevent the final establishment, of Popery.”

⁸ In 1805, p. 42.

The following is the language of the same Prime Minister in a *written document*⁹. The reader will, I think, allow that it supplies material for the most thoughtful consideration at this time.

“It is in my mind to the *Church Establishment* in Ireland, and to the support of it (*if you are to keep up your connexion with Ireland*), that you must in a *great measure look for the means of preserving that connexion*. What is said, therefore, of the non-residence of the clergy, the union of many livings, the too great extent of parishes, &c. &c., I agree to in a great measure, and would gladly see the object of remedy. I would have the Irish Government set its face steadily against Unions. I would not admit of a union to be held in plurality with another living. Let us persevere in our plan of encouraging the building of parsonage-houses. Let us raise merit only to the bench and to the high dignities; let us encourage the dissolution of unions, and even the division of parishes. (These latter objects may be effected without difficulty, when the patronage is in the Crown or in the Church; but will be useless till we have the means of giving separate glebe residences, and churches, to the separated parishes and the distinct parts of those which may be divided.) Let residence of the clergy be every where compelled as much as possible:—and from all I can hear, I believe these circumstances would not only *create*, but would *discover* a much *greater proportion of Protestant population* in Ireland *than is now believed to exist*. In many places they have no *means* of showing themselves at present.

“*Provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy*.—Believing the Protestant ascendancy and establishment to be essential to the *connexion of Ireland and England*, and indeed to the existence of

⁹ Church Question in Ireland, p. 113, edited with Preface and Notes by D. M. Perceval, Esq., 1844.

the Protestant *proprietors* in Ireland ; and that no degree of good, no, nor that of *conciliating the priest* himself, would be effected by this measure ; I look at this measure as *one of the most fatal which could* possibly be recommended.—I look sanguinely to the effect of an improved state of the Protestant clergy in point of residence, operating upon the improved state of growing information in Ireland, for the gradual diminution of papal error ; I contend that the promotion of the Protestant religion in Ireland has NEVER been pursued upon any rational principle, till of very late years ; that it is *not even now* sufficiently acted upon ; that the effect of the *experiment* fairly tried is *not known* ; and I look to anything which promotes and increases the influence and revenues of the Roman Catholic priest, as so much weight flung into the opposite scale, counteracting all the good which we may hope to derive on the other side. To this, therefore, I cannot conceive the state of circumstances in which I should not feel myself bound to give my most decided opposition."

Such was Mr. Perceval's language on this subject. It is in vain now to make invidious comments on the abandonment or neglect of the principles of State policy with regard to Ireland, which he has here recommended for adoption ; but at least we may be reminded by his words of *his* desires and intentions concerning that country, and we may be deterred from regarding that as unattainable which he proposed for attainment, and laid down specific plans for attaining.

Nor does it by any means follow, even if the majority of the people of Ireland is to remain Romanist, that therefore the State ought to take upon itself the education of its priesthood. The religion

of the people does not depend on its doing so. Romanism existed in Ireland *before* Maynooth was founded, and it has existed since the foundation, without the endowment of 26,000*l.* a-year. There is no deficiency, as we have shown, of Romanist¹ Colleges in that country, maintained from *private funds*, and the Bequests Bill, recently passed, has given greater facilities for their endowment from such sources.

We assert, then, that if the sacrifice of great religious and political principles is the price at which the permanent State endowment of a Roman Catholic seminary is to be purchased, that price ought *not* to be paid for it.

But, Mr. Macaulay asks,—Is it certain that in endowing the Established Church you do not endow error?—and, if you do, why not endow Romanism? We reply, in the first place, that the State does not endow the Church, but protects the endowments which have been conferred on it by private benefactors. But, supposing it *did* endow it, and supposing also the two Churches to be of equal purity; yet then we say, that in endowing the Church of England, the State endows an institution *liable to err*, as all visible Churches are; but by endowing *Romanism* in *Ireland*, where there is an existing Church, and one recognized as such by the State,

¹ Above, p. 16.

but denounced and anathematized as heretical by Rome, would it *endow* ERROR.

By such an act as erecting a co-ordinate Church, the State, *with its own hands*, would set up Altar against Altar, and Bishop against Bishop. It would, therefore, endow schism², it would endow indifference; and it would endow all their *consequences*,—persecution on one side, and infidelity on the other. It would endow feud, and faction, and confiscation, and bloodshed.

And by fixing a rival Church side by side with one already established, the State would render the *restoration* of *peace* and *unity* almost unattainable in that country under any circumstances.

In the words of Mr. Dudley Perceval—

“Of all human means to *perpetuate* the schism in Ireland, none could be devised so *certain* to attain that object as a *separate endowment* granted by the State for the clergy of the Roman Catholic persuasion³.”

Again, by such a course as this, it would inevitably call forth a new band of enterprising persons into active operation: I mean the *Regular Orders*, who would step into the place of the secular Clergy, if they should flag in the work of agitation⁴.

This is a matter, I think, deserving of the gravest

² See above, p. 87.

³ Church Question in Ireland, p. xvii.

⁴ See above, pp. 116, 117.

consideration. A great struggle is now going on in certain quarters in Ireland, for the re-establishment of the Jesuitical and other orders⁶. The endowment of the College of Maynooth, and of the secular Clergy, would give new scope to their exertions, and open a fresh field for their operations in that country.

But, it may be said, These indeed are serious evils,—the case is one of great difficulty: but after all—*There Maynooth is*,—you cannot think of destroying it? Again, there are in Ireland twenty-seven Romanist Bishops, a Priesthood three thousand strong, a Romanist population of seven millions. What is to be done?

First of all, we would very humbly reply—In a matter of this momentous, this unspeakable, importance,—What is done, should be done with the greatest *caution and deliberation*. *One false step may ruin every thing irretrievably.*

Therefore, in the words of Mr. Perceval, “Let the State, *above all things*, be careful *not* to *aggravate* the evils which it endeavours to cure.”—*Quod statuen-*

⁶ The Tablet of May 3 expresses its expectation, that by Mr. Watson's Bill, now before Parliament, all difficulty with regard to the establishment of the *regulars* in Ireland by private endowments will be removed, i. e. that the ten clauses of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, against the Jesuits, and the xvth of the Charitable Bequests Bill (passed 9 Aug. 1844,) to the same effect, will be *repealed*.

dum est semel, let it remember, *deliberandum est diu*.

And, if we may venture to offer an opinion on this great question, we would say, first of all, with respect to Maynooth, we have no desire for its destruction, but we have a great desire for the removal of its abuses; and we presume to say, therefore, to the State, concerning it,—Be at peace with Maynooth, but not with its *evils*; “*Pacem cum hominibus, bellum cum vitiis habe.*”

But do not think you can remove those evils, of which you cannot but be cognizant, by giving it a magnificent endowment. Such a boon, under such circumstances, will be regarded as a sanction of them.

Let me be permitted, also, to express my conviction, that the question concerning Maynooth cannot be profitably discussed *singly* and *independently*; and that it is impossible even to enter upon it, with a prospect of a satisfactory issue, without a concurrent consideration of three *other* most important topics, *viz.*—

First, The relation in which the Trustees and Professors of Maynooth stand to the *Pope*. (See *Maynooth*, &c. pp. 39—54.)

Secondly, Their relation to the *Crown*; and how this is affected by their relation to the *Pope*. (See *Maynooth*, &c. pp. 40—54.)

Thirdly, Their relation to the Bishops and Clergy of the Established Church of Ireland.

Here are three questions, involving most mo-

mentous interests, civil, ecclesiastical, and mixed; without a careful consideration of which, it will, I fear, be found futile and dangerous to attempt new legislative measures respecting the College of Maynooth. And, on the other hand, such a consideration of them promises to lead, by a natural order and chain of consequences, to a satisfactory solution of the intricate question concerning Maynooth, and concerning the religious—and, with it, the political—state of Ireland, and concerning the true, sound, and effectual means to be adopted for the conciliation of its contending parties.

Let us be allowed to state briefly, by way of explanation, *how* such a desirable consummation appears to be attainable, provided that caution, patience, wisdom, charity, and energy, accompany the efforts for its attainment.

The particular evils of Ireland, to which public attention is now drawn, are those which arise from its want of religious Unity. But, is all hope of this Unity to be abandoned? For the following reasons we cannot bring ourselves to think so.

In Holy Scripture, the members of Christ's Church are represented as bound together by ties of peace and love. They are members of one body, branches of one vine, sheep of the same fold. There is One Faith, One Lord, One Baptism. They are charged, by an Apostle, "to be of one accord," "to speak the same thing," to "be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judg-

ment;" and for the maintenance of this Unity in His Church Her Divine Head has prayed.

That which is the characteristic of the Christian Church, *that* which Apostles inculcated, *that* for which Christ prayed, cannot be unattainable; and surely it is the duty of the members of the Church *not* to regard it as such, but to labour for its attainment.

Yet, we know that Unity is not *easy* to be attained. Our unhappy divisions are proofs of this. Its acquisition and its maintenance require vigilance, prudence, and charity. We are charged "*to endeavour*,"—*i. e.* deliberately to resolve, and earnestly to labour,—"*to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.*"

And if divisions arise in the Church,—as it was predicted by Christ that they would,—what is the appointed way for healing them? if unity be broken, what are the regular means for repairing the breach?

Let us be allowed to reply to this question, not in our own words, but in those of Richard Hooker, in his Preface to the Ecclesiastical Polity; and to address our Romanist brethren as follows, from his mouth⁶,—

"Forasmuch as the cause we maintain is (God be thanked) such as needeth not to shun any trial, might it please them on whose approbation the matter dependeth to condescend so far unto

⁶ Hooker, Pref. to Eccles. Polity, chap. v. ed. Oxon. 1836. Vol. i. p. 204.

you in this behalf, I wish heartily that proof were made even by SOLEMN CONFERENCE in orderly and quiet sort whether you would yourselves be satisfied, or else could by satisfying others draw them to your part."

" Whether it be for the finding out of anything whereunto divine law bindeth us, but yet in such sort that men are not thereof on all sides resolved; or for the setting down of some uniform judgment to stand touching such things, as being neither way matters of necessity, are notwithstanding offensive and scandalous when there is open opposition about them; be it for the *ending of strifes touching matters of Christian belief*, wherein the one part may seem to have probable cause of dissenting from the other; or be it concerning matters of polity, order, and regiment in the Church; I NOTHING DOUBT but that Christian men should much better frame themselves to those heavenly precepts which our Lord and Saviour with so great instancy gave as concerning peace and unity, if we did all concur in desire to have the use of ancient COUNCILS again renewed, rather than those proceedings continued, which either make all contentions endless, or bring them to one only determination, that of all other the worst, which is by *sword*."—*Ibid.* Book I. chap. x.

He has not omitted to state the special mode in which such a Conference should be conducted, and the order by which it should be regulated; but we do not here dwell on this part of his argument; and he adduces his reasons for this proposal of a synodical Conference of chief men among the two contending parties, as follows:—

"Ways of peaceable conclusion there are but these two certain: the one, a sentence of judicial decision given by authority thereto appointed within ourselves; the other, the like kind

of sentence given by a more universal authority. The former of which two ways God Himself in the law prescribeth, and his Spirit it was which directed the *very first Christian Churches* in the world to use the latter.

"When there grew in the Church of Christ a question, whether the Gentiles believing might be saved, although they were not circumcised after the manner of Moses, nor did observe the rest of those legal rites and ceremonies whereunto the Jews were bound; after great dissension and disputation about it, their conclusion in the end was to have it determined by sentence at Jerusalem; which was accordingly done in a COUNCIL there assembled for the same purpose. Are ye able to allege any just and sufficient cause wherefore absolutely ye should not condescend in this controversy to have your judgment overruled by some such definitive sentence, whether it fall out to be given with or against you; that so these *tedious contentions* may cease?"

"3. To small purpose had the COUNCIL of Jerusalem been assembled, if once their determination being set down, men might afterwards have defended their former opinions. When therefore they had given their definitive sentence *all controversy was at an end*. Things were disputed before they came to be determined; men afterwards were not to dispute any longer, but to obey. This was ground sufficient for any reasonable man's conscience to build the duty of obedience upon, whatsoever his own opinion were as touching the matter before in question. So full of wilfulness and self-liking is our nature, that without some definitive sentence, which being given may stand, and a necessity of silence on both sides afterward imposed, small hope there is that strifes thus far prosecuted will in short time quietly end."

"What *success* God may give unto any such kind of conference or disputation, we cannot tell. But of this we are right sure, that Nature, Scripture, and Experience itself, have all taught the world to seek for the *ending of contentions* by submitting itself unto some judicial and definitive sentence, whereunto neither part that contendeth may, under any pretence or colour,

refuse to stand. This must needs be effectual and strong. As for OTHER means without this, *they seldom prevail.*" (Preface, VI.)

Nothing by way of *reasoning* need be added to these striking words. But, for the sake of further illustration, let me cite an *example* which is very relevant to the case of Ireland now under consideration.

In Africa, from the year A. D. 312 to A. D. 412, a state of things prevailed very similar to that which now exists in Ireland. In some respects it was less embarrassing, in others more so. During those hundred years, two Churches stood side by side in that country: the people were rent by religious dissensions; outrages⁷ of a sanguinary character, arising from them, were frequent and general.

In *Ireland*, we have on one side a Church consisting of a hierarchy of only *fourteen* Bishops, on the other only of *twenty-seven*; but in *Africa*, at that time, there were no less than *two hundred and ninety* on one side,—that of the Catholics,—and, on that of the Donatists, as they were called, not less than *four hundred*.

The *questions*, also, agitated between those two parties were not much less complex than, not very different from, those which now distract ourselves in Ireland. What is the true nature of the Christian Church? Where is it to be found? In what does it con-

⁷ Committed especially by the Circumcellians.

sist? On what does the validity of the Sacraments depend? Can baptism be conferred by heretics or schismatics? These were the controversies which divided those two Churches; and they bear a strong resemblance to those which agitate us. Besides the questions *of right*, there was also the question of *fact*. Was Cæcilianus, through whom the Catholic orders were derived, a lawfully consecrated Bishop?—an inquiry which may be compared with that which was made by some Romanists soon after the Reformation, concerning our own Primate, Archbishop Parker.

Yet this lamentable division, which rent the African Church for a hundred years, was at length healed, through the persevering and spirited exertions of successive Christian Emperors—Constantine, Constans, Theodosius, and Honorius,—and through the unwearied zeal, charity, and wisdom of Christian Bishops, especially Optatus and Augustine, and through the Divine blessing on their labours. The charity of those days and the love of unity was such, that two hundred and eighty-six Catholic Bishops, who came, at the Emperor's summons, to the conference at Carthage, in the year A. D. 411, at which Augustine was present, and which was presided over by the Tribune Marcellinus in the Emperor's stead, offered to resign their own sees to the Donatist Bishops, in order to put an end to the schism, provided they would be

reconciled to the Church. In the next year the cause of Donatism was extinct⁸.

Here was a remarkable case in which the State showed itself *in earnest* about Religion. It did not consider that *indifference* to Christian truth was sound policy. It *never dreamt* of endowing Donatism by the side of Catholicity. It was not deterred from its holy course of pacification by the *numbers* of the one party or the other. It remembered Who has said, "*Beati pacifici*," and, acting in faith upon that promise, it was favoured with the blessing of the Prince of Peace.

If, then, *this* course of amicable conference be one which Christ Himself has prescribed⁹, which Apostles have sanctioned, which Emperors have adopted, which (to cite no other authorities,) St. Augustine pursued in his own country, and which Richard Hooker has recommended in ours, and which has been followed by English Sovereigns, as Queen Elizabeth at Westminster, King James I. at Hampton Court, and King Charles II. at the Savoy,—it will not, we trust, be thought presumptuous, if any individual, however unworthy, should venture to submit it, with profound respect, to the considera-

⁸ This is necessarily but a very rapid sketch,—but we hope to be able to pursue this parallel further, on another occasion, between Africa in the fourth century, and Ireland in the nineteenth.

⁹ Matt. xviii. 17.

tion of the Ministers of the Crown, at the present time.

It will, no doubt, be thought to be attended with difficulties; and What course, under the circumstances supposed, has not its perplexities? But let us inquire, is the course a right one? is it the course of duty, and of charity, of justice? Whatever may be the result, ought not at least the trial to be made? Difficulties, no doubt, there are; but are there not facilities also? Let us advert only to the fact, that Bishops of Rome (Paul the Fourth, and Pius the Fourth,) saw no religious objection to the Book of Common Prayer¹, and to the well-known circumstance, that there was a communion of place and form of religious worship for all classes in England for the first twelve years of Queen Elizabeth².

Let me follow up these remarks with two extracts, from different quarters, (which bear on this important subject, and will, I think, be perused with interest,—and first,—from a “Letter on *Catholic Unity*, addressed to the Right Hon. the Earl of Shrewsbury,” by a person³ of eminence among our English Roman Catholics,—

“The statesman will probably say that the statutes of *Præmunire* are of a political character, and have reference to temporal

¹ Camden, Annal. 1560. Twysden, Vindication of Church of England, p. 175.

² Camden, Annal. 1570.

³ Right Rev. Dr. Wiseman, Bishop of Melipotamus. London, 1841. Dolman, p. 23.

interests ; that, in other words, they were framed (in part anterior to the Reformation) to prevent or check papal encroachments upon the rights of the Crown or nation ; and that such constitutional safeguards must be jealously kept up. Let us allow this reasoning ; what follows ? that, at most, so much restraint may be kept up, as is necessary for these supposed political purposes, but no more. If these statutes be of a twofold character, as they undoubtedly are, one part affecting the temporal influence of the Holy See, the other its spiritual rights, as the apostolic chair of Peter, the temporal legislature may, if in its wisdom it so judge, keep up such parts of the law as relate to the first matter, but this cannot warrant the continuation of what can affect only the second . . . That the two considerations may be kept separate, and that active communion may exist with foreign Churches, free from all dangers to the civil power, the examples of France or Germany will suffice to prove. It is not found, in either, that perfect religious unity exposes the constitutional rights of a people, or the sovereign prerogatives of an emperor, to the slightest jeopardy. . . .

“ I have thus indirectly stated what would seem to be our first duty ; to offer cheerfully and honestly every explanation in our power, and point out where our real doctrines are mistaken, where they are confounded with mere permissive practices, and where they may be liable to abuse. The sooner a clear and distinct understanding can be come to upon these matters, whether by PERSONAL CONFERENCE, *or by writing, the better for the cause.* There exist at this moment, I am sure, grievous misapprehensions in the minds of serious men connected with the new movement, upon this point, which it seems to me a more direct and friendly intercourse, directed to this purpose, could remove. I had thought of illustrating the matter by a few cases ; but I see that I should be led away, and should involve myself in a complicated discussion, which might be premature.”

The following are the words of Mr. Dudley Per-

ceval', published in 1844, and they deserve the most serious reflection.

"No man, who has ever so little the heart of a Christian, can have realized with his own senses, the painful practical evidence which Irish life affords of the deep breach and schism in that body, the Church Catholic, which ought to be 'one,' even as the Father and the Son are One, without experiencing a sorrowful and earnest longing that a day may come when it shall please the Almighty to heal it. . . .

"Now, even if we be, which (desperate as the case seems) I trust we are not, forbidden to entertain *a hope* that anything short of a miraculous interposition can heal this cruel schism in our own country at least,—if the apparent obstacles to such a reconciliation between ourselves and our Roman Catholic brethren, as might at least restore us to Christian communion, though it might leave us with some diversity of opinion, practice, and discipline, be really insuperable,—still we have the consolation to believe, as Protestants, that the fault and the sin are not on our side. We have not excommunicated them. We, not as they with subterfuge and reservation, but frankly, acknowledge them by their baptism members of the same body with ourselves. We do not deny their church or their priesthood; we admit their orders. But we *protest* against what we deem, and believe to be, their errors. If our protest be founded on truth, and made in charity, we are not responsible to God for the commencement of their schism,—nor, as yet, for its continuance. Ought we not to beware lest we make ourselves in any way responsible for its perpetuation?

"Of all human means to perpetuate it in our own country, none could be devised so certain to attain that object, as a separate endowment granted by the State for the clergy of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

‘ Church Question in Ireland, p. xvii.

“ The truth of this proposition must (I think) be so obvious to any mind accustomed to reflect upon human motives and actions, that it would be mere impertinence to add anything by way of proof. I will only beg my readers to dwell upon it.

“ But, if any think the case is a lost one already, and past praying for (as men say), and therefore that it matters not, practically, what we do or leave undone in this regard; I would earnestly request them to consider, first, whether that opinion can be consistent with our Faith, our Hope, or our Charity?—Next, whether any dispensations of Providence under which we may live, can safely be held by us to be dispensations (in another sense) to us, from the plain duty of not doing that which *must* have a direct tendency, at least, to thwart what we *must believe* to be His Will;—though He leaves it to the free agency of Man to accomplish that will or not, in this as in every other subject of human purpose and action?

“ And, lastly, are they so sure that the case is a lost one? Bad as it is, I for one do not believe it to be permanently hopeless. There are many reasons for thinking that very many of the distinctive tenets and doctrines which bar our communion, those especially which render it morally impossible for a Protestant Government, without guilt, to endow the priesthood as long as it teaches and practises them, are held more in the spirit of controversy, and of professional necessity, than in the spirit of real or bigoted belief:—That modifications of practice and observance might, without any real sacrifice of consistency or dignity on their part, reasonably follow:—That, if the Conclave or the Congregation, or whatever it really is, at Rome, that wields the power nominally in the breast of the Sovereign Pontiff, refused to sanction such, the Roman Catholic Bishops and Priests of Ireland might possibly shake off the yoke of ultramontane despotism, as their predecessors did before them. And that thus, even if after all the Roman Catholics did not become altogether capable of complete amalgamation with the National Church, their tenets and their practices might at least be so far qualified, that the

Protestant conscience would no longer be in its present dilemma and difficulty about endowing their clergy.

“Again.—Who is there that considers how utterly inadequate, both in number and endowment, the present Establishment would be, if the whole people of Ireland should become reconciled to the National Church, and that would not desire, even as a mere matter of economic arrangement, above all things, if the Roman Catholic people were to come over to us, or come to terms of qualified communion, they should come *along with* their clergy, and *not without them*. . . .

“The chance may be a bad one; but the only chance, humanly speaking, that unity may ever be restored to the Church in Ireland—or peace and concord to that country, without the separation of the two realms, followed up by the expulsion or forced conformity of the Protestants—lies now, as it ever did lie—in the firm determination of Parliament to act upon those conclusions so eloquently set forth at the close and peroration of Mr. Perceval’s speech. To these I commend my readers; beseeching such among them as shall have, what I have not, the power to give effect and action to that reasoning—if they should become persuaded by it in their understandings, and convinced in their consciences of the truth, and wisdom, and justice of those conclusions—to suffer no party prejudices, nor party interests, nor party resentments, nor favour for past party services: nor any temporary purposes of expediency, any hope of relief from present pressure and perplexity, nor any fear, which is distrust of Providence—to prevent them (in whatever political section, capacity, place, or function they may be found) from *doing their duty* in this matter, manfully and sincerely, to themselves, to their country, to their Church, their Queen, and their God.

“Do what you will, Ireland will not be as you could wish it, for years to come. We may be sure of that. It is our punishment and trial; and we must bear it. The evils of its present state are flagrant, they are also much exaggerated. In discreet

laws of regulation—not of organic change reverting the principles of the constitution, and confounding right with wrong—and in stern but beneficent, alert but steady GOVERNMENT, the only real remedies are to be found. But to those who ask, as an excuse for weak or wicked concessions, what *is to be done*? I commend Mr. Perceval's answer—'ABOVE ALL THINGS BE CAREFUL NOT TO AGGRAVATE THE EVILS WHICH YOU ENDEAVOUR TO CURE.'"

Let us close these observations as we commenced them ⁵, with the expression of earnest desire for religious and civil unity between our fellow-countrymen of Ireland of the Church of Rome, and ourselves; and let us be permitted to give utterance to the hopeful anticipation, that they in authority over us, whether in Church or State, who will give effect to those principles of conciliation which, in the words of Hooker, just cited, are dictated by NATURE, SCRIPTURE, and EXPERIENCE, will have rendered a memorable service to their Country and to the Church at large; that they will have earned for themselves gratitude from man, and will be rewarded hereafter for their Christian charity by God; that they will have adopted a course by which the College of Maynooth may become a seminary of sound learning and religious education, and Great Britain and Ireland be connected together by the sacred and indissoluble ties both of Religion and Polity, and be safe alike from internal feuds and from external invasion, and the Sovereign of these realms live in the dearest affections of a happy and united people.

⁵ Maynooth, &c. p. 6.

NOTES.

(1.)

CORONATION OATH.

Archbishop.—Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law? And will you maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the United Church of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, as by law established, within England and Ireland, and the territories thereunto belonging? And will you preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of England and Ireland, and to the Churches there committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges, as by law do or shall appertain to them, or any of them?

Queen.—All this I promise to do.

(2.)

So recently as last Friday, May 2, the *English Maynooth Endowment Bill* was cited in the French Chamber, in a very instructive discussion, as an argument in favour of Jesuitism in France! M. Berryer said,—

“In England a great Statesman, the Prime Minister,

fearlessly came forward to demand supplies, in the face of a Protestant country, where a State religion existed, for a Catholic College, and for the purpose of aiding in propagating Catholic instruction." Such was liberty in the true sense of the word, as understood by M. Berryer. "The question of the religious communities," contended M. Berryer, "was intimately connected with the liberty of conscience, and the suppression of the order of Jesuits was a violation of the rights of the religion of the majority of the nation."

On the other side, M. THIERS, who has never been charged with illiberal opinions, and who moved last Friday for the enforcement of the existing laws against the Jesuits, "described the vicissitudes the order of Jesuits had experienced since its foundation; the motives of its condemnation in France, in the eighteenth century, by decrees of the Parliament of Paris, confirmed by Royal edicts, and those which had induced the Pope to pronounce its dissolution. In 1814 the Sovereign Pontiff re-established the order, and shortly afterwards it made its re-appearance in France, where it soon possessed eight Colleges. A general outcry against the Jesuits, however, arose in the last years of the Restoration; and the Government decreed their dispersion. In 1830 they still continued in the country. Since then the order had grown in numbers and power; it now possessed no less than twenty-seven establishments in France, and a recent trial had sufficiently demonstrated *the prodigious development* assumed by the order." M. Thiers next contended that the charter, which was invoked in favour of the Jesuits, had not abrogated the laws enacted against them. The Concordat and the organic articles formerly condemned the order of Jesuits; and to those who objected that those articles constituted no longer the law of the land, he would reply, "that

they were as much the law of the land in religious matters as the Civil Code was in civil affairs. If the doctrine of *absolute liberty*, deduced from the fifth article of the charter, was to prevail, the country *would soon be plunged into anarchy*, and France exhibit the sad spectacle now offered by the Helvetic Confederation."

The reader will draw his own inferences from these debates of the French Chamber, which are full of warning to England. I will only add, from the French Church paper, the "*Univers*," that there are now one thousand *more Jesuits in France* than at the same time last year.

THE END.

LONDON :
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

CHURCH PRINCIPLES AND CHURCH MEASURES:

A LETTER

TO

LORD JOHN MANNERS, M.P.

WITH

Remarks on a Work

ENTITLED,

"PAST AND PRESENT POLICY OF ENGLAND
TOWARDS IRELAND."

BY THE AUTHOR

OF

"MAYNOOTH, THE CROWN, AND THE COUNTRY."



LONDON:

FRANCIS & JOHN RIVINGTON,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD, AND WATERLOO PLACE.

1845.

LONDON :
GILBERT & RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

A
L E T T E R,

&c.

MY LORD,

HAVING a high respect for your Lordship's character, I am happy to find that my remarks¹ on your speech on the Maynooth Endowment Bill have been honoured by a public notice from your Lordship's pen²; and because I feel persuaded, that if interchange of sentiments between persons who are willing to receive and desirous to maintain the truth, is to be regarded as a thing to be wished for at *any* time, it is specially to be sought for and encouraged in *the present* very critical juncture of public affairs; and the call I have received from your Lordship under such circumstances must serve as my apology for venturing again into public.

Your Lordship expostulates with me for having *inferred* from your expressions in that speech, that

¹ Review of Maynooth Endowment Bill, &c., p. 87—93.

² Inserted in the *Morning Post*, May 23; and the *English Churchman*, May 22; and printed below in the Appendix to this Pamphlet.

you intended to convey an opinion that the Church of Ireland was separated from the rest of Catholic Christendom, because it has been and still is excommunicated by Rome.

Allow me, my Lord, to place before my readers a paragraph from the organ of the high Roman Catholic party in France, the *Univers*, of the 20th of April, which shows that the inferences which I derived from your Lordship's words were adopted at the same time on the other side of the channel. You will observe that you are there extolled, on the very ground of having expressed the opinion, that the Churches of the United Kingdom *are separated from the rest of Catholic Christendom*; and because, while you censured the Clergy of England and Ireland, you lauded the Ecclesiastics of Maynooth. You are there, you will perceive, welcomed as a champion of the Papacy, and of the "prétentions du Saint-Siège."

"Le discours vraiment remarquable de cette séance a été celui de lord John Manners, jeune protestant aussi distingué par son esprit qu'aimable par son caractère. Il a eu le courage de dire hautement la vérité à ses amis de la jeune Angleterre qui avaient parlé avant lui; il n'a pas cru devoir sacrifier un principe de justice aux sympathies qui l'attachent à M. d'Israëli. Ses paroles ont élevé le débat. Ce jeune orateur a démontré, avec l'éloquence du bon sens et de la vérité, que *si l'Eglise anglicane est en danger*, le danger ne vient *ni du Vatican, ni des Jésuites, ni de Maynooth*, mais de ses *propres enfants, qui l'ont séparée du reste de la chrétienté* et qui se liguent aujourd'hui avec les puritains et les presbytériens pour dénoncer avec eux les prêtres de l'Eglise romaine.

“ Nous reviendrons sur ce sage discours, où l'orateur a soutenu que ce n'est pas l'enseignement de Maynooth qui fait des prêtres agitateurs, mais la misère et l'abjection de l'Irlande : ils cherchent à améliorer l'état de leur pays. Le noble lord a éloquentement *vengé les ecclésiastiques élevés à Maynooth* des reproches injustes qu'on leur adresse ; il les a montrés au contraire comme faisant le plus grand honneur à cette institution. Il a demandé à la Chambre, si, sous leur surveillance, la moralité de l'Irlande avait dégénéré. ‘Tous leurs devoirs religieux,’ a-t-il ajouté, ‘sont remplis avec un zèle et un désintéressement qu'on ne saurait surpasser, et il serait à *désirer* que le *clergé des autres religions* cherchât à *imiter les prêtres de l'Irlande* !’

“ Lord John Manners a terminé en recommandant au Gouvernement d'admettre franchement l'existence d'une puissance qui exerce une immense autorité dans toutes les parties de l'empire britannique, et cela en accréditant un ambassadeur à Rome et en admettant à la cour de Saint-James un nonce apostolique. Il s'est écrié qu'il est ridicule de ne vouloir pas *reconnaître officiellement une puissance qui existait longtemps avant que l'Angleterre fût un royaume.*”

I rejoice, however, to learn from your Lordship, that the impressions of the French Journalist, as well as my own, are *incorrect* ; and that you allow the Church of Ireland to be Catholic, although she is separated from Rome : and I cannot but believe that your Lordship will find abundant satisfaction in the maintenance of *this* opinion, even though it should involve the forfeiture of the praise of the *Univers*.

The Church of Ireland, then, you grant, is a branch of the Catholic Church ; but your Lordship expresses an opinion in your letter, that our Romanist

brethren in Ireland are indeed in a schismatical position, but *not* in one *guiltily* schismatical. You admit the *fact*, but not the *guilt*.

On this question I beg to offer no judgment whatever. It is certain that schism is a mortal sin ; but that the guilt of schismatics varies much, in each individual, according to the degrees of knowledge and of grace which he may have received : and to judge of these different degrees is God's province, and not ours.

It is *not*, therefore, to the *position* of our Romanist brethren that I would request your attention ; but *to our own*. It is not on *them* that I pronounce censure ; but it *is* on *ourselves* : on those among *us*, my Lord, who acknowledge the Church of Ireland to be a true Church, and yet give aid to her adversaries ; who treat her as if she were an alien and an outcast ; who promote Romanism in Ireland as if it were Catholicity, and disparage Catholicity as if it were schism.

Your Lordship, in your letter occasioned by my remarks, animadverts on the sectarian and ultra-protestant spirit which you allege has evinced itself in certain quarters of the Irish Church ; and you say that it was to the "sanction of the laity in the Diocese of *Down and Connor* to Presbyterian Ministers to oppose the Bishop and Clergy," that you referred when you deplored the danger to which, in your opinion, she was exposed of losing her Catholicity.

I have no claim whatever to present myself before you as the advocate of the Irish Church. She has, I rejoice to say, her own Apologists, in the living voices of her Bishops, in the quiet eloquence of her sufferings, and even, as I shall shortly show, in the confession of her adversaries. The learned Prelate who now presides over the Diocese of Down and Connor, to which your Lordship refers, has written her Vindication in her History³; and even supposing that, as your Lordship states, he has unhappily some refractory spirits to deal with among those who owe him reverence, yet in this respect his lot is not different from that of the greatest Bishops and the most saintly Confessors of ancient Christianity.

And, my Lord, let me ask, Did *their* Churches cease to be Churches because they had "deceitful workers and false brethren" among them? Is a Church not a Church, because in its field there are tares as well as wheat, because on its floor there is chaff as well as grain, because in its net there are bad fish as well as good? Then, my Lord, the Scripture itself (with reverence be it said) would have misled us when it declares that this mixture of good with bad will be the characteristic of the Church even to the end of the world. If a Church ceases to be Catholic, because it has insubordinate members or ministers in it, then *no* branch of the

³ History of the Church of Ireland, by Richard, Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. 2 vols. 1844. Parker, London.

visible Church that ever existed, or ever will exist, is Catholic; then Rome, with her Anti-Popes, has long since irrecoverably lost her catholicity; then the Church of St. Cyprian ceased to be Catholic when it was torn by Novatian heretics; then even Apostolic Churches were not Catholic, for St. Paul had a Demas, a Hymenæus, and a Philetus to resist; and the Church of Ephesus, even under the presidency of the blessed apostle St. John, was uncatholic, for he had to contend with Diotrephes.

For my own part I hope to be pardoned if I cannot but express my gratitude,—not without mingled feelings of admiration,—to Divine Providence, that the Church of Ireland,—after the treatment which she has received from the powers of this world,—from those very powers, be it remembered, which are now, I fear, plotting her extinction, because, forsooth, she does not possess the efficiency of which they themselves have deprived her!—because she cannot work with the hands which they have amputated, or see with the eyes which they have extinguished, or preach with the tongue which they have torn from her mouth!—that *this* Church, I say, so crippled, so degraded, and then so reviled by some of the Statesmen and Legislators of England, should exist, even in her present enfeebled state, ay, and even that she *should exist at all!*

It is of God's mercy alone that she is not destroyed; and by that same mercy, *if* we, my Lord,

are but true to her and to ourselves, she will revive and recover her strength, and regenerate the kingdom of Ireland.

Here, my Lord, is a glorious object for your own Christian ambition. Let me humbly and earnestly appeal to you in her behalf! Aid not in the destruction of this Church; join not your voice with those who say, "Down with it! down with it! even to the ground!" Heal, if you may, its divisions; look with pity and charity on its failings: if it has been abused, remove, if you can, its abuses. Thus confirm its uses, and aid in every measure to restore it to itself, for the promotion of God's glory, and for the welfare of our country!

As was before said, I do not venture to undertake to plead the cause of the Church of Ireland. *That* work ought to be done, and I trust will be done, by her own children, both of the clergy and laity: and I cannot but remark, as a happy circumstance connected with this subject, that there is in the same weekly journal which contains your Lordship's letter, and placed side by side with that letter, an admirable contribution to this task of vindication from the pen of an anonymous writer⁴. As far as it goes, nothing can be more conclusive than the argument there maintained, that the failings and imperfections of the Irish Church are not attributable to that

⁴ "On the Wealth of the Irish Bishops in the last Century."
Signed H. (*English Churchman*, No. 125, May 22, 1845.)

Church itself, but rather to *us*,—to us, my Lord, I say, and to our legislators and statesmen of *England*, and to their predecessors, and indeed I fear we must add, in a great measure to the very parties who now cry out against the abuses in that Church, and who make them the plea for sacrilege and destruction !

Permit me to refer your Lordship and my readers to that letter; and let me now proceed to say, that we hear at this moment a good deal of a future work of *Restitution* to the people of Ireland. Too commonly indeed by Restitution is meant the confiscation of property, and the reduction of Irishmen to a spiritual thralldom of abject superstition, and their degradation to the condition of bondsmen to the see of Rome. This is, alas ! the glorious privilege which is held out to the inhabitants of that country under the specious name of Restitution ! their 'promised land' is a return into Egypt ! The charter of their liberties is the creed of Trent ! The payment of Peter-pence is their immunity from taxation ! Such is the blessed Emancipation with the hope of which they are fed ; such the Utopian dream of enfranchisement with which they are mocked and cheated !

But, my Lord, there *is another* work of *Restitution* to Ireland ; I mean the restoration of her true, Catholic, and Apostolic Church to her ancient rights and former efficiency ; a re-erection of her suppressed sees ; a restitution of her confiscated property ; a re-

vival of her enfeebled energies ; a reparation of her ruined edifices ; a re-organization of her parochial system ; a restoration of the funds formerly devoted to her Schools ; and therefore, my Lord, when we hear of the Restitution of the rights of the people of Ireland, let us not forget their very *first right*. And what, you may ask, is that ? It is, I repeat, their right to their own pure, primitive, evangelical Church. Let us restore to them *that*. But when, even by their vices as well as by their virtues, when by their "monster meetings" as well as by the voices of their true Bishops, they appeal to England for the supply of *this*, which is the paramount need of all, let us *not* delude them by giving them fuel for agitation and then calling it Restitution ; let us not endow Maynooth and expect to reap a harvest of peace ; let us not build sceptical Colleges and bid them look for the fruits of Christianity ! When, by their famished spirits and the leanness of their souls, they cry unto us for bread, as we value their welfare and our own, let us not give them a stone !

But, my Lord, I observed that the Church of Ireland may find her vindication even in the language of her *adversaries*. A volume has lately issued from the press, and is now in its *second edition*, under a title, by which it seems to claim the public attention, as if it contained an official statement of the views of our Rulers on Irish questions — "The PAST and PRESENT Policy of England

towards Ireland." It is with the deepest regret that I am compelled to describe the spirit of that book as one of a very unfriendly character to the Church of Ireland; but while I feel it impossible to do otherwise, I rejoice to say that the author has supplied his readers with most important details for the *defence* of that Church which he *impugns*,—details, which derive additional value from the very *quarter* whence they proceed.

To this volume I shall beg leave to refer again at the conclusion of my present remarks, as containing a prophetic *exposure* of the *future* measures of Government with respect to Ireland. In the mean time, let me request permission to introduce the following extracts from it, as affording valuable materials for the vindication of the Church of Ireland, and as showing ample cause for transferring the responsibility, which is laid upon *her*, to the shoulders of those who ought to bear it.

The author says,—

"From the earliest period after the Reformation down to the middle of the last century, we find reiterated complaints of the *penury and inefficient condition* of the Irish Church, although many great and good men appeared in it, from time to time, who were sincerely desirous of exalting and purifying its character, and extending the sphere of its usefulness. It is evident it was not beloved or respected by the Episcopalians themselves, while it was detested by the Catholics, was nearly as odious to the Protestant Dissenters, and was regarded by Statesmen and Governments rather as a *secular and political instrument* than a *spiritual institution*, the primary function of which was the

inculcation of *religious principles* and the *diffusion of religious knowledge*. It is needless to produce proofs of the early condition of the Church, or of the character of the Clergy, because they are already abundantly scattered through the preceding pages. The Protestant *landlords* (for nearly all the landlords were Protestants) availed themselves of the confusion of the times to *grasp every fragment of Church property* they could possibly lay their hands on ; and as long as they could let their land high, they cared not how much the *Clergy were robbed of their just dues*.

“While the most atrocious penal laws were enacted under the pretence of converting the Catholics, it was acknowledged that no religious motives were at the bottom of these measures, and that the conversion of the Catholics was rather deprecated than desired by the ruling powers. Archbishop King, in an unpublished letter written in 1724, says, ‘It is plain to me, by the methods that have been taken since the Reformation, and which are yet pursued by both the civil and ecclesiastical powers, that *there never was, nor is, any design that all should be Protestants.*’ And during the primacy of Boulter, so evidently were the *spiritual interests of the Church* considered *subordinate* and subsidiary to the *secular interests of the State*, that the historian of the Irish Church (Bishop Mant) says, that ‘it is remarkable on a perusal of the Primate’s letters, that very little is said of the moral, the religious, the theological, or the literary characters of those who are put forward for supplying the vacancies in the *episcopate*, and that their recommendations rest in a prominent degree on political and *secular considerations*’.”

From this passage we gather the following most important facts (which are, indeed, abundantly notorious from other sources, and let me refer to the remarkable declaration of Mr. Perceval, given in

¹ Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland, p. 335.

another place ⁶) :—that the Church of Ireland has been struggling under a load of secular tyranny, and oppression, and rapacity, ever since the Reformation ; that our English “statesmen and governments” have regarded her as an instrument of political power, rather than “a spiritual institution for the inculcation of religious principles, and the diffusion of religious knowledge;” that, in fact, *they*, who ought to have been her “nursing fathers,” have neglected their charge (some splendid exceptions to the contrary, as that of Lord Strafford, in the reign of King Charles I., and others, in more recent times, whose names I need not cite, not being forgotten); that they, in a word, who ought to have protected, have, in fact, plundered her ; that they, who ought to have watched with vigilance and faithfulness over her flock, have, in truth, been the very persons who have sent wolves, and robbers, and hireling shepherds, into her fold !

And yet, my Lord, after these unhappy wounds which the Irish Church has received in “the house of her friends,” after these three centuries of suffering, and affliction, and persecutions, *she still exists !* And let us observe the portrait which the same author draws of the *present character* of the clergy of that Church which he has just represented to us as the victim of barbarous and ungodly cruelty from the civil power.

⁶ Review of Maynooth Endowment Bill, p. 127, 128, 129.

In page 338, he thus writes:—

“There can be no doubt, that the character of the Church is *greatly altered for the better*. But the sins of the fathers have been visited upon their children unto the third and fourth generations, and it is *difficult to reconcile* the present race of Catholics to the *existence* of a Church, which has been a constant obstacle to their attainment of *the most* important objects.”

And now, my Lord, turn over a few pages, and you will find to your astonishment the following words (p. 345):

“I am aware, that the *logical inference* from the foregoing argument, is, *not* only that the Catholic Church,” (thus the writer *compliments* away the very name of the Church!) “ought to be endowed, but the *ecclesiastical endowments* in Ireland ought to be *transferred to it*.”

He indeed is content to be guilty of an “apparent inconsistency,” and to leave the Church of Ireland a part of her own revenues; but such is his “*logical inference*!”

Now I would inquire, my Lord,—Do not these two sentences speak volumes to all who have minds to think, and hearts to feel? After all its hard usage, “the character of the Church,” we hear, “is greatly altered for the better!” Notwithstanding that it has been treated, as the writer allows, by “English Statesmen and Governments, as a *secular and political instrument* rather than as a *spiritual Institution*,” yet it has *survived* all this injurious, treacherous, and sacrilegious cruelty; and has not only struggled through it, but

has (as we are assured by him) actually made great advances in strength, and purity, and efficiency under all its trials! And yet, mark the consequence: the Church of Ireland, although "it has gradually altered for the better," is to be now altered for the *worse* by those very parties, who have the power to remedy the abuses in it, but are actually called upon to perpetuate the policy of those who have injured and profaned it!

And wherefore is it to be so treated? Because "it is difficult to reconcile the present race of *Catholics* to the *existence* of a Church which has been a constant *obstacle* to their attainment of the most *important objects*!"

Alas! my Lord, we are now come to this, that the Church of Ireland is to be sacrificed by our rulers, who are advised to take the part of the wolf in the fable, and first to charge it with disturbing the peaceful waters of Ireland; and when this accusation is refuted, to arraign it of having committed certain high misdemeanors and heinous offences in bygone generations, of which our own former rulers have been guilty, and of which our present Statesmen are invited to inherit the guilt, and appropriate it to themselves by *imitation*! And all this, forsooth, because a Protestant Church is unfortunate enough not to be agreeable "to the present race of Catholics, and has been a constant obstacle to their attainment of the most important objects!" Such, my Lord, is the course pro-

pounded to the people of this country, as a "logical inference," by one who writes with an air of authority ! What an opinion of our justice, and even of our common sense, does such a proposition betray ! and what an unfavourable notion also of the wisdom and honesty of *those* to whom such a suggestion is offered !

What blessings our Government may expect from Heaven upon their work, if they follow this counsel, it is not for me to inquire ; and the mind shrinks from the thought : and *what* consolations they would derive from the result of the calculations of expediency, by which they are to reconcile themselves to such designs, it is not our province to anticipate.

But let us close this volume for the present ; as we do with feelings of sadness and astonishment at its contents.

In considering the claim of the *Church of Ireland to that title*, your Lordship seems to question the validity of the argument on which I had maintained it. Let me here again refer my readers to the clauses of your Lordship's letter, printed at the close of these pages.

Your Lordship will, I think, perceive that I did not quote the Acts of Supremacy or Uniformity, as having any synodical authority ; but what I intended to show by reference to them was, that the *Bishops* of Ireland proved themselves, by being parties to those Acts, to have been promoters of the *Reformation* in that country : and that therefore the Church of Ireland *reformed herself* ; and, by consequence,

B

that the Reformed Church is the true Catholic Church of Ireland.

• This, my Lord, is the proposition which I then affirmed, and which I beg to reiterate ; and I shall request leave to submit to your Lordship further evidence of the same truth in these pages. The fact of there being no such thing as a Popish recusant in Ireland for a great part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the circumstances narrated by Carte, in his *Life of Ormond*, (i. p. 32,) "that the Bishops of Ireland complied with the Reformation, and the Roman Catholics in general resorted to the parish churches, in which the English service was used, until the *end of Queen Elizabeth's reign*," afford sufficient corroborating proof of the same assertion *.

And now, let me be allowed to advert briefly to the next topic of your letter. Your Lordship excepts against my assertion, that the Pope assumes to himself titles which I affirm to be *antichristian* ; and you appear to entertain a doubt, whether he is called the "man of sin" by the Translators of our English Bible. You also seem indisposed to admit the distinction, which I drew in my Review, between the Pope acting in the discharge of his duty as a Christian Bishop, and as arrogating to himself powers which Scripture denounces as *antichristian*.

To reply, in the first place, to the *last* of your inquiries. You think a Christian Bishop can hardly

* See Phelan's History of the Church of Rome in Ireland, ii. p. 262.

be Antichrist. I did not (permit me to observe) call the Pope by that name. I said that he assumes "antichristian titles," and exercises "antichristian power." But, even *if* I had called him by that fearful designation, yet we know from Scripture that there are "*many* antichrists;" and therefore, by so doing, I should not have styled him *the* "Antichrist." But further, *if* I had so done, yet still I should have a reply to your Lordship's objection. The Scribes and Pharisees were to be obeyed, said our Blessed Lord, *because* "they sat in Moses' seat;" that is, they were to be respected as God's ministers, as far as they expounded His law conformably to His will; and yet the same Divine Authority calls them, on account of their evil works, by the awful appellation of "children of hell." So Caiaphas prophesied as high-priest; and yet he was a murderer of the Just One; that is, in a certain sense, he was an antichrist. And, my Lord, Judas was a Christian Bishop; yet he was an antichrist! In like manner, the Pope of Rome may be both the one and the other.

And now with regard to the questions whether the Pope assumes antichristian titles, and whether he is designated as "the Man of Sin" by our English Translators in their Preface to the Holy Bible; these admit of a ready reply.

The reference in those words of the Translators is to the "*writings*" of King James I., as will be evident from inspection of the passage. What, then, were those works? They are his "Apology for the

Oath of Allegiance," and his "Præmonition to Christian Princes," which are known to have been specially directed against the assumption of those antichristian titles, and the exercise of those antichristian powers by the Bishop of Rome, of which we now speak.

And with respect to the judgment of the Church of England on this matter, and also to the sense in which the words of the Translators were understood in the same century in which they were written; we have, further, satisfactory evidence on these two points, in the following passage in a letter of an English prelate⁷ to the Earl of Anglesea, who had proposed to the Bishop this question, "Whether the Pope be antichrist?"

The Bishop says (p. 191),

"The most learned and pious divines of England, ever since the Reformation, have been of the opinion and judged the Pope to be antichrist; so Jewell, Raynolds, Whitaker, Usher, &c. The *Translators*—"

let me call your attention, my Lord, to the Bishop's testimony on *this* point—

"The *Translators* of our Bible into English call the Pope that 'Man of Sin;' and in both our universities the question (*An Papa sit antichristus?*) was constantly held *affirmativè*: I have heard it so held in Oxon many times between the years 1624 and 1633."

The Bishop cites also passages from the *Homilies*⁸ to the same effect. Let me also request your Lord-

⁷ Bp. Barlow, Remains, p. 192.

⁸ Homilies, part i. p. 38. part ii. p. 11, 12. ed. 1633.

ship's attention to the very striking passage which I shall cite below from the pen of one of the wisest and most venerable of our divines, Richard Hooker, which is very emphatic on this topic⁹.

But, my Lord, allow me to pass from these questions, and to entreat your Lordship's consideration of certain *Church principles*, which are not only involved in the Maynooth Bill, but, what is of still *greater* moment, are also of paramount importance with regard to all *other* legislative measures concerning the *Churches* of the United Kingdom. The application of them which I make to the Maynooth Bill in the first instance, will be readily made by my readers, *mutatis mutandis*, to all *other* similar *future* propositions.

And now, my Lord, let me not disguise from your Lordship the feelings of regret, which arise in my mind, when I see persons of high station and distinguished ability, who profess respect for the Church, and acknowledge the soundness of those Catholic *principles* which have been generally received in Christendom from Apostolic times, coming forward in public, as legislators, to give their assent and support to a measure such as the Maynooth Endowment Bill, which appears to me not only adverse to those principles, but is, in my judgment at least, totally subversive of them, both in its natural tendencies, and in its immediate results.

Let me endeavour to demonstrate the truth of

⁹ *Below*, p. 38, line 1, and line 17.

this proposition. As Churchmen, we are charitable to schismatics, but we reprobate schism; we love the erring, and we therefore deplore and would correct their errors. As we reverence Scripture and the Church, we cannot do otherwise than declare, that *wilful* schism is a mortal sin. We affirm, with Apostles (1 Cor. xiii. 3), and Apostolic Fathers and Bishops,—St. Ignatius and St. Chrysostom,—that death in schism can never be *martyrdom*.

And yet, my Lord, with these assertions in our mouths, *if* we give our support to the Maynooth Bill,—we, *ourselves*, lend our aid to a *schismatical act*! we consent to a measure which educates future Romanist Priests and Bishops, and which leads, by a direct consequence, to their National Endowment; and this, I repeat, is a *schismatical act*.

Permit me to explain myself further on this topic. Your Lordship will allow the assertion, that according to the received laws of the Christian Church, there *cannot* be *two Metropolitans* in the same *Province*, nor *two Bishops* in the same *Diocese*.

These two propositions are clearly demonstrable from the *first four General Councils*, received not only in our own country, but in *every Christian land in the whole world*, and acknowledged to be of such paramount authority, that any one who will venture to set himself in wilful opposition to them, incurs the charge of heresy as well as of schism.

In the *viii*th Canon of the Council of Nice—the *first* general Council—a prohibition will be found to

this effect,—that there may not be “*two Bishops in the same city.*” The second Canon of the *second* General Council, that of Constantinople, specially enjoins that “no Bishop shall *intrude* himself into a *Diocese* which does *not belong to him*, and thus introduce confusion into the Church;” and in the viith Canon, it brands with the stigma of heresy those “who *separate themselves*, and set themselves up in opposition to *lawful Bishops.*” The *third* General Council, that of Ephesus, declares, that “no Bishop shall occupy, and exercise any function in, a province which does not appertain to him; and if he shall presume to do so, he shall make restitution.” The *fourth* General Council, that of Chalcedon, in the xiiith Canon, orders that there shall not be “*two Metropolitans in the same Province.*”

I need not trouble your Lordship with further citations of a similar kind; as, for instance, from one of the earliest Councils, that of Antioch, in which it is enjoined (Canon v.), that if “any one shall set up a rival *altar* against *altar*, he shall be *deposed*, and never be restored to his former dignity;” that “no Bishop (Canon xiii.) shall dare to *invade* the *Diocese of another*, and confer orders in the same, and that all orders so conferred shall be deemed invalid;” and (Canon xix.) that “no Bishop shall be consecrated without the consent and presence of his Metropolitan.” I need not, I say, trespass on your Lordship’s attention with further evidence of this nature, which would be superfluous after

that which I have already adduced from the *first* FOUR GENERAL COUNCILS of the Christian Church; and in pursuance of this statement, I will now venture to submit to your Lordship the two following alternatives, between which no *Churchman*, I presume, can hesitate for a moment:—either we must renounce the authority of *all* the *first* FOUR GENERAL COUNCILS, and may then approve the MAYNOOTH BILL; or else we must condemn the *Maynooth Bill*, and hold fast by the *first four General Councils*.

But a little further explanation may perhaps be necessary on this head. Let me, therefore, beg leave to lay before you the following proposition; concerning the truth of which, as Churchmen, we can no more hesitate, than we could in our choice between the two alternatives just specified.

The Church of Ireland, which is in communion with the *Anglican branch of the Catholic Church*, is the true, *the only, Church of that country*. It is the *only* one which has a lawful Episcopal Succession; the Bishops deriving their orders from the primitive Irish Church in an uninterrupted series, as has been already shown in another place. (*Review, &c.*, p. 87, 88.) *Others*, if they choose, my Lord, *may* disparage this our argument of Succession; but I write, as a Churchman to a Churchman, to one who acknowledges, with Archbishop Bramhall, that “Apostolic Succession is the nerve and sinew of Apostolic Unity ¹⁰ ;” and with Bishop Beveridge, “that it is the

¹⁰ Bramhall, i. p. 112. ed. Oxford.

root of all Christian communion¹¹;" and I, therefore, take for granted this proposition, that where the *true Bishops* are, there is the *true Church*; or, in the language of Christian Antiquity, "*ubi Episcopus, ibi Ecclesia.*"

The present *Romanist* Bishops in Ireland, as is well known to you, derive their orders, *not* from Bishops of the ancient Irish Church, but from *foreigners* who were clandestinely and irregularly *intruded* into that country, contrary to all the solemn laws and injunctions of the first four General Councils already cited, and in contravention of the received practice of the Catholic Church; and they date their origin from no higher source than the times of Queen Elizabeth and King James I.¹² If, therefore, there is any validity in the law and practice of the Church Catholic, and of the Church and Realm of England, they have no more right to be styled Bishops of Irish Sees, than the Queen of Spain would have to the title of Sovereign Lady of this Country, if she were sent with an Armada by the Pope with command to take possession of England.

The Irish *Romanist* Prelates, I am aware, would endeavour to justify their usurpation of the titles of the Irish Sees, by alleging that the Bishops and Priests of the Church of Ireland have received *no ordination*, because they are excommunicated by

¹¹ Beveridge, i. p. 23. ed. Oxford.

¹² See Mr. Palmer on the Church, Part ii. chap. ix. vol. ii. p. 551—566.

Rome, and have not had what *they* term a sacerdotal commission to offer “a *sacrifice* for the quick and dead,” and that they are, therefore, *laymen*, and *nothing more*.

The *Romanist*, indeed, says this ; and *he* also allows that it is perfectly true, that there *can* be but *one* Archbishop of a Province, and *one* Bishop of a Diocese. The contrary supposition to this, he grants, is absurd and preposterous ; it is irreconcilable, he allows, with the first principles of Church government, and it bids defiance to all Church law, and is opposed to the whole tenour of ecclesiastical practice. There *is*, and there *can be*, but *one* Archbishop of Dublin, *he* will tell us, and *that* Archbishop is Dr. Murray ; there *is*, and there *can be*, but *one* Primate of Ireland, and *that* Primate is Dr. Crolly.

The *Romanists*, therefore, my Lord, *if* their positions be true, that our Bishops and Priests are mere laymen, and that the Pope has universal jurisdiction over all Christendom ; *they*, I say, act consistently with themselves, and agreeably to the laws of the Church ; and, *with their own principles*, they do quite right in maintaining and endowing their own clergy ; but *we*, who affirm, in opposition to them, that *our* Bishops are *true Bishops*, and are *the* true Bishops of *Ireland*, and that the Pope has *no* such jurisdiction, act neither consistently with ourselves, nor conformably to the laws of the Church, when we aid in endowing the College of Maynooth, of which the sole object is to send forth, into every part of Ireland, a race of Bishops and Priests to

be ordained to their several functions in a manner, which, as Churchmen, we must affirm to be irregular and uncanonical, and destined to occupy positions of an antagonist and schismatical character, in direct hostility to those lawful Bishops and Pastors of the Church of Christ, with whom we are in communion, and to whom, by Divine as well as human law, we owe both reverence and support.

This, my Lord, appears to me to be a course of action on which no Churchman can reflect without feelings of the deepest sorrow, mingled with fear of the responsibility which any one who *enters* upon it is incurring, and of the evil which he is drawing down on others, and on himself. No Churchman, I think, can *proceed further* in this course, without misgivings and distrust, and without asking himself, whether this *can* be the return of love and duty which he owes to the Church? whether it *can* be the office of charity due from him *even* to his *Romanist* brethren, who will be confirmed, by his sanction of such principles as those which I have shown to be involved in the Maynooth Bill, in their own erroneous and dangerous opinions and actions, both with respect to themselves, and to their Protestant fellow-Christians? and, whether this is the service of honour and reverence which he owes to the Bishops and Pastors of Christ's flock, whom, alas! he is depriving, as far as he is able, of their just privileges; and to whose labours, in the cause of pastoral teaching and superintendence, arduous and perplexing as they are of

themselves, he is adding a fresh load of care, and whom he is involving in greater embarrassment?

Let me also, my Lord, be allowed to submit to your Lordship the following consideration:—If *they* who profess a respect for the Church, and who are sometimes heard to utter rebukes against those who are found to join in any proceeding which has any schismatical element or any tendency to non-conformity; if, after all, *when they shall have* well weighed all these considerations, *they shall* give their public sanction and encouragement to measures destructive of *all Church government*, and productive of a vast and countless multitude of schismatical results, and fraught with schismatical consequences to a degree of which it is impossible to assign the limits! *how*, let me enquire, can *they hereafter* come forward in the eyes of the world to maintain the rights of the Church, and to contend against the assaults of schism? Will they not be met and baffled at every turn by their own former acts? Who, therefore, will listen to their words? “*Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?*”

Again, as Churchmen, we repudiate *Erastianism*; we maintain that the State can give no essence or spirit to a Church. *Politicians*, we say, *may* imagine that they can found a Church wherever they please, that they can endow a *second* National Church as readily as they can build a National School or erect a Chapel of Ease. But we reply, No:—a Church is a holy Society, built on the one foundation of Christ

and His Apostles. You cannot lay any other foundation than this. You may organize and you may endow human societies, calling themselves religious, on some other basis; but they are *conventicles*, and not *Churches*. And in a country where there is a Church already formed, you can no more found a *new* one, than you can place a second moon in the heavens; you can no more erect another Church in Ireland, where there is a Catholic Church already existing, than you can remove Westminster Abbey and place it upon the area of St. Paul's.

Such an *attempt* as this can only proceed, we say, from the lowest notions of Erastianism, as to the powers of the civil magistrate in regard to the Church. And in our own times many good Churchmen have been loud in their denunciations of certain acts of the Legislature with respect to the Church, on the ground of their being strongly impregnated with an Erastian leaven. But Erastus himself could not have devised any thing more Erastian than the present Maynooth Bill. In it the State treats the Church of Ireland as a mere human fabric; and, having denied its catholicity, it proceeds to place another Church by its side, and thus confounds all notions of catholic Churches, be they Protestant or be they Romanist, and involves all Church law and all Church practice in the same inexplicable confusion.

I do not suppose that your Lordship is a person of such a temper and character as to meet these appeals to Church principles, which are of permanent and

general application, by any reference to mere *numerical calculations* of the difference between Romanists and the members of the Church of Ireland. You, I am sure, will not have recourse to an allegation which would have deprived some of the holiest Bishops of the ancient Church of Christ of their legitimate rights and dignities. If *this* argument from *numbers* has any weight, St. Augustine must have yielded Hippo to the Donatists, St. Cyprian must have shared the See of Carthage with Fortunatus, and Alexandria must have been bereft for ever of the presence of St. Athanasius.

To pass, my Lord, to another point. The worldly politician, who has never formed in his mind a true notion of the character and attributes of the Church, may perhaps say to the Church of Ireland at this time, "We educate, it is true, future Romanist Priests and Bishops at Maynooth; and we do not hesitate to say that we are prepared to support them in their Episcopal and Priestly functions by National Endowments; but we wrong no one in this; we leave the *revenues* of the Church of Ireland untouched: we propose to endow a *second* Church, it is true; but we do not intend to take away the endowments of the first. No: we propose to preserve them intact and inviolable."

In reply to these observations, I do not presume to question the honesty of the *intentions* of those who use this language; and I do not lay any stress on the fact that it signifies little *what* their designs may

be ; for, however disposed *they* may *now* be to respect the rights and to preserve the revenues of the Church of Ireland, we are sure that both they and their opinions are very liable to be changed by circumstances, and that, therefore, whatever they may intend *now*, there is no security at all for their continuance in the *same* course of action *hereafter*. And even if they should retain their present intentions and desires, yet their *power* to execute them will have been destroyed by the force of an opposite faction, which they themselves will have aggrandized, to their own destruction, and to the defeat of their own designs in this and in other respects.

But on this topic we need not now dwell. We revert to the plan of the political legislators above stated, and we say, "You, indeed, may propose to endow two Churches side by side : but the Christian Church, in discharge of her duty, is bound to protest against such a proposition as this. Whatever your notions of worldly expediency may be, inviting you, as you imagine, to pursue such a course, she is obliged by the nature of her office to remind you that a design of this character is contrary to the Divine law and to the established practice of the Church."

And, my Lord, whether the Powers of this world may hear, or whether they may forbear ; whether they may have already entered upon this course of action, or even have advanced far upon the road of what is commonly called by the unhappy

name of the *Samaritan*¹ theory of religious policy, the Christian Church is in duty bound to give her testimony concerning the Divine Will upon this subject, and without fear and without compromise to declare, that no Government can endow two religions in the same country without sin.

Whether or no her voice may be heard by our own generation, is not a question for the Church to consider. She has other aims beyond Parliamentary majorities and political triumphs; she looks not first for the favour of men but for the approval of God; she attempts not to win over the factious for a few short weeks of a hollow peace by dangerous conciliation; but strives to elevate the spirits of the loyal, to strengthen the energies of the virtuous, and to consolidate the peace and happiness of all. She respects public opinion, but she craves not so much the applause of the world, as the homage of the wise; she labours for the gratitude of posterity, and for an enduring name in heaven.

And as children of the Church, my Lord, and as actuated by her spirit, we, I trust, shall imitate her

¹ Gerhardi Loci Communes Theologici, vi. 606. Inter diversæ religionis addictos subditos pacem politicam sancire potest Princeps, sed Religionis quendam Syncretismum introducere nequam debet. Talis nam Syncretismus repugnat divinis mandatis, tum in typis Lev. xix. 19. Deut. xxii. 9. tum expresse sermone propositis, 2 Cor. vi. 14, et seqq.; introducitur *Samaritanismum* divinitus prohibitum. 2 Reg. xvi. 14; xvii. 24—41. See also Bp. Andrewes on the Decalogue, p. 101.

example, and shall tread in her steps. Your Lordship will probably remember, that this *very* case of a *concurrent endowment* of *two Churches* in the *same country* was propounded to the great African Bishop, St. Augustine². And what, let us enquire, was his solution of that question? "To the law and to the testimony; how readest thou in Scripture?" was his reply. He referred to the famous judgment of Solomon³, and he propounded it to the Emperor of the Roman world for his imitation; and he has placed it before the eyes of all Christian Kings and States as the Rule for their own practice. If two *Churches* present themselves before the Powers of this world, as the two *women* did before the tribunal of Solomon, and if one of them says, "Give an Endowment to me, and give also an Endowment to her, divide the heritage between us;" then the right sentence is, *that one who so speaks is no true Church*. It is the *false mother* alone which says, "Divide the child." And when the wise King hears the voice of the *true* mother who yearns for the preservation of Unity, even to such an intense degree of tenderness and affection, that she withdraws her maternal claims, and cries out, "Oh, my Lord, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it!" what does the just Judge do? Does he give the child to the other? or does he divide it? No. In the words of St. Augus-

² St. Aug. Serm. x. vol. v. p. 92.

³ 1 Kings iii. 27.

tine, "He does not amputate the limbs which by their unity and harmony contain the breath of life; but by severity he discovers the true mother, and by judgment he rejects the false. That sentence of the judge in which he said, 'Divide the living child in two, and give half to the one and half to the other,' was not intended to be a breach of unity but a test of love, for the name of Solomon is Peace-maker." And therefore the verdict was in favour of her who desired unity. "Give her," he said, "the living child, and in no wise slay it; she is the mother thereof."

Similarly it is, my Lord, that if politicians and Romanists should say to the Church of Ireland, "Let us divide the country between us; let us have Romanist Colleges, and Romanist Schools, and Romanist Churches erected by the State, and we will not destroy your Colleges, we will spare your Churches, we will leave your revenues unimpaired;" if she is true to herself she cannot make this compromise for any worldly consideration. She must protest against it. And your Lordship, as a true Churchman, whatever may be the condition of the Church of Ireland, is bound to give strength and support to her protestations. She may indeed be feeble, she may be frail; but the feebleness and the frailty of a parent demand not our rebukes, but our sympathy and our aid. She may be faulty and erring; but let us remember, "*Mater errans mater est.*" If, therefore, the Romanist and the Romanizing

Churchman should make the overture of division already mentioned, we, as Churchmen, must reply in the spirit, and may adopt the language, of the venerable author of the "Ecclesiastical Polity," and say, "Tell us not that ye will sacrifice to the Lord our God, if we will sacrifice to Ashtaroth or Melcom; that ye will read our *Scriptures* if we will listen to your *traditions*; that if ye may have a Mass by permission, we shall have a Communion with good leave and liking; that ye will admit the things that are spoken of by the Apostles of our Lord Jesus, if *your* Lord and Master (the Pope of Rome) may have his ordinances observed and his statutes kept. Solomon took it, as well he might, for an evident proof that *she* did not bear a motherly affection to her child which yielded to have it cut in diverse parts. *He* cannot love the Lord Jesus in his heart, which lendeth one ear to His Apostles and another to false Apostles; which can brook to see a mingle-mangle of religion and superstition, Ministers and Massing-Priests, light and darkness, truth and error, traditions and *Scriptures*. No: we have no Lord but Jesus, no doctrine but the Gospel, no teachers but His Apostles. I do marvel that any man, bearing the name of a servant of the servants of Jesus Christ, will go about to draw us from our allegiance; we are His sworn subjects; it is not lawful for us to hear the things that are not told us by His Apostles⁴."

⁴ Hooker, Sermon. v. § 7. vol. iv. p. 828. ed. Keble.

Isaac Walton, in his life of Hooker, compares him in patience to Job, and in meekness to Moses. Among the theological writers of his day, he is well known to have been eminent for these two Christian virtues, especially in his controversial writings on topics concerning the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Rome. But in his meekness and in his patience he did not forget the *truth*. St. Stephen rebuked sternly those who rejected the truth, for whom, when they stoned him, he prayed affectionately. Your Lordship has charged certain persons with using too strong language in speaking of the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome. I fear that Hooker's meekness and patience may not preserve him from your censure. But, however this may be, I cannot refrain from placing before you the following words of that admirable writer, which appear to me to express the feelings which are now alive in the minds of millions of persons in the United Kingdom, and which cannot find a better or safer vent than in the language of one whose mind was richly stored with learning divine and human, whose judgment was informed by intellectual discipline and enlightened by spiritual grace, and whose life was sanctified by the holy exercises of self-denial, and prayer, and religious meditation.

Speaking of the Romanists, he says,—

“ When they rise up against us we need not seek any further for our apology, than the words of Abiah to Jeroboam and his army: ‘ O Jeroboam and Israel, hear you me : ought you not to

know, that the Lord God of Israel hath given the kingdom over Israel to David for ever, even to him, and to his sons, by a *covenant of salt* ;' that is to say, an *everlasting covenant* ? Jesuits and Papists, hear ye me : ought you not to know that the Father hath given all power unto the Son, and hath made Him the only Head over His Church, wherein He dwelleth as an husbandman in the midst of his vineyard ? For, as it is in the Canticles, 'Solomon had a vineyard in Baalhamon ; he gave the vineyard unto Keepers, *every one* bringing for the fruit thereof a thousand pieces of silver' (Cant. viii. 11) ; but My vineyard, which is Mine, is before Me, saith Christ.

"It is true this is meant of the *mystical* Head set over the Body, which is not seen. But as He hath reserved the *mystical* administration of the Church invisible unto Himself, so he hath committed the *mystical* government of Congregations *visible* to the Sons of David by the same covenant ; whose Sons *they* are in the governing of the flock of Christ, *whomsoever* the Holy Ghost 'hath set over them,' to go before them, and to lead them in their several pastures, one in this congregation, another in that ; as it is written, 'Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.' (Acts xx. 28.)

"Neither will ever any Pope or Papist under the cope of heaven be able to prove the Romish Bishops usurped supremacy over all Churches by any one word of the covenant of salt, which is the *Scripture*. . . . Christ hath said in the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel to Simon, the son of Jonas, 'I say to thee, thou art Peter.' Hence an opinion is held in the world, that the Pope is universal head of all Churches. Yet Jesus said not, 'the Pope is universal head of all Churches ;' but '*Tu es Petrus*,' 'Thou art Peter.' Howbeit, as Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, the servant of Solomon, rose up and rebelled against his Lord, and there were gathered unto him vain men and wicked, which made themselves strong against Roboam, the son of Solomon, because Roboam was but a child, and tender-hearted, and

could not resist them; so the Son of Perdition and Man of Sin⁴ (being not able to brook the words of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which *forbad* his disciples to be like Princes of Nations, 'They bear rule, and are called gracious, it shall *not* be so with you,') hath risen up and rebelled against his Lord; and, to strengthen his arm, he hath crept into the houses almost of all the noblest families round about him, and taken their children from the cradle to be his cardinals; he hath fawned upon the Kings and Princes of the earth, and by spiritual cozenage hath made them sell their lawful authority and jurisdiction for titles of *Catholicus, Christianissimus, Defensor Fidei*, and such like; he hath proclaimed sale of pardons to inveigle the ignorant. . . . This is the rock whereupon *his* Church is built. Hereby the man is grown huge and strong, like the cedars which are not shaken with the wind, because Princes have been as children, over tender-hearted, and could not resist.

"Hereby it is come to pass, as you see this day, that the Man of Sin doth war against us, not by men of a language which we cannot understand, but he cometh as Jeroboam against Judah, and bringeth the fruit of *our own* bodies to eat us up, that the bowels of the child may be made the mother's grave, that hath caused no small number of our brethren with all disloyalty to cast off the yoke of their allegiance to our dread SOVEREIGN, whom God in mercy hath set over them; for whose safeguard, if they carried not the hearts of tigers in the bosoms of men, they would think the dearest blood in their bodies well spent.

"But now, saith Abiah to Jeroboam, 'Ye think ye be able to resist the kingdom of the Lord, which is in the hands of the sons of David. Ye be a *great multitude*, the golden calves are with you, which Jeroboam made you for gods: have ye not driven away the Priests of the Lord, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made you Priests like the people of nations?' (2 Chron. xiii. 8, 9.)

"If I should follow the comparison, and here uncover the cup

⁴ See above, p. 21.

of those deadly and ugly abominations, wherewith ~~this~~ Jeroboam, of whom we speak, hath made the earth so drunk that it hath reeled under us, I know your godly hearts would loathe to see them. For my own part I delight not to rake in such filth, I had rather take a garment upon my shoulders, and go with my face from them to cover them. The Lord open their eyes, and cause them, if it be possible, at the length to see how they are wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked! . . .

“O merciful God! if heaven and earth in this case do not witness with us, and against them, let us be razed out from the land of the living! Let the earth on which we stand swallow us quick, as it hath done Corah, Dathan, and Abiram! ‘If we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forsaken Him; if our Priests, the sons of Aaron, minister unto the Lord, and the Levites in their office; if we offer unto the Lord every morning and every evening the burnt offerings and sweet incense of prayers and thanksgivings; if the bread be set in order upon the pure table, and the candlestick of gold, with the lamps thereof, to burn every morning;’ that is to say, if amongst us God’s blessed Sacraments be duly administered, His holy word sincerely and duly preached; if we keep the watch of the Lord our God, and if *ye* have forsaken Him: then doubt ye not, this God is with us as a Captain, His Priests with sounding trumpets must cry alarm against you: ‘O ye children of Israel, fight not against the Lord God of your fathers, for ye shall not prosper.’ (2 Chron. xiii. 12.)⁵”

Permit me, my Lord, to request your attention to this remarkable example of Abijah, the King of Judah and Benjamin; it will be found very pertinent to the case of Ireland. Here was a Prince, at the head of only *two* of the twelve Tribes, and his opponent had *ten* at his command; but Abijah was

⁵ Hooker, Sermon. v. paragr. 15. vol. iv. p. 840. ed. Keble.

a *lawful* prince; and in his *two* tribes he had the Ark, the Altar, and the Priesthood; he had with him the *Church* of God. He was, therefore, not dismayed, though there was “a great *multitude*” against him; and they who were with him were *few*. No: and he did not sacrifice the truth. He made no surrender of the city and the temple; and he did not offer to admit a partner into a share of the rights of the Altar and of the Throne.

Far from it! He took his position boldly; he stood on a conspicuous spot, on a mountain, in the land of his adversaries; and there publicly addressed the leader and people of the ten tribes, in the language we have heard: he said to them, with a voice of earnestness and power,—“O ye children of Israel, fight not against the Lord God of your fathers! for ye *shall not prosper*.”

Here, my Lord, was the policy of true courage, of right faith, of sound wisdom, and of genuine charity.

And what was its *result*? It was *this*: “the children of *Judah* prevailed; and why? “Because they relied on the Lord God of their fathers⁶.”

In this example, my Lord, we have, I think, a *scriptural epitome* of the whole question of the treatment of Ireland. We are told, indeed, by some of our public men, that this subject is a mere *political* one, and to be treated *politically*; but, letting alone

⁶ 2 Chron. xiii. 18.

the fact, that true religion and sound policy are inseparable ; yet, may we not be permitted to affirm, that it is of very little importance how this subject may be viewed by *men*, but that it is of the greatest consequence how it is regarded by the Supreme Arbiter of the destinies of nations ; and to inquire whether, so to speak, a question which involves the dearest interests of His *Church*, can be contemplated and treated *politically* by Him ? Let us observe, my Lord, Abijah was no priest or prophet ; he was a *king* ; it was the *civil power* which spoke by his voice, and called back the ten tribes to the *unity of true religion*, and of *loyal obedience* ; and this example is propounded to *kings* and *statesmen*, in Holy Scripture, for *their* imitation ; and we do not hesitate to say, that the Supreme Governor of the world *now* speaks by it to our own Rulers, and calls upon them, with the voice of His own Divine authority and goodness, and points out to them, with the hand of Omnipotence, the true, the only *safe course*, of “Policy to *Ireland*.”

Again, we are sometimes assured, that the question of a National Church, and, therefore, the Church of Ireland, is a question merely of *population*. Now, my Lord, *if* this be so, then the whole course of King Abijah was *wrong* ; he ought to have made his *two* tribes give way to the *ten* ; and he ought not to have called on the *ten* to conform to the *two*. So we say of Ireland ; we have two tribes on one side, and ten, it may be, on the other ; and *if* the

two tribes have *not* the true Church of Ireland with them, and *if she* be found with the *ten*, then let the two, by all means, be merged in the ten; but if, as your Lordship allows, *she* be found with the two, if with them is the sceptre of the house of David, as well as the national Altar of God, then our kings and our statesmen will pursue a policy which will promote the peace and the welfare not of the two tribes only, but of all the twelve; and will ensure the aid and blessing of Heaven, if they adopt the language, and imitate the act of Abijah.

I make no apology to your Lordship for dwelling on this example. The manual of statesmen is the Bible; and by its law, whether we are kings or subjects, whether we are governors or governed, whether we are legislators or constituents, we must all frame our lives here, and we shall all be judged hereafter. Permit me, also, to add, that the duty of *public* men to regulate their acts by this standard, assumes the most solemn character, when we remember on one side the *blessings* promised to *civil rulers* , who carefully examine the dictates of the Divine Law, and faithfully obey them; and when, on the other, we reflect on the fearful *warnings* denounced on temporal Governors, who neglect and despise this Law. Pardon me, my Lord, for recalling to your recollection those emphatic words of remonstrance to these *latter* persons, which deserve to be engraven in indelible characters on the heart of every Statesman,—

"Hear, therefore, O ye kings. Give ear, ye that rule the people; for power is given you of the Lord, and sovereignty from the Highest, Who shall try your works and search out your counsels. Because, being Ministers of *His* Kingdom, ye have not kept the law, nor walked after the counsel of God; horribly and speedily shall He come upon you: for a sharp judgment shall be to them that be in *high places*: for mercy will soon pardon the meanest, but mighty men shall be mightily tormented'."

The appeal, then, my Lord, of Abijah, is that which the Church of Ireland, resting on the basis of Scriptural truth and Catholic antiquity, makes at this day against the antisciptural and novel usurpations of the Papal See. Such is the language which she addresses to her Romanist adversaries, and to all those who conspire against her. Her voice will be heard and respected by all true Churchmen; and, with the Divine blessing, she will show that she possesses a force and an energy which will grow under difficulties, and derive fresh spirit from conflict, and new courage from danger. She feels the movements of a Divine impulse stirring within her; she believes that her cause is that of Truth; and she is, therefore, prepared to contend manfully for it.

Let me state another important consideration concerning the Church of Ireland and the treatment due to it from England. How, let me ask, my Lord, would such a Church as this be valued and protected

⁷ Wisdom vi. 1—6.

by *other* Governments of Europe! What would not the Crown of *France* give, at this day, for a National Church founded on Evangelical truth, and governed according to Apostolical order, like the Church of Ireland, and, like it, *attached* to the *Monarchy* and *untrammelled* by *Rome*? *France* would cherish it as the very lifeblood of her nationality! She would see in it the nucleus of invincible strength; she would maintain and strengthen it as an impregnable bulwark against the ultramontane usurpations on the one hand, and infidel doctrines and the anarchy and demoralization on the other, which are now vying with one another in undermining the foundations of her Throne, and destroying the stability of her social fabric.

What, again, would not *Prussia* give for such a Church as this in *her* own *Ireland*,—her Rhine Provinces? She would rejoice in its existence as her best ally. She would then have no need of a Spiegel or a Hermes to supplant the adverse power of Rome. She would see in it a defence against Papal Principles from Belgium and democratic ones from France.

And shall *we*, let me ask, be so infatuated as to sacrifice in Ireland that which *they* would purchase at any price, and which seems to have been preserved to *us*, by a series of providences almost miraculous, as a palladium of our national power, and a safeguard of our national peace?

We should altogether misapprehend the character of the Maynooth Endowment Bill, if we regarded it as a mere *insulated* Act. One thing is certain, that this Measure is but the *beginning* of a *series* of Questions concerning the rights and constitution of the Churches of the United Kingdom. The principles involved in *that* measure will come, *again* and *again*, under discussion, in various forms, before the Legislature and people of this country. No time, therefore, is to be lost in scrutinizing them carefully, in order that we may be prepared to encounter our trials when they come.

In the present pages I have endeavoured to bring those *principles* to the test of Church Law and Practice, and to show, from reference to the voice of the Catholic Church, what opinion a true Churchman, on consulting that standard of Appeal, would be led to form concerning them.

I have demonstrated, that he who reveres the authority of the Church, and is, therefore, opposed to *Schism*, must resist them; for they violate all Ecclesiastical unity, order, and discipline; they subvert the decrees of General Councils, and contravene the teaching of all Catholic Fathers.

I have proved, that as he repudiates the secularizing and profane notions of *Erastianism*, he cannot support them; for they degrade the Church of Christ into a human society, the creature of human will, and the servant of human caprice. We have also seen, that as he rejects the *Samaritan* theory of

Religious Establishments, as contrary to the revealed will of God, he must reject them ; for they lead to indifference in Religion, and encourage error in doctrine, and viciousness of life. We have also heard the protest which was made by one of the greatest masters of our Israel, in the name of the Supreme Lord of all and of His Church, against the spiritual and temporal invasions of the Papacy in this country.

As I have before said, my Lord, the Maynooth Bill is but the *beginning* of a series of measures of a similar character. I do not pretend to say that these measures will be carried into effect ; no ; woe betide us if they are ! Nor do I affirm that they will even be propounded, *if* the Government of the country perceive (as it is to be hoped they *will*) that the public mind will not tolerate them. But what I assert is, that, in the policy which Her Majesty's Ministers have adopted, the present Bill is but one link of a chain of which it is impossible to see the termination.

Indeed the nature of the case proves it to be so. The endowment of a Seminary is the endowment of the Priesthood which is supplied by it. The endowment of the Priesthood, is the endowment of the Papal power. And the author of the "Past and Present Policy of Ireland," to whom I have before referred, and who in his semi-official manifesto has given us a prospectus of the Irish *Agenda* of Government, has presented us accordingly with the fol-

lowing *Order of Procession* of legislative Measures, for which we are to be prepared.

P. 331. Foremost comes MAYNOOTH. On this subject he observes, that—

“The *essential point* is that the State should contribute as largely as the necessity of the case requires, for the purpose of ensuring to the *Catholic* community an adequate supply of Clergymen; and that the whole arrangements should be concerted with the *Heads* of the *Catholic Church*, to whose wishes and opinions on the subject a *deferential attention* ought to be paid.”

In this respect, my Lord, we have already seen that the author's prophetic hints have been realized. No one can doubt that the Government Grant to the *College* of Maynooth is a liberal one. It is twenty-five times as great as that which is made by the State to *both* our English *Universities*! and there is every reason to believe that “a deferential attention” has been paid, according to his suggestion, to the wishes and opinions of the “*Heads* of the *Catholic Church*.”

Let us now proceed to Measure the Second; (p. 332).

II. “The STATUS,” he says, “of the CATHOLIC CLERGY, might be acknowledged through *all the gradations* of the *Hierarchy*; the Bishops as *Bishops* of their respective sees, and the inferior Clergy as lawfully appointed Priests of their several Parishes.”

This the author informs us “is virtually *done* (but indirectly) by the nominations made under the Charitable Bequests Act.”

The writer, therefore, having liberally given away the *name* of the *Catholic Church* to the Romanist Clergy and Laity in Ireland; and thus having *un-churched* at once their Protestant brethren,—(with whom if he is associated in public worship, and joins in the prayer for the good estate of the Catholic Church, he must be understood to pray for the Pope and Cardinals of Rome,) he next proceeds to distribute the titles of all the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of the Church of Ireland to their Romanist rivals! He makes nothing of Bishops' crosiers, and archiepiscopal thrones;

“Cui libet is fasces dabit, eripietque curule
Cui volet importunus ebur.”

We have already considered the character and tendency of this proposition (p. 22—28).

Act III. is as follows: p. 332.

“The *Places* of *Catholic* Worship, where they are in decay, *should* be repaired; and where they are deficient *should* be supplied. Why should not a sum of money be voted by Parliament, and *placed at the disposal* of the Roman Catholic Bishops, to be employed at their own discretion for ecclesiastical uses?”

The Government (it seems) is to resolve itself into a Committee, with “*Donec Templata refeceris*” for its motto, as an architectural-Society, for the erection and repair of Romanist places of worship; and why not for the supply of their *furniture* also? why not for stone altars, and rood lofts, and images, and

ciboria, and chasubles, and censers, and aspersoirs, and candlesticks, and breviaries, and missals, and all other such necessary implements and appliances? And "then," my Lord, you are to vote "a sum of money to be placed at the disposal of the Roman Catholic Prelates!" What an honour for the people of England to be allowed to present their offerings to some of those persons who are described by the author in another place (p. 334), "as hot Repealers!" and who have lately given such satisfactory evidence of the use they would make of those oblations, by the speeches they have lately delivered'. How obliging it is of the author to suggest such an excellent object for the application of the surplus capital of our thriving agriculturists!

IV. Having given away the *name* of the Church of Ireland, and the *titles* of her Ministers, the writer

' P. 334. "The great Meeting of Clontarf, the last of the Monster Meetings (says the author), was convened upon a Requisition, signed by *twenty-five priests* and not *one layman*."

Dr. Higgins said, at a dinner given the other day to Mr. O'Connell, "I wish to state, that I have every reason to believe—I may add that I know—that *every Catholic bishop in Ireland, without an exception, is an ardent Repealer!* I know that virtually you all have reason to believe that the bishops of Ireland were Repealers; but I have now again formally to announce to you, that they have *all declared themselves as such*, and that from shore to shore we are now all Repealers." These are the persons "to whom sums of money are to be *voted by Parliament*, and placed at *their disposal*, to be employed at their *own discretion* for ecclesiastical uses!"

next proceeds to deal with her *Revenues*. We have seen that his "*logical inference*," from his own statement of the case, is, that these ought to be transferred to the Romanists; but he is charitably disposed to make some reservation in her favour, and, therefore, we find, that he is of opinion that it would be a very wise and politic measure if (p. 301) "the principle, on which the Irish *Bishoprics* were *reduced*, was to be extended to *other parts* of the Establishment; and worked out in such details as the circumstances of the case might require:" and having thus said, he calmly assures us, that we should be quite mistaken, if we were to suppose that such an act of plunder would be any violation of the Act of Union!

This Act, my Lord, declares, "that the preservation of the united Church, as *the* established Church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an *essential* and *fundamental* part of the *Union*." And yet, he gravely informs us, that *unless* this measure is adopted, the Romanists will be so exasperated, that the Union is sure to be repealed (p. 354, 355). So that, in fact, we are come to this, that the Union is to be repealed, in order that it may *not* be repealed! oaths are to be broken at our will, in order that they may be kept for our supposed advantage! A proposition this, which brings to mind, the wretched, infatuated, and cowardly policy of the Jewish Rulers, who destroyed the life of Him, Who is the Truth, for fear, lest the "*Romans*

should come and take away their place and nation." They *did* sacrifice Him; *but* yet the *Romans* did come; and they came, as the ministers of Him Who had been destroyed, to avenge His righteous cause on His murderers. The application to *our own case* may be left to the reader to make for himself.

And now, my Lord, we arrive at the *Fifth Act* of the ministerial Drama: and, as we might anticipate, the life and interest of the composition by no means flags as it approaches its conclusion. The scenery becomes more vivid; the decorations more splendid; and the *dramatis personæ* appear before us in entirely new costume.

The people of England had hitherto supposed, that they had been contending, since the Reform Bill, for the restoration of *Conservative* principles; that they had been devoting their energies to the cause of Loyalty and Religion; that they had been sacrificing their best means and powers in behalf of the Altar and of the Throne: and, in so doing, they had imagined that they possessed a firm supporter of the principles on which they acted in the person of the First Minister of the Crown.

But now, my Lord, let your Lordship observe how, with one stroke of his pen, the writer dissipates all their illusions. He quietly assures them, that, whatever their *persuasion* may have been, the *fact* is, that "Sir Robert Peel, from the very beginning of his public career, *may claim* to be called a *Reformer*!" and, he assures us, "that whatever *prejudices*" (we

can form by this time a correct opinion as to what our author deems *prejudices*) "may still remain *elsewhere*, *he* at least will rise superior to them." (p. 356-7.)

The people of England, again, have imagined, almost to this day, that Romanism was not likely to find favour with a Government which derived much of its strength from the Church, and had founded a claim for the confidence of its members on its professions of attachment to it. But what a miserable error was this! How could they have fallen into it! Surely, they must have been in a state of imbecile dotage, if they were so cajoled. If they allowed themselves to be so duped, our author informs them, they are themselves to blame; for they have had evidence to the *contrary* before their eyes. You must not judge of men by their *words*, but by their *deeds*. Popery, he informs us plainly, is in great favour with our Protestant Government. In our author's own language (p. 312), "the *Catholic Religion* (!) is not merely tolerated and recognized in Ireland, but it is *encouraged, assisted, and courted!*"

But other and still nobler personages are now brought upon the stage. Englishmen had hitherto supposed, that, by the Act of Settlement, the Sovereign of these realms must be a Protestant, and could not be a Romanist. They also read in the Monarch's Coronation Oath the following words:—I will, "to the utmost of my power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the *Protestant Reformed Religion* established by Law."

These, my Lord, are solemn words, and they are *plain* ones too. It will require a long noviciate in Jesuitical casuistry to wrest them from their straightforward, honest, English sense. But the writer of the "*Past and Present Policy*," who, to his knowledge of the "*quæ sint, quæ fuerint*," appears to have added that of "*quæ mox ventura trahantur*," seems to have gone through his term of probation, and by a slight touch of his magic wand, our Protestant Queen starts forth before our astonished eyes, in the new character of a "*great Catholic Potentate* !" (p. 321.)

Let us observe, my Lord, the sense in which our author employs this word *Catholic* throughout his diplomatic manifesto. We regret to find that he deprives the Churches of Ireland and of England of all right to that title: and that having taken it from *them*, "he gives to a *party* what was meant for *mankind*."

We have seen, also, how he disposes of the *revenues* as well as of the *name* of the Irish Church; and we feel compelled to address a person who comes forward to instruct the Crown and the Country in their duties, and with the specious words of *justice, religion, and law* in his mouth, to propose plans of robbery and iniquity, in the solemn words: "Thou that *teachest another, teachest not thou thyself*? Thou that *preachest* a man should not steal, dost thou *steal*? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit *sacrilege*? Thou that makest thy boast of the *law*, through breaking the *law* dishonourest thou God?"

Having thus treated the *Churches* of these Realms, he now proceeds, as we have just heard, to take away the rightful title of "supreme temporal *Governor* of these Churches" from her most gracious Majesty, whom may Divine Providence, in its mercy, long preserve from the designs of such counsellors, as the writer before us has, with sorrow I confess it, publicly proved himself to be!

She is called, forsooth, by him a "great *Catholic* Potentate!" and by consequence she is *not* a "Protestant Sovereign;" or else, she is to be in one place one thing; and in another place another: one day, one person; another day another! What a degradation of Royalty is this! As *Queen* she is to have no *conscience*!

The *Monarch* is to be *deprived* of the privilege, which is enjoyed by the meanest of Her subjects, that of *true religion*! She is to maintain it for others, and not to possess it for herself!

Your Lordship well knows, that the Sovereigns of God's chosen people were *solemnly charged* by Him, at the time when they first took their seats upon their thrones, and were crowned as *Kings*, to receive into their hands the "*Book of His written Word*," and with those royal hands to *transcribe* the same¹, and to keep the copy, so made, ever by their sides, and "to read therein all the days of their lives, that they might not turn to the right hand or to the left;

¹ Deut. xvii. 18.

to the end that they might prolong their days, they and their children." It pleased, I say, the great King of Kings, by this command, to give a lesson to *all* Sovereigns of the earth,—his Vicegerents and Ministers among men—and to teach them what their duty to Him, *as Sovereigns*, is; namely, to make "His Law the only rule of *all* their actions."

And, my Lord, you are also well aware, that this our own Christian Realm of England, following that Divine precept, is accustomed at the Coronation of her Monarchs to place the Holy Bible, taken from God's own Altar, in their hands, and to remind them in solemn words, that "no man *can* reign happily, who derives not his authority from Christ, and directs not *all his actions by His laws* ⁹."

It has also been, my Lord,—and thank Heaven it still *is*,—the noble and religious language of the Sovereigns of England to their people,—“ We hold it most agreeable to this our kingly office, to conserve and maintain the Church committed to our charge in *unity* of *true* religion, and in the bond of peace ¹⁰."

But *now*, forsooth, all this is to be revolutionized ! Our Monarchs are no longer to *maintain any* thing in the *unity* of *true* religion ; but to *scatter* all things in the *diversity* of *false* ! They are told that because they are sovereigns of *all* their subjects, their

⁹ Coronation Office.—May we be permitted to ask,—Why have we no editions of the Prayer-Book with the Coronation Service attached to them ?

¹⁰ Royal Declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles.

minds are to reflect, as in a mirror, the religious *differences* of all their subjects! Their consciences are no longer to be directed in the path of duty by the rule of the Divine Law! but are to wander about in the inextricable mazes of a labyrinth of *multifidian* error! They are to exchange their Bibles for "Dictionaries of *all* Religions." They are to be Protestant Princes, and yet "great Catholic Potentates!" and with reference to their Eastern dominions, (without offence be it said, and with no comparison of creeds, but only as an illustration of the *principle*,) why not also become Grand Turks, and be changed into Great Moguls?

But at present we have to consider our Sovereign only as a "great Catholic Potentate."

As such, she has, of course, a new part to play; and the writer is ready at hand to inform her what that is. It is rather a difficult one, and will require much study and some sacrifice. She is to surrender, in the first place, her prerogative of "Supreme Governor over *all* persons in her dominions." She is at once to make a present of SEVEN MILLIONS of her subjects to the Pope! She is, in our author's words, "to acknowledge *him* to be *de jure* as well as *de facto* the *Head* of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland!" She is therefore to make over to him at once the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy! She is to send an Ambassador to the Vatican, and to receive a Nuncio at St. James's¹¹! Oh! the glo-

¹¹ See note (1) at end, p. 68.

rious days, when Cardinal Campegius will come again in sacerdotal and princely pomp into England with purpureal robes and broad-brimmed crimson hats to negotiate the marriages of our sovereign Princes, and Cardinal Poles will rise from the grave to issue Commissions of Ecclesiastical Reform for the Realm of England from Lambeth !

Why do not the people of England at once arise, as one man, to accelerate and to welcome with exulting plaudits the approach of this joyful consummation? Why do they not rush with eager haste to the shores, to see whether they cannot even now descry the Pontifical Vessel, laden with its precious freight of Pardons and Indulgences? When will that proud and jovial day arrive in which they will follow it with loud huzzas as it floats upon the bosom of the Thames; and salute with loud acclamations the flag emblazoned with the Papal tiara and the keys of St. Peter, hoisted, in token of paternal protection, *above* the insignia of England?

But the author assures us that we shall have ample compensation and most solid comfort in making all these concessions. He gravely says, that he entertains no doubt whatever that (such are his words) "the Pope would be *exceedingly gratified* if his authority were formally acknowledged by the Queen!" (p. 326), and "that the Pope would readily co-operate with *us* in any measures conducive to the *advantage* of the *people of Ireland* and the *security and tranquillity* of the *empire*!"

It is, I think, my Lord, by no means improbable that the "Pope would be exceedingly gratified" by these acts of confidence and condescension on the part of our gracious Queen. His Holiness has ever shown a most paternal affection for the people of Ireland,—for, as your Lordship well knows, he claims that island for himself as a fief of the Holy See¹; he has taken most anxious care to inform our Sovereigns of his right to that country; and, it being his own property, he must therefore be believed to be especially solicitous for its "advantage." He has also given the most unequivocal proofs of his zeal for "the security and tranquillity of the British empire." He has excommunicated three of Her Majesty's Royal Predecessors and ordered their subjects to rise up in arms against them, and forbidden² them to take the Oath of Allegiance, for the express purpose of making them dutiful children of the Roman Church, and of maintaining both Sovereign and People in orderly and peaceful submission under her meek and quiet sway. He has placed England under Interdicts with the view of preserving the "tranquillity and security" of the kingdom under his own benign sceptre. He anathematizes all heretics,—princes and people,—and gives up their property³ to confiscation, and their persons to fire and sword, with the same pacific intention! He will, doubtless, be

¹ "Maynooth, the Crown, and the Country," p. 107.

² Ibid. p. 111.

³ Ibid. p. 35.

“much *gratified*” when the successor of K. John, of K. Henry VIII., and of Queen Elizabeth, whom he pretended to depose, and whose kingdoms he gave away, shall come and lay her royal prerogatives at his papal feet; and when the people, against whom he dispatched an Armada from Spain, shall send him a message of peace; when the realm of England, which, from its bountiful supplies to Rome, was once called the “hortus deliciarum” of the Papacy, shall again pour its gold into the Roman exchequer; when the Thames shall be tributary to the Tiber, and Westminster Hall shall acknowledge the decrees of the Vatican.

But, my Lord, I would venture to enquire what would be the feelings of the *People of England* if they were to see such sights as these; and what *are* their sentiments *now*, when they hear them whispered and muttered even as distant contingencies?

They owe a debt of gratitude to the author of the “*Past and Present Policy*,” for having uplifted the curtain which hung before the *Future*, and for having introduced them behind the scenes, to view the preparations for the representation of this politico-pontifical mystery to be played by Her Majesty’s servants on the boards of St. Stephen’s!

They thank him very sincerely for having placed a bill of the play in their hands: and having now seen a part of the first Act, they are in a condition to form a tolerably correct judgment of the sequel; and they have, happily, a little leisure given them at

present to make up their minds *how* they will receive it.

The *actors* assure them that *they* intend to persevere in the play; and they have given them due notice to expect that the laws of dramatic unity will be strictly preserved in the whole;—"servetur ad *imum*, qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet."

Sir Robert Peel on the *last* reading of the Maynooth Bill expressly declared, that this was *so to be*! He thus said:—

"I do think it is of the *utmost importance* that public men should show to the population of Ireland that there is *not the slightest abandonment of the course on which we have entered*, and that we are contented to make *any sacrifice, now and for ever*, in the maintenance of the opinions in practice which we have placed upon record. (Cheers.) *I have been and I remain satisfied with the course we have pursued.*"

And as Sir Robert Inglis reminded the House of Commons and the country on the same occasion, another member of the administration employed similar language of a very remarkable kind. But let us hear Sir Robert Inglis's account of it, as given in his Speech of May 20:—

"So long as a certain *Declaration* remained on the statute-book he should still continue to think that England, in the person of the Sovereign, was the great organ of protesting against the doctrines of the Church of Rome in Europe. He had heard with great regret expressions that had fallen from the right hon. baronet the Home Secretary, which amounted to a suggestion that the *terms of that declaration might be altered*! The great body of Protestants must look with anxiety to any words of the

kind falling from that right hon. baronet. The slightest whisper of the kind on his part must lead to *conclusions the most unfavourable.*"

Here, my Lord, are very plain and straightforward statements. Maynooth is to bear its fruits. The Protestant declaration may be altered! The play has opened with a scene at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth; and if the actors are to have their will, it is to close with one at St. Peter's at Rome. The question now is with the *audience*. It is for *them* to consider, whether the *moral* of the drama is such as to entitle it to their approval. Will they patiently *sit it out* to its "*Vos valet et plaudite?*"

My Lord, one thing is abundantly evident from the late division, that the Conservative party, *as such*, is *extinct*! *That* party was then bisected: there were 150 members of it *for* the Maynooth bill, and 152 *against* it. A house so divided against itself cannot stand. Indeed it has already fallen. And it is also manifest, that the great question for some years to come in England will be, *not* between Tories and Whigs, *not* between Conservatives or Liberals, but between the adherents of the Church and her adversaries; between the loyal subjects of the British Throne and the obedient servants of a foreign power; between the opponents of the Papacy and its partizans.

Are we, my Lord, for England, or for Rome? for the Crown, or the Tiara? for the Queen's supremacy, or the Pope's? for Christian subjection, or

antichristian rebellion? for the English Reformation, or (so called) Irish Restitution? for Scripture, or for Tradition? for Evangelical truth, or legendary fables? for sacraments mutilated, or entire? for living prayers, or dead ones? for the Apostles' Creed, or for that of Pope Pius the Fourth? for Catholicity, or for Popery? for Primitive Antiquity, or mediæval Novelty? for the Doctrines of the Church of England, or for the Decrees and Discipline of Trent? —these are the questions which are now propounded to *all of us* for our consideration; these are the inquiries which now force themselves upon us, and which will occupy the minds of the people of England not only at general Elections and at public meetings, but will pervade the abodes of English households, and will dwell on the lips of their inmates during our own generation and probably for that of our children.

This, my Lord, is a necessary consequence of the remarkable character of the times in which we live. These questions are, we repeat, now *forced* upon us all. Never were the responsibilities of *individuals*, as citizens and subjects, more solemn than at this day.

A deliberate attempt, as we have seen, is now being made to rob *Royalty of its conscience!* And this attempt is *not resisted*, but is actually *abetted*, by some among us, who are bound by the strongest obligations to defend the due exercise of that conscience.

And what, my Lord, will be the consequence of this attempt, if it should not prove abortive? If *Royalty* has no *Duties*, it will soon cease to have any *Rights*. Remove from it its moral responsibilities, and you will have deprived it of all the respect and affection of the people; who will even regard it with pain and offence, as a misshapen abstract of their own anomalies, as an unsightly epitome of all their deformities. A crown without a conscience is a mere bauble; a splendid toy, a sumptuous pageant, which a heavily-taxed Nation, in an Utilitarian age, will soon condemn to destruction as an intolerable grievance. (See *note* (2), p. 70, at *end*.)

Take away the religious foundations of the Throne, and there will soon be no Monarch upon it. Make the Sovereign of England "a Catholic Potentate," and in a few years from that time, that Sovereign would cease to be a Potentate at all.

And what, then, my Lord, is the practical moral to be extracted from all this? Surely, it is twofold. First, that we should all understand *what* Monarchy is; that we should examine, by the unerring light of the Divine law, its true source, rights, duties, and ends; and that we should then devote ourselves, with all our strength, to support it in the maintenance of those rights, in the discharge of those duties, and in the attainment of those ends; in a word, that we should, at any sacrifice, endeavour to strengthen the Monarchy in the right use of its

conscience, instead of leaving it no conscience to exercise.

Secondly, that, since this conscience is, in our modern theories of Government, diffused from the head throughout the community, every one should, in his own character, consider himself as a trustee, in a certain sense, and a depository of that conscience; and that we should all, in our various conditions, especially nobles and clergy by our lives and influence, and as legislators and constituents by our speeches and our votes, prove ourselves to be duly mindful of the responsibilities under which we lie to the Sovereign of our country, and to Him, Whose minister she is.

Permit me, here, my Lord, to make one observation, which I hope will not be deemed presumptuous. Public men, who pass their lives in popular assemblies, are prone to judge of important questions (and to infer the public opinion of a Nation with respect to those questions) from the tone and temperament which happens to prevail in those assemblies, in which they live and move. Thus, Members of Parliament are apt to judge of great political measures from the atmosphere of the House of Commons, where, as in all public assemblies, the presence of the best affected and wisest is generally the least perceived. This observation was made long ago by the great Athenian Philosopher⁴. And nothing, as he observed, is so dangerous to our con-

⁴ Plato, Republic. vi. 492. B.

science, and injurious to our moral being, as such a habit of mind, and such a mode of judging as this. It undermines our faith in the truth and fixity of great moral and political principles; it renders us incompetent to grapple with difficult questions; it paralyses our moral courage; it makes us the slaves of popular fallacies, and renders our practice weak, effeminate, and vacillating; and exhibits the public man, who is the victim of this vicious disease, to the eyes of his fellow-countrymen, (who are enabled to judge more calmly and abstractedly of public matters, on account of their sequestration from the din and heat of the fray,) not as a fixed object for respect, admiration, and confidence, but as a fragile and quivering reed, shaken by every wind.

If we are true Churchmen, my Lord, let us test Church measures by Church *principles*. Let no clamour from without drive them from our minds. Let not the *idola fori* usurp the shrine of Divine Law in our breasts. Let us retire, even in crowds, into the secret chamber of our own hearts. Let us draw these principles forth from thence; and animate with them our lives and actions. In them we shall find strength; in them we shall have our rest and our reward, and in them *alone*.

I cannot close these remarks, without expressing the great satisfaction which I felt in finding, from your Lordship's letter, that the Proposal, with which my last Pamphlet was concluded, has had the honour

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of receiving your Lordship's approval'. We may rely upon it, that there *are* ways of conciliating the contending parties in Ireland, without compromise of truth, *if* we will but look for them with sincerity, and follow them with faith. The plan which is there propounded, is commended by the joint authority of reason, Scripture, and experience. It is, as I humbly believe, an example of a *Church measure* based upon *Church principles*. The substitution of *true* maxims of pacification for *false* ones, will, I trust, be one of your Lordship's claims to the gratitude of posterity.

Allow me also, my Lord, to say, that as your Lordship enjoys the distinguished advantages of high birth, of superior intellectual endowments, and of literary attainments, and as you have pleaded the cause of the Church in Wales, and have professed your respect for the Catholic Church in England and in the Colonies, and as your family name and personal character is one on which many of the Churchmen of England dwell with feelings of attachment and of hope, the course which you may hereafter pursue in reference to these great questions cannot be otherwise than a matter of deep interest and of anxious expectation. It is mainly under this impression, and for these reasons, that I have trespassed so long as I have now done on your Lordship's attention.

¹ Review, &c. p. 134—146.

Whatever we may have lost, either in Church or State, there is one duty incumbent upon us all—to “*strengthen* the things which *remain*.” Past errors are no excuse for future ones; but they are reasons for greater exertion in the cause of amendment and recovery. It is easy to follow a bad precedent; it is good to imitate a right one; but it is best of all to eradicate a wrong one, and to plant a right one in its place. It is easy for statesmen to injure our institutions; it is patriotic in a legislator to endeavour to maintain them unimpaired; but it is almost divine to “raise up the foundations of many generations; to build the old waste places; to be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in^s.” That your Lordship may be numbered among those who have earned that honourable title is the sincere wish,

My Lord,

Of your Lordship’s obedient, humble Servant,

THE AUTHOR
of “*Maynooth, the Crown, and the Country*.”

^s Isaiah lviii. 12.

NOTE (1) TO PAGE 56.

A PROPOSAL was recently made in the House of Lords to the Government, to make a concordat, and establish "diplomatic relations" with Rome: and the author of the "Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland" offers the same suggestion (p. 321).

Now it is a curious fact, that when¹ King James the Second claimed the power of nominating Romanist Bishops in Ireland, the titular bishops,—notwithstanding James's submission to the See of Rome in spirituals,—told him plainly that he "was under sentence of excommunication, and *could not treat* with the Pope before the ban of excommunication was taken off."

The Irish Romanist Bishops, on that occasion, passed certain resolutions, from which I make the following extracts:—

"How to treat with the Pope.

"We must lay for an undoubted foundation, that the Pope can do nothing except according to the Canons.

¹ Macpherson's Collection of Stuart Papers, i. 574. Digest of Evidence, ii. p. 49.

"It is certain that *England* was *excommunicated* according to the *Canons*; and *lies* under *excommunication* at this day.

"So, *no* Englishman *can*, by the *Canons*, appear as a *public person*, in the name of the community, till the *excommunication* is taken off.

"For, though many English Catholics are, by *special privilege*, absolved in *particular*, yet the absolution does not serve to make them capable to *deal* as *public persons* with his Holiness. But they must be *publicly absolved* amongst the rest.

"Therefore, the public *excommunication* must be taken off, before the kingdom can be *capable* of treating *publicly* with his Holiness, and it is his *Holiness* alone that can take it off."

Hence, therefore, the following inquiry arises—*How* is the project for the concordat and the diplomatic relations with Rome to be carried into effect? Either the Pope must cease to act "according to the *Canons*," and thus he deserts his own "undoubted" principles; or else the English Government must be "publicly absolved," and humbly request him, that the "*excommunication* under which the kingdom lies may be taken off!"

NOTE (2) TO PAGE 63.

THE DEVELOPMENT of the Principles of the Maynooth Bill, and of the State Endowment of Romanism in Ireland, is thus exhibited in a Pamphlet just published:—

"There must be no longer exclusiveness. No one State Church. No *Universities* from which all, but members of the Church, shall be excluded. No *Bishops* of one sect, better off than the *Bishops* of another sect. Some persons of noble blood

and of great possessions, may endeavour to prolong the existence of a condemned *Aristocracy*; but the *doom of all privileged classes is sealed*. The hereditary possessions of the *Sovereign* are gone; and he is only the most burdensome State Pensioner, shortly to be despised, and voted too expensive, as all paid servants of the mob are.

“The *Lords* have been deprived, by the present Ministers of the Crown, of the right to be hereditary *Judges*; as their right to be hereditary *Legislators* has ever afforded subject for a sneer to the Benthamites.”—*Letter on the Payment of the Roman Catholic Clergy*, to Sir R. H. INGLIS, Bart., M.P., by HENRY DRUMMOND, Esq., page 6.—London, Murray, 1845.

Such are the results of the State Endowment of Romanism, as foretold by one of its *advocates*! Can any other warning be necessary to induce the country to pause before it adopts a measure which involves a REVOLUTION?

Since the third reading of the Maynooth Bill in the House of Commons, a Bill has been there read a second time (Mr. Watson’s “*Roman Catholic Relief Bill*”) for facilitating the establishment of the *Jesuits* and other *Religious Orders* in Ireland. Such is the march of events! We hear of proposals for “Payment of the Roman Catholic Clergy.” Does this include *Regular* Clergy as well as *Secular*? If it does *not*, the payment of the *seculars* will only increase the powers of the *regulars* for political agitation; if it *does*, the measure has no *limits*, for the “Religious Orders” are innumerable. (See Mr. Perceval’s remarks on this very important point, in *Review of Maynooth, &c.*, p. 116, 117, and p. 131, 132, *note*.)

APPENDIX.

[*Letter of LORD JOHN MANNERS, M.P., to the Editors of the Morning Post, and English Churchman.*]

SIR,

THE author¹ says, that, in my speech on the Maynooth Bill, I appeared to hold that the Churches of England and Ireland are in a schismatical position, because they are separated from the See of Rome, that is, have been excommunicated by it, when I said that the Irish Church was in danger, "not from the Vatican, but from her own sons; from those who would have her separate herself from the whole of Catholic Christendom," &c.

NOW I thought I had made my meaning pretty clear by quoting specifically the acts to which I alluded; namely, the sanction of the laity in the Diocese of Down and Connor with Presbyterian Ministers to oppose the Bishop and Clergy, and the whole tone and tenor of Irish ultra-protestantism, which denounces at once, and alike, the Romanism of Maynooth and the Catholicism of St. Colomba, and with which the pious and charitable yearnings after unity evinced by the writer of the pamphlet in question, have as small chance of finding favour as the speech which he has condemned. It is not the spirit which grieves at, and complains of Rome's excommunication of us, that I censured, but the spirit which excommunicates not Rome alone,

¹ "A Review of the Maynooth Endowment Bill." London: F. and J. Rivington, 1841.

but the whole of Catholic Christendom except ourselves, that I regarded as dangerous to the Irish Church.

True it is, as Archbishop Laud said, "The cause of schism is yours; for you thrust us from you, because we called for truth, and redress of abuses: a schism must needs be theirs whose the cause of it is." I never said otherwise, but commenced that argument, against which objection is made, by granting the Roman Catholic Communion in Ireland to be in a schismatical position; but I denied that we, in this age, can regard it as *guiltily* schismatical: and I referred to our conduct from the Reformation to the present day (Strafford's administration excepted) for my justification; the point, then, which the author should have proved, was, not that the seven millions of living Irish Roman Catholics are in schism, but that it is their fault that they are so; for that was what I denied; not the schism. As, however, "an important statement, 'with the view of deciding the question (which, I repeat, I did not raise), whether the Romanist hierarchy in Ireland are not in a schismatical position,'" is submitted to me, I will notice it, though I do so with regret and alarm; for if the right of the Irish Church depends solely thereupon, hereafter the schismatical position of the Roman Catholic Communion will be far more doubtful than it was to my conviction when I made that speech.

The statement is as follows: "Of nineteen Irish Bishops present in the Parliament at Dublin (1560) by which the Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity were passed, only two (Walsh of Meath, and Leverous of Kildare) refused to sanction these enactments, and were deprived of their Sees. . . . With the exception of these two, all the Irish Bishops of that time remained in their respective Sees; and from them the present Protestant Bishops have derived their orders: being thereby the true and unquestionable successors and representatives of the ancient Irish Church, for *ubi Episcopus, ibi Ecclesia*."

Now, if this Act of Parliament be really all the authority which can be shown for the Irish Reformation; if it were not

ratified, as Mr. Abraham³ thinks it was not, by convocation, or by synod, I cannot admit, that when the "ubi" is a House of Parliament, "ecclesia" is necessarily "ibi." Will the author maintain that the Church of England was with the Bishops in the House of Lords during the last days of Convocation, or consenting in our own times to the spoliation of cathedrals, and the destruction of bishoprics? In our English Prayer-books I find these words, and in them consolation and confidence: "Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation, holden at London in the year 1562."

Is this Act of Parliament equally sacred in a Churchman's eye? This question was not mooted by me; and I regret that the pamphlet has raised it. But I pass from this painful subject, and come to the last of the author's observations, which I am bound to reply to. Without directly denying the truth of the words which he has printed in Italics, in which I asserted my belief "that the Church of England did not require her sons to regard the Roman Catholic religion as the religion of Antichrist," a distinction is drawn between the Pope, holding the true faith, and exercising his proper Christian functions at Rome, and the same Pope, assuming the title of Universal Bishop, and the right to make and unmake kings. I do not think it necessary, nor indeed would it be fitting in a layman, to handle so very grave a controversy as is here opened: the distinction, indeed, grants all I ask for: a Christian Bishop can hardly be "Antichrist," though he may be his "precursor;" and when we are referred to the dedication of the English Bible to King James the First, for a correct expression of the mind of the English Church towards the Pope, I take the liberty of saying, that so solemn a sentence was never so parenthetically given before, and that I altogether reject its validity, even supposing the phrase

³ Vide Lectures on Ancient and Modern History, p. 86, by the Rev. C. J. Abraham. Eton: 1845.

"man of sin" can be made out by the context to apply (in words it certainly does not) to the Pope. If the Pope be the "man of sin," how can the author of the pamphlet recommend, as he very earnestly, and, in my poor opinion, very wisely does, a free conference between the Churches in Ireland, and the subjection of that which is conquered, to its successful antagonist?

• • • • •

I remain, Sir,

Yours obediently,

JOHN MANNERS.

London, May 17th, 1845.

THE END.

GILBERT & RIVINGTON, Printers, St. John's Square, London.

THE
MAYNOOTH ENDOWMENT
. VINDICATED.

THE
MAYNOOTH ENDOWMENT
VINDICATED,
ON THE GROUND OF
RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLE.

BY A
CLERGYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.



LONDON:
JOHN OLLIVIER, 59, PAUL MALL.
1845.

MAYNOOTH

THE events of the last few weeks have proved, beyond a doubt, that the old Protestant feeling of England is not extinct. The Houses of Parliament have been deluged with petitions against the Maynooth grant. And whatever deductions may have to be made for those which take for their ground of objection, the principle of endowments generally, enough will yet remain to record the strength and universality of the anti-papal feeling. We may regret, deeply, the occasion which has been chosen for its manifestation ; we shall not, perhaps, be denied a passing

but sincere expression of thankfulness to have been assured of its existence.

That the opposition, then, is grounded on conscientious scruples will be admitted probably by all. It has happened however, as in religious controversies it ever will, that the opponents of the Government measure have denied to its supporters credit for the same attachment to principle, which is accorded so readily to themselves; and they have spoken of them, in public and private, as though a circumscribed visual range in matters of religious truth, or a blind attachment to party, could alone account for their unwillingness to join the movement that has been so zealously set on foot. It has become necessary, therefore, that they should be heard in their own defence. And this, in a more especial degree, from the character which the debates have assumed in the lower House of Parliament. There, while on the part of the petitioners the burthen of their daily increasing complaint has been still the same—the violence done to their religious feelings,—on the part of the legislators this has been the last element admitted into the discussion. Every variety of argument, for and against the measure, has been adduced. Every motive of policy and justice has been eloquently pleaded, and as eloquently

denied. But with a few exceptions, and those principally confined to the opponents of the measure, the main source of England's disquietude has been thrown into the shade.

With the recognition, then, of the apparent majority with which we are confronted, with the caution which should mark the steps of those who find their own opinions clashing with the declared sense of a large and good party in the state, and, for the writer it may be added, with the humility of one who feels that far abler and better men might have been found to give expression to those opinions, and to secure for them the attention they deserve,—in such a spirit and without further preface, we would approach the question at issue.

Premising that our attention will be confined to those arguments, either for or against the measure, which bear directly or incidentally upon the *religious principle* involved in it, there are one or two, the cobwebs of the discussion, which it may be well at first to sweep away. Foremost among them is the strange distinction, which appears to have existed in the minds of some of the petitioners, between the *principle* involved in the minor grant of nine thousand pounds and the major one of twenty-six thousand,—or, as some have rather differently stated it, between the annual and the permanent grant.

It is noticed only that it may be dismissed. "To sanction," as was well observed in the course of the late debates, "a sliding scale of morality," to wink at a venial sin, and take alarm only at a mortal one; or on the other hand, to *palliate* error on the plea that it is *periodical*, to *denounce* it only when it promises to be *permanent*, this, as it is assuredly not the characteristic of a truth-loving people, so is it an argument, which will probably before this have found its best refutation in the maturer reflection of its originators.

Nor, on the other hand, does there seem to be more force in the counter-statement, by which it has been met, that if the principle was acquiesced in, in former years, there is inconsistency in pleading it as a ground of opposition now. Though it be true that the intrinsic character of error can be little affected by its greater or less magnitude,—though error is error still, however microscopic its proportions may be, and in so far demands the *opposition* of good men,—yet is it no less true, that by its *prominency* alone will their *attention* be arrested. It is but fair to suppose that many an earnest mind has been now for the first time drawn to the consideration of the Maynooth question. And even if it were not so, there is a principle of growth in the human mind, by which opinion, and especially religious opinion, must ever be

modified. The conscientious approver of past years may, with clearer light, have become the equally conscientious opponent now. The Gallio of yesterday, who "cared for none of these things," may be found the earnest disciple of to-day, "proving all things, holding fast that which"—he believes to be—"good." And the very fact, which in charity we may concede to the objectors, that while a spirit of *indifference* formerly kept them mute, one of *conviction* now gives them utterance, will entitle their opinions only to the greater attention at our hands.

To those, therefore, who, albeit for the first time, are giving expression to their scruples;—to those who, with a greater appearance of consistency, have *for years* expressed them;—to all who, on the score of *religious principle*, would oppose *any* grant of the public money towards Roman Catholic education, we would give all the vantage ground to which their high position entitles them.

The question, then, at once arises, what is the principle put forward?

Stated at length it is this. Let it be proved of any form of religious belief, that it is dishonourable to Almighty God, and destructive to the souls of our fellow men,—it is contrary to our duty, directly or indirectly, in our individual or

social capacity, to give encouragement to it. More briefly, it has been expressed thus—"It is sinful to assist in *perpetuating* error."¹

Now, it is under this banner that we, too, are prepared to fight. So sacred is it in our eyes that no arguments of *expediency*, however plausible, no combination of circumstances, however untoward, could lead us to depart from it. Believing that it is in politics as in ethics—in Christian politics, that is, as in Christian ethics—that truth and final expediency, error and ultimate disaster, will ever go hand in hand together; looking, therefore, upon the maxim of Loyola, that "the end will sanctify the means," as being no less unsound in its theological, than it is false in its political aspect, we can have no sympathy with those who would "do evil that good may come." We concur, then, heartily, without a shade of qualification, in the principle. But it is to the application of it, now made, as being a false and unnecessary one, that we as unhesitatingly demur. How far our demurrer is a valid one, it will be for the reader of the following pages to determine.

¹ See Speech of the Rev. Hugh M'Neill, at Liverpool, April 7, 1845. "While we utterly repudiate the notion of propagating truth by the sword, we equally repudiate the notion of *perpetuating* falsehood by the treasury."

It will be essential to our argument, that we should preface it with an outline of the relationship in which we stand, first, to *Romanism* in the abstract, and, secondly, to the *Romish Churches* in particular.

Going back to the first three centuries of Christianity, the traces of our present differences are lost in a common ancestry—the history of the several churches merges into one. Many rills, but flowing from one rock, alike pure in their source, and parallel in their onward progress, the sister Churches of Europe and of Asia, of Jerusalem, of Antioch, of Gaul, of Britain, and of Rome, were, in all essential points, in discipline and in doctrine, one. Disputes indeed were rife, but the spirit of love was more rife, and no breach ensued. Heresies sprung up, but there were holy men to refute them with their writings, and councils to silence them with their decrees. And it was from the quiver of God's word that their shafts were ever drawn. Its authority they loved to recognise, to its pages they triumphantly appealed. And, thus guided, by their independent, as well as by their aggregate testimonies—by voices sounding, first, from their separate retreats, and, subsequently, from their collective assemblies, they became witnesses to the truth—Scripture through them receiving its fulfilment, "There must be heresies that they

which are approved may be made manifest." Then and thus it was that the *Creeds* appeared. The Apostles' Creed, probably in the early part of the *second* century, when the oriental philosophy, under the title of Gnosticism, had invaded the Church; the Nicene at the commencement of the *fourth*, when Arius had denied the divinity of our Lord; and at a somewhat later period the Athanasian,—these were at once the *protests* of the infant churches against nascent errors, and the exposition of their common faith. Containing a summary of all that is vital in the objective doctrines of Christianity—the eternity of the Father, the divinity of the Son, the personality of the Holy Spirit; setting forth the unity of the Godhead, but the Trinity of the Holy Persons; declaring, but not explaining the great mysteries therein contained,—the Godhead of the Son, and in virtue of it his equality with the Father, his manhood, and in so far his inferiority,—the merits of his sacrifice,—the fact of his resurrection,—the comfortable assurance of his ascension to the right hand of God,—and the certainty of his return to judgment,—they became the bulwarks of orthodoxy to the ages for which they were compiled, they were destined to be no less so to those that were to come. And it is a fact too much forgotten among us that *thus far*, in our mutual adherence to these, we

are *in accord* with Rome. In opposition to the deadly *Socinianism* of the nineteenth century, as to the Arianism of the fourth ; in arrest of the growing *Rationalism* of our own day, as, formerly, of the Platonism of the early Church ; and, let us add, in rebuke of the extravagancies of scientific hypothesis, by which the reader of the book of nature, as it unfolds itself more clearly to his view, deciphers it by other light than the reflected one of the book of God, and with an impatience of contradiction substitutes at once theory for revelation, an assumption of things that may be for the record of things that are ;²—against all of these, in our adherence to the ancient creeds, we present a common front. As we repeat them in our respective liturgies, it is a declaration that *up to this point* our Christianity is a common one, that “ even as we are called in one hope of our calling,” so we have “ one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God, and Father of us all.”³

But we approach another and a different epoch of the Church’s history.

The apostle Paul, in writing to the Colossian church⁴ had warned them that there would be attempts to “ beguile them of their reward in

² Appendix, Note A.

³ Eph. iv. 4, 5, 6. Appendix, Note B.

⁴ Col. ii. 18.

a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels;" men—"intruding into those things which they had not seen," "subjecting them to ordinances," "touch not, taste not, handle not, after the commandments of men;" all, indeed, "having a *show* of wisdom in will worship and humility, and neglecting the body," but being in reality the doctrines of those "seducing spirits" at whose instigation men would further "forbid to marry,"⁵ "command to abstain from meats," and following whom would be "to depart from the faith." The history of the Church from the Nicene period is but a filling up of this short and graphic outline. With "a *show of wisdom*," with "a *humility*" as genuine doubtless as it was misapplied—practices first palliated in the writings of holy men, recommended to ordinary Christians by such a sanction, came at last to be enforced. It will be sufficient for our purpose to notice a few of them. Departed saints were invoked in prayer; to the Virgin Mary divine honours were paid; images were bowed down to; a place of purgatory was invented. Here the soul was to be purged from its venial sins. But prayers of the living faithful would *shorten* its imprisonment; indulgences granted by the Church would *set it free*. The indulgences then were sold; the Church was

⁵ 1 Tim. iv. 1.

enriched. These all were so many *additions* to the primitive faith. But additions of vital importance in this, that each one of them did violence to some cardinal article of that faith. Was prayer addressed to the saints,—it was an invasion of a divine attribute, the *omnipresence* which alone can hear the prayer. Was the mediatorial office assigned to the Virgin—it was a dishonour to the Prince of Peace, the all-sufficient advocate, the “one Mediator.” Were images declared lawful—it was in violation of the express command which had forbidden them. And, lastly, was a purgatory to be preached—it could not be but that, in the minds of the ignorant *at least*, its terrors would be substituted for those of hell, its cleansing fire hereafter for the true fire which cleanses here, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. These, then, (and others it is unnecessary to say might have been particularized,) dishonourable to God, most hurtful to the souls of men, were the weeds that creeping slowly along the walls of the apostolic edifice, finally clustered around it in rank luxuriance and obscured it. Was the *Romish* Church identified with them?

This question we proceed to answer.

Coincident in point of time with their first appearance, a new and startling change might have been observed in progress in the *discipline*

of the Church. An assumption of superior authority made by the Roman Bishop Victor in the second century, but gravely rebuked by Irænaeus,⁶ repeated by Zephyrinus in the third, and as promptly denied by Tertullian; renewed again by Stephen, and again denounced by Cyprian,⁷ came little by little to be received with more favour, till at last through the whole of the Western churches it was tacitly admitted. This is not the place to seek for the causes of such admission. It will be sufficient to state that the assumption having been in one remarkable instance, that of Gregory the Great,⁸ disclaimed in something of an apostolic spirit, it finally reached its height under Hildebrand.⁹ The Roman bishop was now "universal bishop, with sole power to depose and restore,"—and this not bishops alone, but "emperors and kings." "All princes were to kiss his foot." There was "no name in the world but his." The Roman Church was pronounced "infallible." He "was not to be accounted a Catholic who did not agree with it." And before the gigantic ambition which

⁶ "Church of Rome in her primitive purity, compared with the Church of Rome in the present day," by Bishop Hopkins. (United States.)

⁷ Cyp. Ep. lxxi. lxxiii.

⁸ Greg. Op. Ep. xviii. fol. Paris, 1705.

⁹ Gregory VII. See Appendix, Note C.

projected this claim of absolutism, and the no less gigantic talent which supported it, did the monarchs and bishops of Western Christendom bow. Not the power of the Germanic Empire could shake off the yoke ; not the independence of the Norman conqueror of Britain altogether evade it. It found Europe groaning for the most part under a feudal tyranny, it transferred it to a priestly one. It enfranchised men's bodies, but it was at the expense of their minds ;—and the fetter with which it bound them was that very doctrinal system which we have above traced out. It was indeed the nursing mother that had fostered it from the first. As human wisdom put forth its powers, and invention followed invention, it was the Papal edict that had successively promulgated them, and given them force. And now that beneath its friendly shade the system had grown to maturity, they were henceforth to rule with a joint authority, together to flourish, or together finally to fall. Here then, as far as the western churches are concerned, the rills had met in a common channel. One thing, however, was wanting to complete the thralldom in which the churches were held ; it was that these fond inventions of a later age should be placed on the same footing of authority with the ancient creeds : and it is worthy of observation, that the very moment, in which a portion of the subject churches, galled and wearied by the chain, had resisted and had

burst it, was chosen for rivetting it still tighter on the necks of those that remained. It was only in the year 1564, two years after the publication of the English Articles, and the completion of the Reformation, that the Papal Council of Trent having adopted anew the Papal abuses and explicitly defined them in certain articles, the then Pope, Pius the Fourth, issued his famous bull¹ *appending* these to the Nicene Creed. No longer, then, as *terms of communion only*, but as *truths essential to salvation*, were they to be received by the several churches. And it is fortunate that the present character of the *Papal system* is thus *distinctly identified*. Incorporated in the Roman catechism — required of Non-Catholics that they should “publicly repeat and testify their assent to it without restriction or qualification, on their admission into the Church,” the Creed of Pope Pius has been declared by Dr. Doyle to be, “the most approved and authentic summary of the Roman Catholic creed,” and by Dr. Murray to be “the most approved and authentic exposition of the faith of the Romish Church.”² Henceforth, then, the streams are again divergent. The English Reformed Church—and no other are we concerned to notice—has fallen back upon its ancient source. It accepts the primitive

¹ The creed of Pope Pius is given at full length in the appendix, note CC.

² See Churchman's Monthly Review, March, 1843.

Creeds, and their definitions are its terms of salvation. It protests against later additions, and the protests are its articles of communion. It has *much* in common with Rome; by the fealty it owes its Lord, it cannot, it dare not, have *all*: and it looks to the *Romish churches* to see if still the spell is on *them*;—if the time may not be at hand, when, sisters already in their ancient protests, they may become sisters in their modern ones,—when the usurpation of an earthly head being exchanged for the liberty which is in Christ, in Ante-Nicene *equality* among the Churches, and in Ante-Nicene *purity*, that which we all pray for, Ante-Nicene *unity*, may at length be restored.

It has been necessary, as we have observed, to our subsequent argument, to conduct the reader through this detailed statement of the existing Roman *system*. We must trespass yet a moment longer upon his patience, while, by a reference to a very parallel case, we endeavour to throw some light on the question last proposed.

Such as Rome is, such was the JEWISH Church at the period of our Lord's advent. Possessing the Scriptures of truth, it had added to them an oral tradition—it had written them over with the glosses and commentaries of a long succession of learned doctors. And these, as from age to age they accumulated, had been invested with all

the sanctity of the inspired writings ; till, in our Lord's time, the system had attained to its full developement in the sect of the *Pharisees*, and the heavy charge was brought against them, that " by their traditions they had made the word of God of none effect." How this was we are not left in ignorance. The minute observers of the ritual and ceremonial law, the neglecters of the weightier matters,—the binders of heavy burthens on the shoulders of other men, while shrinking from them themselves,—ignorant of prophecy, but ever expectant of signs,—they had substituted in their teaching new *motives* to holiness for those which God had provided ; they had devised new *marks*, by which it was to be known. And thus it was, that ignorant of God's character, that he required " mercy and not sacrifice," aliens from his love, they were found to be impervious to his truth. It was to no purpose that a blaze of light, such as the world had not seen, burst upon their view. A blindness, moral and intellectual, obstructed their vision ; they could not receive the truth in the love of it ; they crucified the Lord of life.

It would be but a repetition of the character already assigned to the Papacy, to point out the particulars in which the parallel holds good.

Of the Romish system, *in its full integrity*, as of the Jewish, *in its Pharisaic sect*, we must

believe that the description holds, "It has made the gospel of Christ of none effect." It has done so by its change of the gospel machinery—by its perversion of the gospel motives. And if the *result* has been thus the same, we trace it to a similar *cause*, the *addition* to that gospel of an oral and written *tradition*. Co-ordinate in its nominal authority, paramount in its actual rule, this has usurped the reverence which is due to the Scriptures alone. And now, with *proselytism* on their banners, where *truth* should alone have been inscribed, zealous for the tradition of their fathers, comparatively indifferent to the glory of God,—it is no less distinctive of the Papal than it was of the Pharisaic Doctors, that they "teach for doctrines the commandments of men."

Thus far, then, for the *system*. But we must trace the analogy further. It was in the Pharisee, indeed, that Jewish error had gathered to its head,—it would have been a false conclusion, which reasoning from him to the entire people, should have involved them all in one sweeping condemnation. There had been a former apostasy, and God had reserved to himself then "seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal;" so were there still to be found the faithful few. Simeon was there and Anna, "just persons and devout;" Zacharias and Elisabeth, "righteous before God, and walking in the

commandments of the Lord blameless;" Nathaniel was there, "an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile." Their praise it was, that "faithful in the midst of a perverse generation," they had looked beyond the haze of human glosses, till the eye had rested itself on "Moses and the prophets." And these had been indeed to them "the light in a dark place." Guided by them they were "looking for the consolation," "waiting for the redemption of Israel," when lo, it burst upon them—no film was upon their eye—no "veil upon their heart,"—it was given to them to "see the salvation of the Lord."

We look, then, at these, and remembering that many others would probably have been found, who, with less than their light yet not with all the Pharisees' total blindness, might have formed connecting links between one and the other extreme, we search for their anti-types amidst the apostasy of the Church of Rome. And we believe that they are abundantly evident. We find them in *individual disciples*; in the Fenelons and Mores, the Savonarolas and Carlo Borromeos, of the ages that are gone—in the devout and just men that it has been our own privilege to know, (and the reader from his own experience may probably suggest others,) in the time that now is; we discern them, moreover, in *particular churches*. For who, that has tra-

versed the countries of Continental Europe, has failed to mark in *them* the distinctions of which we speak? He has stood, perhaps, in Rome, and there amid the full-blown pride of Papal power, and the all-pervading influence of Jesuitism, he has mourned over the idolatry and corruption that have everywhere surrounded him. Upon all he sees, on conscience and on mind alike, a deadly blight has fallen. He has turned to the north of Italy—to Tuscany and to Milan—and there, if he has found some tokens of returning life, they have been but few and faint. It is ultra-montanism still—the Phariseism of the Church. But he has crossed the Alps, and in Germany and the South of France very different is the Romanism that has presented itself to his view. In the one,—*within* the Churches, the crowded assemblies that he sees, the fervour of their common prayers, the comparative simplicity of their ritual worship; *without*,² the protest that he hears, the demands for important changes, the yearnings to be free;—in the other,³ the new and startling doctrines that are resounding from the pulpits—new only to the shepherds, who have found boldness to give them utterance, startling but to the flocks who hear their unwonted words; in both the comparative

² Appendix, Note D.

³ Appendix, Note E.

decay of superstitions, the revival of religious zeal,—these have, in part, dispersed the cloud of hopelessness that Italy had induced ; and he has returned home to hear from the English Romanist, and to believe when he hears it, that in his heart, he rejects the superstitions charged upon his Church, as in his practice he is free from them. ⁴

And what, then, must he gather from all this? Is it not that there is in the very heart of Romish error an antagonist principle at work to purify and correct it? Is it not that in many a fervent heart, and in some of the subject churches, beneath the outer body of Roman discipline, there breathes the spirit of ancient creeds? that St. Paul rules where Pope Pius is nominally enthroned? that Scripture moulds the practice where the tradition of the elders claims to direct the faith? Must he not believe that with these there may be causes, however little *he*, as a Protestant, may think them valid ones, yet to *them* sufficient to keep them within the pale of the Romish Church? A love of her visible unity which they fear to impair, a shrinking from our schisms which they think might be their lot? Folded, then, with Rome, may it not be still that their pastures are already with us? that with us they worship one Father, rely on one righteousness,

⁴ Appendix, Note F.

have recourse to one Mediator, pray for one Spirit, and that they may be drawing on towards the time when, with greater light, they may “come out of her” who has tempted them to idolatries; with us “turning from idols to serve the living and true God, and waiting for his Son from heaven, whom He raised from the dead, even Jesus, which delivered us from the wrath to come.”^s

It is, then, with such a view, first, of the Roman system, more recently, of the Roman Churches, that we can now address ourselves to the argument before us.

We have before stated the *principle* put forward by the objectors to the Grant. Let us now trace the course of reasoning, on which they rest their application of it. “It is sinful to assist in perpetuating error. Romanism is error. But to endow Maynooth is to *perpetuate* Romanism. Therefore, to endow Maynooth is to perpetuate error—and is sin.

And, first, having already assented to the principle, let us give an equally full assent to the proposition which follows it. We admit, and we have thought it necessary to prove what some might otherwise have been indisposed to take for granted that the system of Romanism is one of *vital error*. And being such, “disho-

^s 1 Thess. i. 9, 10.

nourable to God, destructive to the souls of men," we must, in sorrow, still re-echo the words of Bishop Hall—we can have "no *peace* with Rome;" it is our plain and bounden duty to do nothing which shall *obviously* be to *perpetuate* it. But what then? *This* duty discharged is *all* our duty done? This consequence granted, is there no other that results? Our love for the souls of men, our jealousy for the honour of God, do they lead us up to the *negative* obligation of refusing to *perpetuate* error, and stop short of the *positive* one of endeavouring to *correct* it? "There is a duty," it may be said, in answer to this, "to labour for their conversion." Is it so? Then here let us pause a while. We take for granted that we are arguing with men to whom *prose-lytism* for its own sake, apart from the progress of truth, which is involved in it, would be a hateful word; men who know no party but that of Christ, desire the progress of no opinions but those of truth. We ask them, then, to look back for a moment to the nature of Romish error as we have endeavoured to set it before them. We have seen it, in the system at large, rising in *additions* to the written gospel, issuing in a *perversion* of it. We have seen these additions existing in their full intensity in some cases, with modifications in others. *Within* the Roman Church—at one time in individual members, at

another in churches at large—there have been partial rejections of them ; and as each fragment of the outward crust has fallen away it has been, we know, but to bring to light some pillar of the ancient fabric,—to carry back the eye of the worshipper, crowded as it was of late with the visions of saints and martyrs, to the records of apostles and prophets, to consign his virgin worship to the dust from which it sprung, and to give a better resting place to his faith “Jesus Christ himself the chief corner stone.”

This is *within* the Romish Church. And is there nothing, then, short of conversion *from* it, which duty bids us seek ? Conversion may be a remote, contingent good. Is there no present, palpable one at which we are taught to aim ? To trace out the causes which enlightening some, have left others in the depth of gloom—to bring those causes into fuller action, to give them freer play,—is there nothing here to claim the exertions of the Christian philanthropist ? If there be individual members—scriptural Christians in despite of an unscriptural creed—to pray and to labour that their numbers may be increased ; if there are churches struggling into light, to lend them a helping hand ; if there are others sitting contentedly in their darkness, to attack the out-posts of their ignorance—to level

the impediments, be they moral or intellectual, behind which they lie entrenched—and as the first step, we repeat, to trace out the true nature of the impediments, can we recognize in this no principle of *action*, as binding to the full upon our consciences as the principle of *inaction* that has been so loudly pleaded? We must not, we cannot, *perpetuate* Romanism. May we not, should we not, seek to *purify* it?

Before adverting then to the particular case of Ireland, it will be important that we should bestow a moment's attention upon the impediments to which we have alluded.

It was a distinguishing characteristic of the gospel of Christ, that claiming to be *truth*, it rested its claims upon the solid basis of *evidence*. In contradistinction to the philosophy of the heathen world, which looking upon religion as a venerable and useful institution, defended it upon those grounds, and did not care to entertain the question whether or no it was false; in elucidation of the previous and imperfect revelation, the types and emblems of the Jewish law, it was spoken of by our Lord and his Apostles as emphatically “the truth.” It challenged inquiry—it appealed to evidence. And only forbidding to the inquirer any attempt to be “*wise beyond what was written*,” it demanded his faith so far,

and so far alone as it could satisfy his reason. The *human*⁶ conditions to its success, therefore, were chiefly these, *intelligence*, and *candour*—an understanding sufficiently enlightened to *weigh* the evidence, and a mind sufficiently unprejudiced to *feel* its weight. And it will be obvious that its character is in no wise altered. In emancipating itself from the embraces of a spurious *Christianity*, as in triumphing over the opposition of avowed Heathenism, the same pre-requisites will ordinarily facilitate its advancement, as the want of them will retard it. Thus it is that if of old the “nobility” of the Bereans” was praised for that “they searched the Scriptures daily to see if these things were so,” and if “*therefore*, many of them believed,” we should naturally expect that wherever the *ignorance* and the *prejudice* prevail, which prevent their example being followed, there the true character of the Gospel will be the least perceived, and its true power the least felt. And in descending the scale of Romish error, as it graduates through the several characters, such we find to be strictly the case. If it is in England and in Germany that the mind of man has ar-

⁶ It is scarcely necessary to say that in speaking here of *human* conditions, we in no way trench upon that distinct and chief one, the *divine* teaching of the Holy Spirit without which the others would exist to no purpose.

⁷ Acts xvii. 11.

rived at its most advanced stage of maturity, there it is that Romanism appears in its highest and least unscriptural phase. If in the Roman and Neapolitan states, on the other hand, there is a degree of mental debasement, scarcely conceivable by those who have not witnessed it, there, too, it is that the dogmas of Hildebrand and Pius maintain their full and undisputed sway.

We may safely assume, then, that the *ignorance* that *cannot*, and the *prejudice* that *will not*, reason upon the evidence of Scripture, are among the foremost obstacles to the progress of Gospel truth. But there is another, the “*slavery*” that *dare not*.

Guizot has defined the Reformation to have been “the insurrection of the human mind against priestly absolutism.” No better definition could perhaps have been given. The tendency of the human mind is for the most part one averse to inquiry. We are prone, at all events till habits of reflection have been formed, to accept carelessly, and even gladly, the decisions of others, taking refuge in them from the painfulness of thought. The Church of Rome has marked this tendency, and with the wisdom which characterizes its every step in the march of priestly invention, has moulded it to its own purposes. Boldly asserting its claims to infallibility, investing the shoulders

of its meanest priesthood with a portion of this comprehensive mantle, it demands submission to their authority as the first duty of its professing member, and the first condition of his spiritual growth. And with this as its key-stone it has thrown out an arch which comprises in its bold sweep the whole span of his existence. It is not that in reference to *eternity* alone the priest's fiat, he believes, is absolute—that it is his to bind for ever, or his to loose—his to shorten the pains of purgatory, or his to protract; it is not that in reference to time, it is his to interpret, and his to teach—his to impose a penance, and his to withdraw; but even in his very secular matters—his cattle, his corn, his house—there is a potency, he is taught to believe, in the blessing of the priest—a hopelessness in his curse, which pointing him out as the master of his destiny, bids him concur with an implicit acquiescence in his lightest word. Plead with him then in the highways—set before him the impotency of his Virgin Mediatrix, and speak to him of her risen Son—he will answer you in the language of former days, “have any of the Rulers or the Pharisees believed?” Or, visit him at his house—send to him the *messenger* of God's truth, or give him His *word*, pure and unadulterated as it proceeded from the mouth of God,—he has no ear but for his absent priest, and the anger with which he

has threatened him. Upon those "whose door the heretic should darken," or within whose walls the Protestant Bible should be found, the terrors of excommunication, he knows, are kept ready to be launched : and the living grave to which this would condemn him here, the eternity of woes hereafter,—these have a louder voice than the still small one in which truth would speak. He may have conquered the ignorance which would have *sealed up* the truth, he may have risen above the prejudice which would have *resisted it*, but there is still the tyranny that leads his will captive—he dare not so much as *approach* it.

It is not enough then to have detected the sources of *popular* indifference to truth ; there is an outer fence through which alone you can gain access to the neglected ground—the *influence of the priests*. It is *their* indifference you must first assail, *their* minds you must first prepare. Wherever the country which claims your sympathy, whatever the efforts you may be induced to make, in *their* general degradation you may read the surest auguries of failure, *their* enlightened conviction must ever be found in the van of your success.

And that this is no mere hypothesis a reference to passing events will again show.

A year has not elapsed since, at Trèves, in Western Germany, a so called holy coat of our

Saviour was taken from its resting-place to be exhibited to the faithful. Upon those that resorted to it, indulgences were plentifully showered—miraculous cures were asserted to be wrought. And from each one, as he passed the relic, the prayer was heard, “ holy coat, pray for us.”

In England, such mockeries are not attempted ; they would be scouted alike by layman and by priest. In Italy, they are events of ordinary occurrence—they are received as unquestionable verities. In Germany, they were attempted, and—mark the result. The voice of honest indignation was heard, and it was that of *a priest*, John Ronge, remonstrating with the bishop who had promoted the attempt.^a “ Do you not know,” he demands, “ (as a bishop you must know it,) that the Gospel expressly forbids the worship of any relic or image,—that the Christians, at the time of the apostles, and during the three first centuries, suffered neither image nor relic in their Churches?—God is a spirit and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth.” And as the remonstrance has found an echo in other hearts, and from the millions who, like himself, were “ filled with horror and bitter in-

^a See “ A short account of John Ronge,” published by Chapman, 121, Newgate-street.

dignation at the unworthy spectacle," whole communities have come out, forming the nucleus of a pure Church, which shall be Catholic, but not Roman, it has been still the Priest that has sounded the first note of resistance, and has led the way of escape. Czerski, at Schneidemühl, has taken up the torch, and has passed it on to his brethren at Breslau, Berlin, Dresden, Hamburg, Munich, till in almost every town of importance the confession has found an utterance,—“Through the continued study of the Scriptures we have been forced to the conclusion that, instead of the pure doctrines of Jesus, human statutes have been imposed upon the people as doctrines of faith.”⁹ With these men, as with Luther, the spark has fallen that has fired the train. Can we doubt that the materials for the explosion had long been accumulating in their minds? Is it too much to suppose, that while they were *within* the pale of the Romish Church, the doctrines they now publicly profess were uppermost in their teaching,—that the flocks which now follow them, had first learnt at their mouths to follow Christ and to hear his voice, to turn away from fables and to seek for truth?¹⁰

Thus, then, stands our argument. We concede

⁹ Appendix, note G.

¹⁰ Appendix, note H.

that Romanism is error. We admit the passive consequence that results,—to assist in *perpetuating* it, would be *sin*. But we advance a second and an active principle, no less sacred, no less constraining, as equally resulting from it,—where an opportunity is given us, *to endeavour to purify it is a duty.*” We have seen what are the *general* causes that *hinder*, what those that *advance* this purification. To which of the two principles does the proposed endowment of Maynooth most legitimately belong?

This we proceed to determine. And, first, by a reference to the religious aspect of Ireland generally.

“Righteousness,” says the wise man, “exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.” It is an acknowledgment, probably, of the truth of this divine aphorism, coupled with a belief that the fortune of nations, as of men, are in the hands of a just Providence, “to put down one and set up another, to root out, to pull down, and to destroy, to throw down, to build, and to plant,” that has suggested to every well constituted Christian government the necessity of a religious establishment. Making provision in this not so much for the rich and the learned, as for “the ignorant and those that are out of the way,” the state expects to receive a recompense for this its care, primarily, in the divine

favour, and proximately, in those habits of social order and morality among the people which must ever be the main-spring of a nation's greatness. That such a responsibility has devolved upon the government of Great Britain towards its Irish, equally with its English, subjects, will be readily, perhaps, conceded. What it was, *de facto*, before the Act of Union, Ireland has since become, *de jure*,—an integral portion of the British Empire; and whatever of national honour we may aspire to, whatever of national shame we may incur, our Irish population must contribute according to their numerical proportion to one or the other end; in *their* righteousness *we* are exalted, in *their* sin *we* are reproached. That this responsibility has been recognised, and, to a certain extent, acted upon by the British government is equally clear. The scriptural system of parochial tithes, introduced into England by the piety of one of its earliest monarchs, and extended to Ireland at its conquest, had provided for the maintenance of a body of religious instructors, numerically proportioned to the population. A Reformation of religion in the sixteenth century, brought with it no *alienation* of the endowment. There was, indeed, a change in the *conditions* upon which it was to be held. An acknowledgment of the *King's* supremacy, was to take place of the former one of *Papal* al-

legiance. And if, while many of the bishops and clergy acceded to this, another, but a very ¹ small portion, refused it, it was attributed to the prejudices of the generation—it was thought sufficient, as their sees or benefices became vacant, to fill them from the ranks of the reformed clergy. Thus, preserving its former relationship to the Irish Church, the State did but continue to it, in its purer form, the provision which had been preserved to it during its less enlightened one. It maintained it as an establishment—for the Protestants, indeed, as their legitimate instructor in the faith—but for those that still adhered to the Romish errors, as a witness to them of the truth, to point out to them their errors, and in time it was scarcely doubted to wean them from them.

But whatever the results that might have been expected they have not followed. In a *religious* point of view, if the Church has been the means of preserving to the State, in the Irish Protestants, a body of good and loyal subjects, in its missionary enterprise it has been a failure. It has failed in its primary object, the *extirpation* of Romish error. It has failed in a secondary one, that might reasonably have been looked for, the *amelioration* of it. While in other countries

¹ Appendix, Note K.

the sun has been drawing up the mists that hung above the ground,—while with the progress of knowledge and free discussion, many of the distinctive errors of Romanism have in practice been gradually discarded, in Ireland whatever it contains dishonourable to God, destructive to the souls of men, is rife as it ever was. The Virgin worship, the adoration of relics, the pains of purgatory, the priest-imposed penance, the priest-given indulgence, these are the melancholy evidences that there the traditions of men are entirely displacing the commandments of God.² And if such is the religious aspect of the country, in its *social* and *civil* one, a waste, if possible, yet more dreary meets the eye. Containing in his natural disposition the germ of every good quality, warm-hearted, perhaps, above any people on the face of the earth, confiding, generous, the Irish peasant can yet be described by one who has evidently well studied his character, as “an object” not of envy but of compassion ; naked, famished, almost houseless ; the slave of superstition, notorious for falsehood and perjury, arrayed against the laws of his country, and too often stained with blood.” But a short twenty years since, and one feature in this sad portraiture might

² Appendix, Note L.

³ See Quarterly Review, vol. lxxviii. Article on Carleton's Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry.

have been put in redeeming contrast with the others, his high undeviating principle of loyalty to the British crown. But even this, we fear, is fast fading away. His discontent has been pandered to, his evil passions have been evoked, and these, wielded at will by the agitators in whom he confides, have been fostered into a spirit of moody anarchy, only repressed by their time-biding policy; ready at a moment to rise upon the Saxon, whom he has been so sedulously taught to hate.

Now the question cannot fail to present itself here to the really Christian mind, what course are we to adopt in such a case? Be it remembered the machinery of a missionary church has been tried and has failed. Our clergy they will not listen to, our *Scriptures* they *will not receive*. Will it be said, then, that now we can only leave things as they are, to take their own chance or to work their own cure? We could be well content to bring such opinions to the test of Philosophy and History. We hear the former speaking by the mouth of one of her most gifted sons: ⁴ “ Since things change for the worse, spontaneously, if they be not by counsel changed for the better, what end will there be of the evil.” We find the latter illustrating this with a most pregnant example, that of the French Revolution, confessedly a

⁴ Lord Bacon.

fruit—and how bitter and destructive a fruit we all know—of that very “*laissez faire*” system. And to these, obvious policy might add her voice. The present state of our foreign relations, the necessity there is for presenting a bold and united front to hostile aggression; the critical nature, too, of the present opportunity for action, when agitation has been met by the law, and mastered by it; and when concessions, therefore, can reasonably be made, no longer to fear but to justice,—these considerations might lend weight to the argument against any course of inaction. But we must not be tempted even by *these* from the higher and more constraining argument to which we have confined ourselves. We are appealing not to *policy*, but to *principle*. And we say, then, *principle—our holy religion*—demand *exertion* from us. We must look upon these, our Irish fellow countrymen, as the *victims* and *instruments* of a cruel and degrading system. We cannot acquit ourselves as a nation of the guilt of having abandoned them to that fate. And now it is *by the love we bear their souls*, so increasingly endangered, *by our jealousy for God's honour so betrayed*, by our sense of *national responsibilities*, by our fears of *national judgments*, by the obligation, in short, that lies upon us, *to place ourselves in their position*, and *do to them*, as, with our clearer light, *we would*

wish that they should do to us, that we are forbidden to act the Levite's part, and pass by on the other side—some advance must be made on the course pursued by us in past years—and what?

We shall probably carry with us the assent of all, when we say, that whatever the fetters may be, in which Rome has bound her captives, there is but one hand which can effectually strike them off—the knowledge of “the truth as it is in Jesus.” “Ye shall know the truth,” said our blessed Lord, to some of old, “and the truth shall make you free.”

We have shown that, in ordinary cases, there will be two *pre-requisites* to the reception of Christian truth in the mind—*intelligence* and *candour*—and accordingly, to the want of these in the Irish peasantry, to their *ignorance* and *bigotry*, the Protestant philanthropist, be he traveller or legislator, has not failed to assign the little progress which truth has made among them. These, then, we must attack. But with these we are not now concerned. He has assigned another cause. It is one on which we have also before dwelt at large—their subjugation to the *priesthood*. Nowhere is it more apparent than in Ireland, nowhere more absolute. If there the strange anomaly is to be witnessed of the greatest darkness in juxtaposition with

a widely diffused light,—if there is an opaqueness in the hearts of the people, impenetrable alike by Scripture and scriptural teachers,—if they seem to “*love* the darkness rather than light,”—it is there, above every other such country, that the mind of the priesthood reflects itself in that of the people—there that we are told by a late authority, “the ecclesiastic is trained to teach his flock, that the characteristic privilege of a Romanist, is, that his faith is to be resolved implicitly into the will and authority of the priest.”⁵

We are tracing the evil then to its source: the *priest* himself—we ask, why is it that *he* is wrapped in so thick a cloud of darkness? Why is it that *he* loves and clings to this in preference to the light which is around him? With the pure gospel so long and so perseveringly “set forth” before his eyes; what causes are there, that should have made him resist it, till, now, his *civil* and *religious* obligations have shared the same fate; till, with his allegiance, temporal and spiritual, his affections have been wholly given to the Romish usurper; and the preacher of peace has been transformed into the fomentor of discord, the steward of the mysteries of God into the determined promulgator of the worst and weakest of the inventions of man?

⁵ See Maynooth, the Crown, and the Country.—Rivington. 1845.

We think that these causes have yet to be assigned.

“The wrongs of Ireland,” says a candid opponent,⁶ “are caused, I believe, by an *ignorant, intolerant, and bigoted* priesthood.” It would not be difficult, perhaps, to substantiate his assertion in either of the three particulars. The ignorance which obstructed the progress of the Reformation among them in Elizabeth’s reign;⁷ if not as rife as it then was, yet prevails among them to a great extent in that of Victoria. As a class, intolerance and bigotry, too, have marked their history; but instead of pronouncing, on that account, our anathema against them, we shall endeavour to refer these failings to their true origin.

The food of controversy is a principle in the human mind which has been not inaptly termed “Antagonism.” In the formation of our religious as of our political opinions, we are swayed more or less by a previous bias, which, enlisting our *feelings* on one side or the other, indirectly influences our *judgment* also. Thus, let our creed or our party be attacked, and the principle we have alluded to straightway calls us up in its defence; unconsciously perhaps we surrender ourselves to its impulse, and the contest in which we are engaged,

⁶ See speech of Rev. A. Tidman, at Exeter Hall.

⁷ Appendix, Note M.

whether with the tongue or the pen, forthwith becomes one in which *victory*, not *truth*, is the object sought. The liability to range ourselves in opposition to truth, which thus, in ordinary cases, besets us, may, in particular ones, under the pressure of special agencies, acquire an intensity fatal to the very *perception* of that truth; and the existence of such agencies, we imagine that we can recognise, in the case of the Irish priesthood. Taught to look upon the English nation as the oppressor of his creed and race, his first impulse is one of resistance to her power. Beholden to her for nothing—deprived by her, as he believes, of his rightful inheritance, he looks upon the Church of her planting as an intolerant adversary, intent only upon proselytism, to withstand whose efforts, and to compass whose fall, is the first duty of his sacred calling. With the Church then, the *truths* she teaches are naturally associated. They may be scriptural, but this he does not consider; it is enough that they are Protestant and Saxon. The brand of heresy which they bear, would make him *distrust* them; the gathered hatred of ages makes him *loathe* them; and turning on the other hand to the hoary prescription of his own Church, he is content to anchor there all his belief and all his hopes, “Errare malo cum Platone quam cum istis vera sentire!” But again: he is an op-

pressed, but he is also, as he conceives, in another sense, a degraded man. Whatever claim to respect the external advantages of *superior station* and *acquirement* give, these he sees in the possession of his antagonist, the Protestant clergyman. Painfully sensible of his inferiority here, he has only turned the more eagerly to another, more secret, but surer, source of power; the fetters of Roman discipline. To welcome these in their most oppressive form—to submit himself heart and soul to Papal authority, and to inculcate a similar submission upon his people—and with this, to cherish in their minds hopes which he does not scruple to keep alive in his own, that the Sovereign Pontiff who owns and would protect him, shall in time recover “his fief” from the nation which has discarded and refused to recognise him,—this has been his willing enterprise, from his position it has been his successful one. For with him, be it remembered, where the *interests* of the *churchman* have centered, there the daily *associations* of the *man* have found their home. He has been for the most part unfitted by his education to gain an entrance to the dwellings of the better classes of his countrymen,—he has received only the heartier welcome from the more humble. He has had little encouragement to converse with the one in the hated Saxon language,—he has found a key to the hearts of the

others, by speaking to them in their native Irish. Thus, detached from their superiors by this common distinction of tongue, the strongest barrier perhaps between man and man that Providence has interposed, drawn by the same powerful cord towards each other, priest and people have become the more close in their union, only as they have become the more complete in their insulation. In the prejudices of the one lies the secret of the other's power. Knowing this, and labouring to cement those prejudices, what wonder if, in the very act, he should more effectually have confirmed his own?

We believe then, that in causes such as these is to be found the key to the present character of the Irish priesthood. Let them be *allowed to remain*—his national antipathies, his religious jealousies, his social degradation, and that which we have called the *antagonism* of his mind, will form, as it has ever formed, a barrier insurmountable to the entrance of truth. The charmer is his natural enemy, and “charm he never so wisely,” he will be deaf to his voice. Let them be *removed*, let feelings of confidence towards England be gradually engendered, let him be detached from his ecclesiastical and social insulation, and brought out into an atmosphere where the beams of kindness can warm his heart, and the free currents of thought can purify it, and

the mists that now stagnate there will disappear. No longer the *ignorant* man, *unable* dispassionately to weigh the evidence, still less will he be the *resolute bigot*, *unwilling* to do it. No longer cast off by England, his allegiance to Roman *authority* will be shaken at its foundation. Ceasing to be a furious hater of Protestantism, his blind reverence for Romish *doctrines* will have lost its strongest hold. Scripture will, little by little, assert its claims to be heard in opposition to the dogmas of the council of Trent, and on which side the victory will ultimately rest, none who have proved their respective claims can for a moment doubt.

The further question then arises, *how* are these causes to be removed?

There has been indeed a short and easy method proposed to us, to *bring down* the *Protestant pastor* to the level of the Romanist. We have been bidden to sacrifice the temporalities of the Church of Ireland. The establishment, for whose supineness in past times the insane policy of English rulers can best account,^a of whose present efficiency not a question has been raised; the Church of more than a million Protestants, to whom its continuance was guaranteed by the Act of Union, the Church of the landlords from

^a Appendix, note N.

whose rent-rolls its funds are drawn ; so sacred in its constitutional aspect as a standing memorial of our Protestantism, destined, we believe yet, to be so effective in a religious point of view as a peaceful witness to the truth,—this we are counselled to offer up as a hecatomb, not so much to the natural jealousies of the priesthood, as to the insatiable cry of the agitators. We thank God we have a ministry, pledged, that while their tenure of office shall continue, this shall not be so. We see another and a surer method, one which by obviating the *necessity* for so flagrant and so foolish an act, will be the best preservative against its *commission* ; and we believe that our rulers are adopting it. It is to *raise* the condition of the *Romish priest* to the level of the Protestant pastor.

We say, to *raise* his condition : let us be distinctly understood ; we do not mean by taking him, as a parochial minister, into the pay of the State ; for we look upon the case as standing thus :—

We find in every parish a Roman priest, acting as the teacher of the people. Willingly would we get rid of the evil. But with all our efforts we cannot. He remains there, their teacher still, the only one whose authority they will for a moment own. We have to deal, then, with the matter of fact. We *find* the teacher,—

our concern must henceforward be with the *things taught* ; our only hope must be to bring a beneficial influence to bear upon his *teaching*,—to *ameliorate* the evil which we have in vain attempted to *remove*. But *endow* his church—*place* him in the parish,—and you recognise at once, not the *fact* alone of his existence, but its *necessity* : you invert the relationship in which we stand to the Irish Romanists, *offering* from our hands the teacher, whom we do but *receive* at theirs. It is one thing to endeavour to *ameliorate* an evil, another to undertake to *provide for its continuance*. The Romish priest is not—Protestants as we are he never must be—of our *providing*.

Not thus, then, would we raise his condition, not in this direction do we believe the government to be proceeding. It would be indeed but to stultify their own acts. For they have already chosen a different course. Removing the restrictions on charitable bequests, they have enabled members of *his own creed* to contribute to his better support. Withdrawing the control of these funds again from the Protestant hierarchy, they have given it to his own. Thus proceeding, and in such a spirit,—where a practical grievance can be proved, redressing it ; where sectarian jealousies exist, allaying them ; and where, at the very source of all, the mind

of the future teacher has been poisoned by educational errors, approaching the seat of mischief, and gradually infusing sweet waters where only bitter have hitherto flowed,—this will be to elevate in time his moral, his intellectual, and his social being,—this, therefore, if our previous argument be a just one, will be to strike at the root of the impediments which have kept “the veil upon his heart,” when the Gospel “has been read.”

But we have thus been brought to the project on which our present controversy hinges—the grant to Maynooth. And if we have thus left it, without any *direct* notice, till the very end of our argument, it is only in accordance with the subordinate place we would assign to it in the subject at large. That subject has in fact been, the *possibility and the duty of ameliorating* the Romanism in Ireland, which the efforts of three centuries have made no progress in extinguishing. If we see, then, the commencement of a *course of policy* directly aiming at that amelioration,—if, in the proposed increase, we can trace a step in that course, insignificant, perhaps, when viewed in the abstract, but most important in its relation to the system at large,—we can accept it thankfully, not so much for any immediate and practical good that it will accomplish, as for the *principle* on which

it rests, and the ultimate promise which it holds out. And it is because Maynooth is indeed the seat of mischief, that we rejoice to see it first approached. Let all that has been said of it by its adversaries be conceded to be true. Let it be granted that, "founded by the crown in order to rescue the Romanist clergy from democratical principles, and to render them *more* loyal, its effect has been to make them much *less* loyal than they were before,"⁹—that in rejecting the Gallican Articles, they have in effect adopted those of the ultra-montane school, and that these are destructive of the authority of kings, of the inviolability of oaths, and especially of that oath of "*civil allegiance*," the only security we possess against treason in our very camp. Let it be further allowed that there, as in every other place of Romish education within the United Kingdom, *Jesuitism*, the most ultra-montane of all ultra-montane opinions, has been little by little establishing its influence; that thus the order, proscribed in Spain, banished from Portugal, expelled from Naples and the Two Sicilies, suppressed by a pope himself, is now supplying teachers to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects:—and to this catalogue, heavy as it is, let us add one which outweighs them all, that the

⁹ See the pamphlet before quoted, "Maynooth, the Crown, and the Country."

souls of those our fellow-subjects, we have too much reason to fear, are tampered with by the same teaching, to a degree of which Romanism itself was ignorant, till Jesuitism gave it its fullest and last expansion ;—let all this be granted, and in our estimation it does but swell the voices that should be gathering upon our ears,—the cry of rebuke for past remissness,—the demand of an immediate change of policy,—and, as part of it, the singling out by name of the institution whose corruption has thus infected a country. We have shrunk from all contact with the religion of that country,—what wonder that it has shunned us, and all amity with us, in return ? We have thrust its teachers into a shade,—why marvel that the deadly nightshade of Jesuitism, or any other evil weed of foreign growth, has sprung up among them unnoticed ? In this way, if in no other, we have oppressed them,—it was to be expected that oppression would be, as it is ever wont to be, a bond of union to them,—that native and foreigner, priest and Jesuit, agitator and priest, would forget their respective differences, to league themselves against the oppressor, and await their day of vengeance.

We know that an objection will be raised here, that, inasmuch as the increased grant is an unfettered one, it can but give fresh strength to the

confederacy : its tendency can only be, therefore, to *aggravate* the evil. We demand in reply to this,—what is the *alternative* proposed ? Would you withdraw the grant and *sweep the institution itself away* ? The thing is impossible. Suppose that by some act of arbitrary power, you have destroyed Maynooth, that you have ejected its professors, expelled its students, and levelled its buildings to the ground,—you cannot prevent it rising from its ruins in some new and equally dangerous form. Clongowes² would only receive the refugees whom Maynooth could no longer shelter :—what hope of ameliorating the evil do you discover there ? Or, failing this, would you allow the institution to remain, but, *withdrawing the government grant*, place it under strict *government surveillance* ? What *right* of surveillance, we ask, would the government then possess ? A despotic government might find such a right in its *power* : a free government disclaims it. It exercises control only where it affords assistance—its *subsidies* must unlock the door for its inspectors to find an entrance. What then ? Would you *grant* the subsidies ? Conceding the principle for which we contend, would you give nine, or twenty-six thousand a year ; it matters little which—but accompany it with a set of *strict provisions*, which the present bill does *not* contain ? We

² A College of Jesuits within six miles of Maynooth.

willingly allow that such a course might be pursued; but we must remind the objector, that being now agreed upon the *principle*, the rest is a matter of *policy*. The question to be decided has been this,—must the *endowment of Maynooth under any circumstances* be looked upon as a *sin*, or can it be looked upon as a *duty*? Upon the grounds that the existing religious teaching of Ireland, *can*, and *ought to be improved*—that for this purpose, the *mind of the teacher* must be, *first*, beneficially impressed—that this must be done in various other particulars indeed, but primarily, in and through the *institution* where he is educated,—we have argued that it is a *duty*. Let this be admitted, and it is for those who *originate* the measure of endowment, to determine the mode of application. And be it remembered, then, that it is originated as part of a *course of policy*—and *that*, one of *conciliation*. It is no part of such a policy to refuse *all* restrictions;—it has provided them in a system of inspection, which shall be “*bonâ fide*, instead of nominal,” “*annual* instead of *triennial*.”³ But neither is it a part of that policy to impose *such* restrictions, as the recipients of the boon may reasonably take exception to. In those which it *has* provided, it gives a character of openness to the institution which it never before had. Against any *open*

³ See Sir Robert Peel's speech on introducing the measure.

violation of the trust reposed in it,—the introduction of the *avowed* Jesuit, for example, to its offices and professorships,—it furnishes a guarantee.⁴ For the rest,—for the absence of any *secret* violation—the harbouring of the *concealed* Jesuit—the infraction of the direct oath, nay more, for the gradual removal of the offences already existing there,—it looks to *another* cause—an improved condition of mind and feeling among the Professors themselves. It introduces a new leaven into the mass, the all powerful one of *kindliness*. It leaves it to work its own way; and it doubts not, that, amidst the fermentation of conflicting principles that will ensue, the most dangerous corruptions of Irish Romanism—its degrading superstitions—its anti-English animosities—its ultra-montane attachments, and, above all, its growing alliance with Jesuitism, will be thrown to the surface, and pass away as scum, from the face of the land.

One other objection should perhaps be noticed. “The effort to conciliate,” we are

⁴ We should not allow ourselves to indulge this hope but for a conviction—founded on the past course of the government policy—that while with one hand they *redress* existing *grievances* with the other they will strictly *enforce* existing *laws*. By the provisions of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, all Jesuits resident in the United Kingdom were required to be registered,—and any others, hereafter setting foot upon our shores, were, upon conviction, to be banished for life.

told, "will utterly fail." It may be so we answer. But does that prevent the experiment being made? Because, after all your efforts to reform him, the *convicted felon* may yet remain hardened to the last, do you withhold those efforts? He too, for a long course of years, was treated by us as an infected and outcast being,—the greater his crimes the wider the *cordon* that was drawn between us,—careless of *reclaiming*, we were content if we could only *punish*. But a better light broke upon us.⁵ We remembered that *he* too had a heart. Believing, that amidst all his sins *some* lurking principle of good might still be found, we determined to appeal to this. And now, to speak to him in the hitherto strange accents of kindness—to train him to *habits* of industry—to teach him its *delights*; and, as his heart softens beneath such influences, to tell him of God's mercy and love in Christ; this has become our holier and our nobler task. We know that all may fail. In the place of banishment to which he is sent, he *may* revert to his former courses, and all our care for him will have been bestowed in vain. But reason—nay, we may already add, experience—forbid such an expectation;—*our* duty as Christian men will, at

⁵ The excellent system now in operation at the Pentonville Model Prison is here referred to.

least, have been discharged. And so too *may* it be with Maynooth. The secret power of Jesuitism may have become so firmly established there, the withering hatred of England have struck its roots so deeply, that a conciliatory policy may be as fruitless in *mitigating* the evil as a contrary one has been effective in fostering it. It may be left—which God in his mercy avert—for the *sword* to decide, whether Rome or England has the best title to Irish allegiance. But while we are permitted to see the spirit in which that policy has been already received—the gratitude of the many whom it was intended to conciliate—the ill-concealed mortification of the few whose designs it promises to defeat; while of the *Bequests Act*, all that is dignified among the Romish hierarchy is to be found declaring its approbation, and for the *Maynooth Grant*, the *Professors* are to be heard expressing their “deep sense of gratitude;”—and while on the other hand Dr. Higgins can denounce the one as “a mockery and insult,” and Mr. Tierney characterize the other as “iniquitous” and “insidious,”⁶ we will hope for a very different result. Already we imagine that we can see the test at work, and we can look forward therefore with the greater confidence to the time when the grosser particles, which are thus early be-

⁶ See Speech at Dundalk dinner. Appendix, Note N.

traying themselves, shall have been finally precipitated and cast aside.

It is then, because we believe, of error in general, that it is most surely *perpetuated* when it is *neglected*; of Romish error in particular, that it contains within itself the germ of its own improvement, but by *extraneous influences* will the developement of that germ be *accelerated* or *repressed*; of Irish Romanism more especially, that the influences have hitherto tended only to *repress*;—because, moreover, we believe that the proposed grant to Maynooth is a step in the *contrary* direction, and that, consequently, its real tendency is *not* to *perpetuate* Romish error but to *purify* it;—therefore, that in no spirit of time-serving *expediency*, but with a solemn conviction of *Christian duty*, we can bestow upon the measure our earnest “God speed.”

Our argument, it will be perceived, has been confined to the amelioration of existing evils, or, in other words, to the *purification* of religion *within* the pale of the Romish Church: it has not travelled into the region beyond that of *Reformation from it*. But this has not been because we think lightly of the advanced stage, or despair of ultimately attaining to it.

For we, too, with our Protestant brethren of

¹ See one of the addresses issued by the Anti-Maynooth Conference.

Exeter Hall, believe that' "Rome is doomed." To the attentive observer the signs of decrepitude have long been gathering on her brow. Even now she is tottering to her fall. But we attach a *definite idea* to this fall. It will be accomplished not by a crusade of *avowed enemies* from *without* her camp, but by a defection from *within*. It will be hastened, not by attempts to enlighten the *people*, while their *teachers* remain uncared for, but by a generous and common sympathy for both. You may *proscribe* the priesthood, drive them within the fortress of a more relentless bigotry, and hope, by cutting off their supplies, to *starve* them into submission. You may persecute the shepherd with the blunt sword of intolerance, while you seek, in despite of him, to proselytize his flock; but it is not thus that your voice will be listened to, or your cause prevail. Rome will fall, when the subject churches that have so long given their "power and their strength" to her, discovering her true character, shall one by one "break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from them." This will be, again, when with priest and people alike, a *general* enlightenment of mind shall have opened a door for *Scripture to be heard*, and a *scriptural* enlightenment shall thus have established the dominion of truth. While we do every thing then to promote the one object, let us be careful that we do nothing

to retard the other. While we circulate the Scriptures freely and gladly, as an entrance is given to them, let us beware how we neutralize the boon by the character of the hand that gives it. In the *natural* day there is a dawn—no less so is there in the *spiritual* one. The Romanist, be he priest or laymen, will have many stages to pass through as he works his way to “the perfect day:” it is ours to bear with his *first* and more *feeble* advances—to let our “light so shine before” him, that it may assist his progress,—by Christian kindness to win his confidence, by Christian example to command his respect. Already, in Germany, these influences⁸ have borne their fruit. And, if in Hungary, in Bohemia, in Poland, the seeds of a similar demonstration, we are told, have long been sown⁹—if the “flax” is “smoking”—awaiting, perhaps, but a similar breath to quicken it into life,—nay, if France is beginning to “search” for herself, “to see if these things are so,” and even Spain has shown that she is restless in her chain,—it is not too

⁸ In the introduction to the Schneidemuhl declaration given in the appendix, the following sentence occurs:—“We have, *encouraged by the example and truly Christian spirit* of our Protestant brethren, been induced diligently to read the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and other religious books enlightened by the Spirit of truth.”

⁹ See the article on the Schism in the Papacy, quoted in the appendix, note D.

much to hope, that the cry of independence once raised, the defection of the nations will be as unanimous, as their subjugation has hitherto been complete. It may be that *Rome herself*, another Niobe bereaved of her children,—cut off from reformation by her claim to infallibility,—wrapping herself in a robe of yet deeper “*mystery*,” as she yields herself yet more wholly to the deadly embrace of Jesuitism,—will fall, as she has lived,¹ “a queen”—destroyed by the “breath of the coming” of the Son of man. But if there be a country which shall share with her in those judgments, it is that one in which barriers of man’s raising,—a cold repulsion on the part of Protestants, an *undue* alarm for a revival of her superstitions, an unworthy distrust of the power of truth in dispelling them,—where these shall have *left* the manacles upon men’s minds, which a kindlier feeling might have contributed to strike off, and shall have driven the victims of her tyranny into a closer league with her, to share her fortunes, and to perish in her fall.

May Ireland, in the providence of God, escape this destiny. May England be rescued from a participation in this guilt!

¹ Rev. xviii. 7.

A P P E N D I X.

NOTE A

It is necessary, perhaps, to state that no allusion is here intended to the discoveries arrived at by a legitimate process of inductive reasoning. The harmony of these with the revealed history of the world, is now receiving a general, though somewhat tardy, acknowledgement. There have been attempts, however, of late, to graft on these certain fanciful speculations, which, under the guise of a general *concurrence* in revealed truth, in reality aim a blow at some of its most important doctrines, and not the least, as it appears to the writer, at that grand one which is more peculiarly contained in the New Testament, the revelation of the *Triune* God.

NOTE B.

(See Hooker's Ecc. Pol. book iii. cap. i. 10.)

“ For even as the apostle doth say of Israel, that they are in one respect ‘enemies,’ but in another ‘beloved of God ;’ in like sort with Rome, we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations, yet touch-

ing those main parts of Christian truth, wherein they still constantly persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoined so far forth with them, they may at the length, (if it be his will,) so yield to frame and reform themselves, that no distraction remain in any thing, but that we 'all may, with one heart and with one mouth, glorify God the Father of our Lord and Saviour, whose Church we are.'"

NOTE C.

DICTATUS PAPÆ.

(Baronii Annal. A. D. 1076; Bower's Translation, from the Lives of the Popes, vol. v. p. 293. See Preface to "Scriptural Communion with God," by Rev. G. Townshend, Canon of Durham, &c. p. 502.)

"I. The *Roman* Church was founded by none but our Lord.

II. The *Roman* Pontiff alone should of right be styled Universal Bishop.

III. He alone can depose and restore Bishops.

IV. The Pope's legate, though of an inferior rank, is in councils to take place of all Bishops, and can pronounce sentence of deposition against them.

V. The Pope can depose absent Bishops.

VI. No man ought to live in the same house with persons excommunicated by him.

VII. The Pope alone can make new laws, can establish new churches, can divide rich bishoprics, and unite poor ones.

VIII. He alone can wear the imperial ornaments.

IX. All princes are to kiss his foot, and to pay that mark of distinction to him alone.

X. His name alone ought to be commemorated in the Churches.

XI. There is no name in the world but his.

XII. It is lawful for him to depose emperors.

XIII. He can translate Bishops from one see to another, when thought necessary.

XIV. He can ordain a Clerk in any Church whatever.

XV. A Clerk ordained by him must not be preferred to a higher degree by any other Bishop.

XVI. No general council is to be assembled without his order.

XVII. No book is to be deemed canonical but by his authority.

XVIII. His judgment no man can reverse, but he can reverse all other judgments.

XIX. He is to be judged by no man.

XX. No man shall presume to condemn the person that appeals to the apostolic see.

XXI. The greater causes of all Churches ought to be brought before the apostolic see.

XXII. The *Roman* Church never has erred, nor will she ever err according to Scripture.

XXIII. The *Roman* Pontiff, canonically elected, becomes undoubtedly holy by the merits of *St. Peter*, according to the testimony of *St. Ennodius*, Bishop of *Pavia*, and many of the Fathers, as is related in the decrees of Pope *Symmachus*.

XXIV. With his leave an inferior may accuse his superior.

XXV. He can depose and restore Bishops without assembling a synod.

XXVI. He is not to be deemed a Catholic who does not agree with the *Roman* Church.

XXVII. The Pope can absolve subjects from the oath of allegiance which they have taken to a bad prince."

NOTE C C.

THE CREED OF POPE PIUS IV.

(Hickes's Translation, 8vo., London, 1705.)

1. I most firmly receive and embrace the apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the Church.

2. I do receive the Holy Scriptures in the same sense that Holy Mother Church doth, and always hath, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of them; neither will I receive and interpret them otherways than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

3. I do also profess, that there are seven Sacraments of the New Law, truly and properly so called, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and necessary to the salvation of mankind, though not all of them to every one, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Marriage, and that they do confer grace; and that of these, Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders, may not be repeated without sacrilege. I do also receive and admit the received and approved rites of the Catholic Church in the solemn administration of the above said Sacraments.

4. I do embrace and receive all and every thing that hath been defined and declared by the holy Council of *Trent*, concerning original sin and justification.

5. I do also profess, that in the Mass there is offered a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and that, in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, there is truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is a change made of the whole substance of bread into the body, and of the whole substance of wine into the blood, which change the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation.

6. I confess, also, that under one kind only, whole and entire, Christ and a true Sacrament is taken and received.

7. I do firmly hold, that there is a purgatory, and that the souls there detained are relieved by the suffrages of the faithful.

8. I do likewise believe, that the saints reigning together with Christ, are to be worshipped and prayed unto, and that they do offer prayers unto God for us, and that their relics are to be had in veneration.

9. I do most firmly assert, that the images of Christ, and of the ever Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration ought to be given them.

10. I do affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is very beneficial to Christian people.

11. I do acknowledge the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church to be the Mother and Mistress of all Churches; and I do promise and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

12. I do also, without the least doubt, receive and profess all other things which have been delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred Canons and œcumenical Councils, and especially by the holy Synod of *Trent*; and all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I do likewise condemn, reject, and anathematize.

This true Catholic Faith, without which no man can be saved, which at this time I freely profess and truly embrace, I will be careful (by the help of God) that the same be retained, and firmly professed, whole and inviolate, as long as I live; and that as much as in me lies, that it be held, taught, and preached by those under my power, and by such as I shall have charge over in my profession, I, the said N. promise, vow, and swear:—So help me God, and these His Holy Gospels.”

NOTE D.

(See Quarterly Review for June, 1844, article on "Schism in the Papacy.")

"In like manner, in the encyclical letter to the bishops in Poland, transmitted at the time of the Polish Revolution, the Pope speaks, or rather is made to speak, in very strong terms, of certain unquiet spirits which had been for many years troubling the Holy See with unreasonable requests—requests which, although always refused, were with unconquerable pertinacity continually renewed :"—

"The four points upon which they have been insisting are, first, that the public worship shall be performed in all countries in the vernacular tongue ; secondly, that the cup shall be given, as well as the bread, in the Sacrament to the laity ; thirdly, that the frequenting of the confessional shall not be compulsory ; fourthly, that vows of celibacy shall not be obligatory on the clergy."

"In France the people commonly use a prayer-book, called the 'Paroissien,' which has the Latin service and the French translation in parallel columns ; but such a work is prohibited in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and all countries where the power of the Church is absolute. In the *North of Germany* and the Tyrol, they use a *German Mass-book*."

After speaking of the "Disciples of Sailer," the promoters of the movement, it continues—"They are called 'Jesus worshippers,' the others 'Mary worshippers' (Mariadiensten) ; and these sobriquets clearly indicate another great practical abuse of the papacy, as to which the two parties have already come into open collision. We say practical—for, however clearly educated Romanists may see the demarcation between *douleia* and *latreia*—however sincerely they may protest against injustice when charged with giving to a dead woman the honour and worship duly only to God, the fact is entirely undeniable that in Roman Catholic

countries thousands and tens of thousands live and die in habitual reliance on the intercession and mediation, not of the Saviour, but of the Virgin and other Saints departed."

NOTE E.

The reader who has any acquaintance with the state of religion in the South of France will recognise the truth of this. An incident which occurred within the sphere of the writer's own observation, will perhaps best illustrate it. In the course of a winter passed at Nice, he had had several conversations on religious subjects with the landlady of the house where he lodged, the wife of a veteran officer in Napoleon's army. She had evinced much earnestness in her inquiries as to the nature of Protestant doctrines; and when a French Testament was put into her hands, she had poured over its pages with many tears of thankfulness and delight. During Lent, a young and rather famous preacher was sent to officiate in the French church, from one of the neighbouring towns; and with other good Catholics, she was constant in her attendance. On her return from the second or third sermon, she expressed great pleasure at the doctrines she had heard preached. The subject had been "*prayer*," which appeared to have been enforced with much earnestness. "But to whom were you told to pray?"—"To God only." "To none else? No apostles or saints, no martyrs?"—"None." "*Through* whom then were you told to pray?"—"Through Jesus Christ." "Was there no mention made of other mediators? None of the Virgin Mary, for instance?"—"Not once did her name occur throughout the sermon, nor that of any other mediator but the one, our Lord Jesus Christ." On a subsequent occasion the text had been "Search the Scriptures," and the duty had been enforced faithfully and with no restriction. It was in the course

of a conversation to which this had led, that she made the remark which had already suggested itself to the writer's mind. "I feel sure that our *young* preachers are beginning to preach *your* doctrines. I never hear these things from the Italian priests here, I never heard them from the older ones in my own country." And this is the exact truth. Through the exertions of the Société Evangélique of Paris and Geneva, the pure word of God has found its way, not into the hands of the people alone, but of the priests. The consequence of this is, that while through the Hierarchy and higher orders of the priesthood, an endeavour—and not an unsuccessful one—is being made, to Jesuitize the Church of France, amongst the lower ranks of the *secular* clergy, a resistance of principle is silently organising itself, which will be rendered the more powerful only as it is the more sought to be coerced into silence. It is from amidst the conflict of elements such as these, that the independence of the Church of France, and its purification will probably, and before many years have passed, be wrought out. We will only add, though this is rather connected with a subsequent part of our argument, that it was from the existence of similar scriptural enlightenment amongst the priesthood, that the Reformation found a ready entrance into England,—from the want of it, that it made so little way in Ireland. It is said of Brown, subsequently Archbishop of Dublin, that "while he was Provincial of the Augustine order in England,—he advised the people to make their application for, and to, Christ alone—and for which doctrine he was much taken notice of—and not to the Virgin Mary and other saints."

NOTE F.

Many instances of such declarations on the part of the English Roman Catholics might be adduced. It will be sufficient to specify one amongst the most recent.

"That the meeting deeply regrets the tone assumed at this time by too many of their Protestant fellow-subjects; that they feel much sorrow when they see *unfounded*—they fondly hoped *forgotten*—charges renewed against them.

NOTE G.

(Extracted from "Short Account of John Ronge." Chapman, 1845. Page 30, 31, 32.)

"But of all demonstrations that were made in his favour, the most satisfactory was that exhibited by the Catholic community at Schneidemuhl, a small Prussian town. The whole community, with their priest, Czarski, at their head, took the decisive step of separating themselves entirely from the Roman Catholic church, without, however, adopting the name of Protestants, but of *German Catholics*. They published at the same time their creed, signed by each of them, of which we shall give a short review."

After an introduction, setting forth the origin of their movement, the following doctrines and rites of the Catholic church are rejected in nine articles :—

"1. The doctrine that only the priests are fit to receive the holy sacrament in both kinds, and that it is sufficient for the people to receive the bread alone.

2. The canonizations.

3. The invocation of saints, and the worship of images and relics.

4. The doctrine that the priests have the power to forgive

the sins of men, and to absolve them from transgressions of all kinds; likewise the doctrine of indulgences.

5. Fasting.

6. The divine service, the mass and vespers in Latin.

7. The celibacy of the priests.

8. The doctrine that it is sinful for a Catholic to marry a Protestant.

9. The doctrine that Christ is visibly represented on earth by a man.

Then follows their own creed, in which they declare that they are, and wish to remain Catholics, that is to say, not *Roman*, but *German Catholics*."

NOTE H.

In further confirmation of the lead taken by the priesthood in assailing some of the worst of the Romish corruptions, the following extracts are given from the article in the *Quarterly Review* before quoted.

"But with the honest *ecclesiastics* of Germany, the Tyrol, German Switzerland, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, these things are no speculations and theories, but sad and painful realities. They know that corruption of the youthful mind is the natural and almost invariable result; and some are determined that the fruits of this system shall not be hid in a corner any more; but, let the consequences be what they may, the secret recesses of infamy shall be exposed, and the system be put an end to.

"The German *ecclesiastics* who are now resolved to bring these things to light, have no wish for writing libellous accusations against their brethren; but they will bring them forward as proofs, damning proofs, of the effects of the practice of the confessional, of the necessary studies of the priests, and of the vows of celibacy upon the morals of the clergy.

"That movement in Bavaria and Western Germany, which at this moment excites the well-founded alarm of the Roman court, may be traced principally to the zeal and abilities of the late Bishop Sailer; and hence the importance of the speech of the King of Bavaria upon the appointment of Bishop Riedel, which ended with the expression of his Majesty's hope that he should find in him a worthy successor of Bishop Sailer."

NOTE K.

In Mant's History of the Church in Ireland, (vol. i. page 259,) it is shown that only two Bishops were deprived for refusing to take the *oath of supremacy*, Leverous of Kildare, and Walsh of Meith. All the rest conformed to the existing order of things. So, too, when the *act of uniformity* had been passed by the Irish parliament, "the Bishops," we are told, "complied with this alteration in the public worship"—"the adherents of the Romish church in Ireland resorted to the parish churches where the English service was used during a great part, if not the whole of Queen Elizabeth's reign."

NOTE L.

See description of "Patrick's Purgatory of Lough Dearg." Quarterly Review, vol. lxxviii. Article on Carleton's Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry.

NOTE M.

Extract from a letter of Archbishop Brown (of Dublin) to the Lord Cromwell. (Mant's History of the Church in Ireland.)

"The people of the nation be blind and unknowing—most of the clergy, as your Lordship hath heard from me before, being ignorant, and not able to speak right words in the Mass or Liturgy, as being not skilled in the Latin

Grammar, so that a bird might be taught to speak with as much sense as several of them do in this country. These sorts, though not scholars, yet crafty to cozen the poor people, and to dissuade them from following his Highness's orders." See also the letter of Sir Henry Sidney to Queen Elizabeth, in which he sets forth the miserably degraded condition of the Irish clergy.

NOTE N.

The successive spoliations of the Irish church will be found recorded at length in Bishop Mant's history. The ignorance of the Irish language, by which the Protestant clergy have lost so strong a hold on the hearts of the people, may be traced, in no small degree to the policy of the English government. For by the Irish Act of Uniformity it was provided that "spiritual promotion should only be given to such persons as could speak English, and that all clergymen should be bound by oath to endeavour to learn and speak the English language, and to preach the word of God in English."

NOTE O.

(See Rev. Mr. Tierney's speech at the Dundalk dinner.)

After quoting part of a letter from the Duke of Essex to Queen Elizabeth, in 1599, in which the following sentence occurs:—"Their Jesuits and practising priests must be hunted and taken from them," Mr. Tierney says, "Look at the iniquitous Bequests Bill, have they not legislated in that bill, against *the Jesuits* and *practising priests*? Have they not made two of our archbishops commissioners of that unholy measure? Have they not *induced others of the prelates to secede* from the majority of their brethren?"

LONDON :

PRINTED BY J. OLLIVIER, 59, Pall-mall.

THE MAYNOOTH GRANT.

A LETTER

(Reprinted from the "Standard,")

TO THE

CLERGY WHO ATTENDED AS DEPUTIES
IN LONDON

TO OPPOSE THE GRANT.

BY A COUNTRY CLERGYMAN.



LONDON :
JOHN OLLIVIER, 59, PALL-MALL.
1845.

LONDON :
Printed by Maurice & Co., Fenchurch-street.

A LETTER, &c.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

Having allowed yourselves, doubtless from a deep sense of duty, to take a public part in the opposition offered to the grant proposed by the Government to the College at Maynooth, and having witnessed the polemical excitements of which it has been made the vehicle in the public meetings you have countenanced by your presence in the metropolis, I would respectfully intreat you, now that the Bill has passed through Parliament to pause for a short time in your career; and bearing in mind, as ministers of the Gospel of peace, "whose you are, and whom you serve," candidly to ask yourselves whether you feel *quite* satisfied as to the conspicuous part you have recently taken in the din of political and religious strife? Whether you have felt *quite* comfortable, and *in your proper sphere*, in the mixed companies, "of all denominations," to which you have given countenance by your presence on the platforms at Exeter Hall and other places? Whether the part you have there taken is consistent with your character as *pillars of the Church*? and whether the sentiments in which you have concurred have had any tendency to *bring back* "*wanderers from the fold*;" to "*put away strife and debate*;" or to *promote peace and goodwill among the members of Christ*.

Being one of your own body as a Presbyter of the Church, I would strenuously defend your right to express your opinions on all subjects in which the welfare of society may be involved; and especially on those questions which affect man's eternal interests. But it behoves us, in the exercise of our sacred office, continually to bear in mind, that "as much as in us lieth, we should live peaceably with all men;" and as we have *authorised* channels in those "who are ordained to rule over us in spiritual things," for communicating our sentiments on great public questions, and we can thus give *weight*

to our opinions, by presenting them to the legislature in our collective capacity as clergymen, it surely becomes us to take heed how we make ourselves conspicuously prominent in those politico-religious controversies which stimulate the passions we inherit in common with others, and are destructive of a meek and humble spirit.

Of the numerous body of dissenters, forming a vast majority of the deputies at your late meetings, I am bound and desirous to speak in terms only of kindness and respect. They are, I doubt not, as conscientious in their opinions on points of faith and discipline, as we are. But surely this does not justify you in uniting on a great *religious* question with men who differ from you on many of the vital doctrines of the Gospel; who scoff at your claim to apostolic authority for our system of Church government; who unite with you, *at present*, "in sinking all minor differences" (under the undefined plea of "our common Protestantism"), because they think the course you are now adopting accords with their views for the destruction of the connexion between the Church and the State; but who combine at other times with equal zeal with the Roman Catholics, in opposition to the Church you revere: as in a recent instance of hostility to the government Education Bill, on the avowed plea of a jealous apprehension that it would give additional influence to the parochial clergy. Whatever be your opinions, therefore, on the errors of Popery, which no one can deplore more than I do, let me intreat you (as an old fellow-labourer in our Lord's vineyard), before you appear again in London as DELEGATES OF A SOLEMN PROTESTANT LEAGUE AND COVENANT, to consider seriously, whether, in the character thus delineated by your chairman, you will be adopting either the most becoming, or the most judicious course, for giving effect to your own opinions, or for dispelling those errors and delusions of Romanism you earnestly desire to eradicate from the Christian fold. On the latter very serious subject, let me entreat you also to consider, with the calm devoted attention it merits, whether the line you are pursuing is the one best adapted to lead to success.

Put the subject before you in its most simple form. If there were, in the parish of any of you, an individual of reputable character, but holding lax, or sectarian, or infidel opinions, and you were brought into contact with that man, and felt desirous, as you doubtless would, to convince him of his errors, and to lead him to the truth as it is in Jesus, *how would you proceed?* Would you adopt a repulsive, or a mild and courteous deportment towards him? Are you not convinced that your only hope of success would depend on a judicious appeal to his reason? With regard also, generally, to dissenters in your parish, or to persons lukewarm and careless about religion, did you ever draw such persons to your congregation by harshness or compulsion? Or in your intercourse with your neighbours at vestry, or other public meetings, did you ever disarm opposition by sternness? And did you never succeed in effecting your objects by patiently and mildly explaining them? Doubtless, those among you who have learned experience by a long exercise of pastoral duties in populous parishes, will agree with me on these points.

Then let me respectfully ask you to reflect, if the course to which I have alluded be good as to individuals, why it should not be adopted in the aggregate?

What can possibly be the result of much of the language applied, in your presence, at the recent meetings, to the religious tenets of the Roman Catholics, but the extension of bitter, hateful, and revengeful feelings? Many of the dogmas of Popery may be damnable and idolatrous, and many of its ceremonies may be absurd mummeries; but if you wish to obliterate such impieties and defilements from the Catholic Church, do you expect to do so by irritating and insulting the Papists whom you desire to convert? Or do you think you are strengthening the bulwarks of the Church by exasperating Christians of different denominations against each other? Is "*divide et impera*" to be your motto, for hastening the period when "there shall be one fold and one shepherd?" Or are you *afraid* that the lofty battlements of our Zion may

be overthrown; or its deep and solid foundations be undermined, either by the open assaults, or the insidious approaches of Popery? *Is the Protestant faith built upon the sand?* Can you really believe that the great body of the English people, with the knowledge and intelligence of the nineteenth century, can be drawn away by the arts of designing men from their religious principles to image-worship, or be seduced from their loyalty to their Sovereign, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope? Of such infatuations you can have no serious apprehension. You know that the efforts made to expand the minds of the British people have been at least so far successful as to have rendered all such dangers futile and visionary. And may we not hope, *with this example before us*, that similar efforts, combined with increasing means of communication and intercourse, may gradually produce similar fruits in our sister island?

When science and literature revived in Europe, was the mental cultivation which flowed from them long confined to the priesthood? or has the dominion of the hierarchy been thereby increased? Has not the general diffusion of sound learning and religious education among us tended, in fact, to raise an insuperable barrier against the tyranny of spiritual despotism? And why should not a similar cause produce a similar effect when applied to the singularly intelligent character of our Irish fellow-subjects? Nay, is there not cause to hope that the force of Divine truth is even now working its quiet but effectual way, through the medium of superior education, and the interchange of the courtesies of good society, in the different portions of the realm. In the zeal and earnestness of controversy, reference is indeed continually made to tenets which we alike deplore and abhor: but can it be said, that no ground has been gained on the side of truth, when we hear the most obnoxious of those tenets denounced in Parliament by men of cultivated minds and unimpeachable integrity, whom we have supposed to have been bred up under their influence? Or, can it be said, that no ground has been gained, when we hear such men *publicly dis-*

avow, in the same spirit with ourselves, *the damnable doctrine*, that princes, excommunicated by the Pope, may be murdered by their subjects? Is it a matter of no importance to the cause of truth, to hear such men abjure with indignation the heavy charge, that they may be released, by their priests, from the sacred obligations of an oath? Is it a matter of no importance, that in this very college of Maynooth, the doctrine of the temporal power of the Pope in these realms is unequivocally contradicted and denied; and to hear that “Dens’ Theology,” is not a class-book in the institution? And as to those dogmas of Rome which refer more immediately to religion—though this is not the time or place to discuss them—it may confidently be asked, can we hope to counteract them, otherwise than by appealing to the intellect of their upholders?

Probably, however, you may object that, even if you admit, generally, the view I have taken, still it does not apply to the great and perplexing question which has recently occupied your attention. You may say, on scriptural authority, that “We are not to do evil, that good may come:” that there is a broad line of distinction between tolerating error, and patronising it; and that we cannot be justified in supporting an institution, whose object is to inculcate articles of faith which we believe to be dangerous, heretical, and impious. In replying to these grave and conscientious objections, I would not refer to Scripture irreverently, nor willingly pervert it: but when we read St. Paul’s account of his own conduct, in the exercise of his ministry—“to the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews”—although we do not dare to suppose, for a moment, that this devoted apostle would have renounced one iota of the Christian faith for *any* purpose, yet we may fairly presume, without derogating from his character, that he was ready to accommodate himself, as far as his duty would allow, to Jewish prejudices and Jewish custom, (as he did, for instance, at Cenchrea, where he had a vow, and when he purified himself on entering the Temple), “*that he might by all means save some.*” And if such were the example of St. Paul, does it behove us to stand aloof “from our

brethren that are in need," or to repel them with Pharisaical presumption? Does it not rather behove us to bear awhile with their errors, in the hope that we may gradually overcome them? And is the hope altogether unreasonable, that by opening the doors of their seminaries to men of enlarged and cultivated minds, while we are at the same time spreading abroad the principles of knowledge, in our increasing intercourse with the people, we may be *beginning from the very outset of the proposed grant, not to do evil, but good*; and may, with increasing civilization, be gradually, but effectually opening the gates, to pour forth the pure light of the Gospel on those who have hitherto been walking in darkness, until it shineth upon them in all the bright effulgence of the perfect day. On the complicated questions relative to the great subject we have been noticing, wide differences of opinion have, unhappily, existed, and will exist, among men of the highest moral and religious reputation, which it is far more easy to discuss and deplore, than to amalgamate and harmonize. But if we cannot eradicate strife, heresy, and schism, we may materially assist in mitigating their virulence, by uniformly proclaiming, that *charity is the basis of unity and peace*.

Under this impression, I have ventured to submit my observations to you, with an earnest hope that if they do not convince they will give none offence, with a deep conviction, that the principles I have advocated are alone adapted to effect the object I have in view: and with a full persuasion, that though prejudice and pride may, for a time, check their progress, yet that, like the "bread cast upon the waters," their fruit will be found after many days. With this hope,

I beg to subscribe myself,

My Reverend Brethren,

Your obedient Servant,

A COUNTRY CLERGYMAN.

COMMON SENSE v. BIGOTRY;

OR,

R E A S O N S

FOR SUPPORTING THE

PARLIAMENTARY GRANT TO MAYNOOTH.

BY A

CLERGYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

LONDON:

W. H. DALTON, COCKSPUR STREET.

1845.



LONDON:
G. J. PALMER, PRINTER, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

COMMON SENSE v. BIGOTRY.

MY DEAR —,

You ask me how it is possible for a clergyman of the English Church to be an advocate for the endowment of the College of Maynooth? I am, therefore, herein about to give you my reasons for thinking it a sound, politic measure, in no wise repugnant to the interests of the church, nor likely to endanger the constitution as at present established.

First of all, let us consider what is the duty of a wise government. It is on all hands agreed that it is doing its work when it promotes the real welfare of the people. The question then arises whether the powers that be in the state ought to maintain and provide religious instruction for the people. Some say *yea*, others *nay*. You and I are agreed that the state should provide religious instruction, and, therefore, that the established religion should be upheld and strengthened.

If all our people were in communion with the church in England and Ireland, there could be no dispute on these points ; but, unhappily, in Ireland, the vast majority are out of the church's communion. They object to the religious instruction already provided for them, and have sought and found another which they believe to be exclusively the true religion. Hundreds of teachers are employed in maintaining them in their faith, and Romanism in Ireland increases daily. The secular instruction which the state has provided, without distinction of religious belief, has almost entirely fallen into their hands. The members of the Established Church either disapprove of the plan, or are outnumbered and fall into insignificance in the schools where the Romanists swarm. Further, it is agreed that the priests in Ireland are miserably educated; they are taken from the lower ranks of the people, participate in their prejudices, and foster as much as they can their feelings of alienation from their Protestant fellow-subjects. These men and their flocks are constantly in the habit of appealing to the fact that the established religion is not their religion, that they are left to find religious instruction for themselves, while a priest of the church is provided for an imaginary congregation.

The state is careless of the religious well-being

of the Romanist people in Ireland. It is useless to say, that we place before them what is good for them, and their own obstinacy prevents them from using it. They conscientiously believe that the instruction provided is pernicious and heretical. We are sorry for their blindness—but it is *invincible*. They look upon the Irish Church as the church of a persecuting alien minority—the church of a foreign intruder—and *will* not consider it in any other light. The principle of an established religion for the welfare of the people is *gone*—and what becomes then of the assertion that the state should provide for the welfare of the people? It is clearly in this instance at fault. The state does not do so in Ireland. It is of no use to say that if the people were enlightened, they would see that the state has done what is best for them. They are not, in this sense, enlightened. They are firmly persuaded of the contrary; and therefore, while this *great fact* stares us in the face, it is untrue to say that, as far as they are concerned, the state provides for their welfare. If you had to maintain an eldest son, and you paid into your bankers a sum of money for his use, which (however erroneously) he says is *stolen money*, and that he cannot lawfully touch it; and prefers starvation to the availing himself of your bounty—is it not quite clear that he is not

maintained by you? He starves; and that would be a *great fact* exactly similar to the fact of the Romanists in Ireland being left destitute of religious provision for their instruction and education. You may pity your son's infatuation, but still he is thrown upon his own resources. Suppose he is able to maintain himself respectably, then you say no great harm is done—but you cannot be indifferent to his fate; and if the contrary should be the case, that he cannot do so, then it is the part of a wise and sound judging man to have compassion on the infatuation which he cannot prevent, and to endeavour to alleviate the destitution arising from scruples which at any rate are *respectable*. Apply this to the matter in hand. The state should endeavour to heal the diseases and evils which the body politic in Ireland now groans under—most of which, if not originating in the differences of religion, are severely aggravated by them. And surely the first step to be taken is to see that those who *lead* others should be improved; give them the education of gentlemen—give them a position which will secure them respect, let them be made men of attainments, let them not be left as they now are, to the miserable shifts which their only place of education compels them to resort to.

The people of Ireland are persuaded that the

government persecutes them, despises their altars, and their priests, and leaves them to their own devices for spiritual as well as temporal benefits. They say, not only that the state provision for the church in Ireland has been *stolen* from them, (see Sir H. W. Barron's speech, May 20th, House of Commons,) but they believe it to be turned to a bad purpose. The money which they may draw out from the state bankers is not only *stolen*, but to be paid in *bad* coin.

Endeavour, then, to take away this prejudice which stops their ears, when you propose schemes of temporal relief. Let them see that the state *has* a respect for their religious scruples. Let them no longer suppose that they are to be dragooned into Protestantism by spiritual starvation. If you do this—and I think the endowment of the college a good step towards such an end—you will be at any rate *endeavouring* to do what is for the good of the people,—you will be conciliating,—you can no longer be accused of a cruel indifference. Surely it is wise, and in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel, to make these people feel that you will do all you can for them. They now cry for justice to their country, and you answer them with a loud shout throughout the land, that their priests shall not have a decent education. Let the bigotry of Exeter Hall be contradicted by the acts of our

parliament. Let them not suppose that we want but the power to destroy them. If you tell them their religion is idolatry, and other abominable things which I will not transcribe, you will never have a peaceful and industrious, never a christian population. And I do not say that this measure will make them peaceable and industrious ; but it is one of the many means that, in all probability, will tend to that one end. And that the priest thus educated will require an endowment should be no obstacle. Let him be endowed, let the Roman Catholic in Ireland be placed on the same footing with the Roman Catholic in our colonies, and then we shall see one great and reasonable cause of complaint removed.

It is possible that even this may not tranquilize Ireland, say you. At any rate, *withholding* it will not tranquillize Ireland, and there is a chance that by doing this act of justice and sound policy you may do good. But if not, I say you ought to do what is just ; and as honesty is the best policy, I anticipate that the result will be beneficial.

When you talk, too, of establishing the true religion, and call the Romanist a schismatic, he has a very ready reply. In England and Scotland you have established two different systems, —the religion of the majority in each case.

Why do you establish the religion of the minority in Ireland? In anticipation of your reply, that Protestantism is established, I answer that Protestantism is not a religion; it is the mere abnegation of Romanism, and includes in its endless chasm not only Episcopalians and Presbyterians, but Unitarians, Quakers, and fanatics of every shade and degree, who can all call themselves Protestants if they object to the peculiar tenets of Rome. If you gave way in Scotland, it was because you were *forced*; and this is the fact that makes the Romanist turbulent in Ireland. You gave way to *force* once—fear may make you do so again. I say anticipate the demand, and give on the score of justice what will be extorted some day from your fears.

One argument against the measure is, that it is a heavy blow and great discouragement to Protestantism. It is a poor compliment to pay to the truth, that a grant of £30,000 per annum to its opponents should endanger it, where that truth is endowed with millions; but to take the moral effect only, I am firmly persuaded that it will have the opposite result. It will not discourage Protestantism, but it may discourage the proselytizing spirit of Romanism. Let the social condition of the priest be improved, and he cannot be so ignorant as to suppose that the

rancour and fury of Protestant associations is the spirit of the English Church. So long as he is ignorant of us and our general tone of society, he will believe the false press which represents us as a hostile raving set of heretics, whereas if he knew more, he would see that he is mistaken in this point, that Exeter Hall represents only a noisy and bigoted part of the church, whose zeal outruns their discretion, and whose information is limited to the leading articles of the most furious of the Orange newspapers of their own country. To read the ravings of these religious demagogues, no one would believe that Roman Catholics were Christians. They do not speak with half the bitterness of the blasphemers at home, as they do of the Romanists in Ireland.

Honestly, I believe a Roman Catholic, who has himself applied his reason and common sense to questions of the day, a far better Christian than most Protestant dissenters, as I say there are included in that "denomination" all the heresies that ever disturbed the church. Let the Romish priest be a man of general information and sound knowledge, he will then hold a better station in the country—will not be an agitator to make himself of importance—but will, with wisdom, gain grace, and so will know more the small value of petty disputes, when

compared with the great trust of the everlasting interests of the souls committed to his charge. If both the priests of the church, and the Romish priests were busy in the salvation of men's souls, they would have no time to concern themselves in disputes or politics—but the one great work of Christianity, *charity*, would flourish, and differences die away. Do away with the prejudice that the people have against the church—as a body of persecutors: take away the cause of the contempt which the upper classes feel towards the people and their priest, by making him a gentleman in mind and acquirements, and you have done the very best thing for the Protestant church which human means can effect.

Another argument let us consider—that the encouraging the propagation of Roman Catholic doctrines is a violation of the constitution, whose fundamental law is, that it shall be essentially Protestant. I ask, in reply, whether your refraining from interference on behalf of the Romanist has contributed to the spread of Protestantism in Ireland? Have you succeeded by your one-sided policy in putting down Romanism? Have you not, by upholding a bullying and persecuting minority, led the others into more determined schism? We all know the way that pigs are shipped from the south of the green isle. Now you have been doing the same

thing with the same effect in this matter. The more you starved out your Romanist, the more he would not be starved. The more you tried to bring him over to Protestantism, the more he would not come. You will never propagate Protestant doctrines by forcing the Roman Catholic to feel himself an outcast. But having completely failed to ship your Roman Catholics by the pulling them backwards, having made them, on the contrary, march forwards into their own ways with the greater zeal—suppose you try the other plan of pulling them the other way—try and see if, by pulling them into their own ship, they will not now strive against your efforts. Having beaten, and starved, and persecuted them for a long time, try the opposite tack; give them fair treatment; let them feel that whether Protestant or Romanist, the state cares alike for their welfare; and then, there being no violent prejudice at work, no pleasant feeling of being persecuted, they will naturally choose that which is best. Men who are not swayed by extraneous motives, generally prefer truth to falsehood. Roman Catholics are men—why should they not, though Irish, be reasonable, honest, and candid?

Finally, let us take the objection of an honest man, Sir R. Inglis, who asks triumphantly, how can you, who believe such and such a system to

be true, and the opposite system to be erroneous, how can you sanction the teaching of that error? I answer that seven millions of people, of whose welfare we are the guardians, firmly believe the reverse to be the case; they think that our system is error and theirs truth—and the teachers of this mass of people are ignorant, uneducated men, who abuse their position for political purposes; and therefore, as we cannot convince these seven millions of people that they are wrong and Sir R. Inglis right, let us at all events try and do them some good, let us enable them to have men of a higher standard, of better education, for their priests; let us, now that we have failed by starvation and bullying, and coercion bills, to make these people Protestants, let us, I say, endeavour to make them better Roman Catholics. Their priests have a great influence over them, let us give them men who will use that influence for good and not for evil. This is my answer. The fallacy of the objection lies in this: that it does not draw the distinction between a system already in existence, and one to be hereafter. If Ireland were Protestant, and the proposed endowment were urged upon parliament, the question would be pertinent, which now it is *not*. You are not called upon to establish an erroneous creed, but that creed being *de facto* established, by having a

most firm hold on the affections and prejudices of the people, you are urged to make it less pernicious. (I am speaking here to those who look upon Romanism as an unmixed evil.) Adopt measures which shall make these determined rejectors of Protestantism, better citizens and better Christians. We would wish them to be churchmen, but we cannot have our wish. Well, then, let them be made good of their sort. A bad potato is not so good a thing as a pineapple ; but still it is better to have good potatoes than bad ones, and therefore we try to improve that useful vegetable. If the Irishman will have his pig in his parlour, we regret that he likes so very nasty a habit, but as he *will* have it, let us help him to have a fat pig instead of a lean one. These are all familiar illustrations, but they are to the point. If Sir R. Inglis was discussing this our last case, he would say, Why you are going to encourage the Irish to keep their pigs in the same room where they live themselves, you who have so great a regard for cleanliness. Not so, my good Sir Robert, the pig is *there*, whether we like it or no. The proposal is that his ribs shall be covered with flesh, that he shall be a more comfortable pig, and hold a higher station in the estimates of ways and means. Seriously, we are not anxious that the Irish should be Roman Catholics, but finding that

they are Roman Catholics, and will be Roman Catholics, we think it better that they should be good citizens, that they should have a higher standard for their clergy, that they should, in a word, be elevated in the scale of society, and that is the object which we hope to assist in accomplishing by the proposed endowment of Maynooth.

Yours faithfully.

LONDON :

PRINTED BY G. J. PALMER, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

A LETTER
TO
SIR ROBERT PEEL
ON THE
ENDOWMENT
OF THE
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF IRELAND.

BY THE KNIGHT OF KERRY.

John Francis Fitzgerald



LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1845.

LONDON: WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

P R E F A C E.

I owe an explanation and apology for the seeming egotism with which I obtrude a sort of personal narrative, as connected with great public matters. But, as I write not as an author, but as a witness, it is indispensable that I should explain how so unimportant a person could have been placed in such peculiar confidence amongst the great men who accomplished the Union.

A LETTER,

§c. §c.

MY DEAR SIR,

London, 28 May, 1845.

BEFORE entering upon the subject which I presume to submit to the public of the United Kingdom at this moment of general excitement, I wish to rid myself of some possible, and perhaps probable, misconception of my motives.

Although I have had the honour of seeing you since my arrival in London, you are aware that the business which brought me here is not at all of a political nature, and that the course I now take has, neither directly nor indirectly, been encouraged or sanctioned by you. You are also aware of my total withdrawal from public life. It is now some eight years since I apprised you that I would not accept of any office under the Crown, either at home or abroad; I am therefore influenced by no view either to present or future favour in what I write.

But although I do not court a living Minister, I revert with vivid recollection to Statesmen who have long since passed away, with whose counsels I was humbly but intimately identified, and to whose memory I look back with devoted attachment. I have

suddenly arrived from the most complete retirement upon a scene of the most violent contention.

I hear you bitterly assailed for having, as it is said, commenced a series of conciliatory measures towards the Roman Catholics of Ireland. The only practical crime of which you at present stand convicted, is your having pertinaciously urged through the House of Commons an increase of a few thousand pounds for the more cleanly and decent education of Roman Catholic priests. I would wish to dismiss here the really insignificant subject of Maynooth : that College was established on the suggestion of Mr. Burke, as a permanent institution, no doubt to be enlarged and improved according to the exigencies of the Roman Catholic Church. It formed but a small item in the catalogue of measures contemplated by Mr. Pitt for the amelioration of Ireland. Whether the expense should have been charged to England or Ireland may be a question of political economy, but cannot be one of principle. The English government and the Irish Parliament were committed to that principle.

Very grave gentlemen assure me that this is a first step in an awful revolutionary career. I will not, for a moment, doubt that many of my Conservative friends, and of the religious public, are actuated in their alarm upon this subject by the most sincere and honest views; but I cannot help asking myself whether these persons have ever heard or read of a measure called the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland; if they have, they seem to have totally forgotten it. It is my misfortune to be old enough to have a very lively recollection of that event. I was elected to the Irish Parliament in 1795, a pupil

in the school of Burke, and an humble but ardent supporter of the general policy of Mr. Pitt. I served long enough in the Parliament of College Green to be thoroughly disgusted with its political corruption, its narrow bigotry, and the exclusive spirit of monopoly with which it misgoverned Ireland. The tedium of our Debating Society was sometimes enlivened by the luminous oratory of Grattan, the brilliant declamation of Curran, the wit of Langrishe, and the blunders of Sir Boyle Roche; but the powerful effusions of the two former were curiously contrasted with the insignificance of the topics discussed, and were generally unsuccessful.

The correction of the representative system of Ireland by an Irish Parliament was so utterly hopeless, that on the last effort, upon the motion of Sir Lawrence Parsons, combining the double object of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, we divided but 15 out of 300.

A temporary, though melancholy importance was given to the duties and transactions of the Irish Parliament by the Rebellion which followed.

However I may have rejoiced at the escape of my country from a frightful revolution, I was revolted at the harsh * and sanguinary measures which followed the suppression of the Rebellion, and hailed with delight the arrival of Lord Cornwallis. He came in full possession of his sovereign's confidence, and representing the enlightened wisdom of Mr. Pitt's government, to administer justice in mercy, and to heal the wounds of my distracted country. Lord Castlereagh, the

* Lord Camden was personally averse to those harsh measures.

well chosen instrument of that new and noble policy, had thrown on his young shoulders the task of checking the exasperated fury of a triumphant party, of encountering that corrupt and powerful combination which for so long a period had monopolized the patronage and administered exclusively the government of Ireland. That faction, that a few years before had driven away Lord Fitzwilliam on his evincing some disposition towards a liberal policy, made a similar attempt with regard to Lord Cornwallis, which was with great difficulty defeated by his firmness, and the judicious counteraction of Lord Castlereagh. The Union was soon after announced. I had long previously looked to such a measure as the only practicable relief from the false position which the House of Commons occupied towards the people of Ireland, and from its incapacity to reform itself without great peril to its existing institutions, while Ireland remained a separate country.

When the measure of a Union was announced to me with all due mystery, I was able to give an answer by return of post, expressing my great gratification at the prospect, and only conditioning that the terms should be just and honourable for Ireland. My acquaintance with Lord Castlereagh, under a sympathy and perfect coincidence as to all the measures of Lord Cornwallis's government, ripened into the most cordial intimacy, and a friendship almost fraternal, which subsisted not only throughout the slow progress of that legislative measure of the Union, but for several years afterwards. I can truly say that Lord Castlereagh had no secrets from me: not only did I enjoy his personal confidence, but I was ad-

vanced rapidly, though then very young, over the heads of powerful political aspirants to the highest official departments under the Government; and I was, by this concurrence of circumstances, in the inmost confidence of Lord Cornwallis's counsels.

I have thus far been obliged, contrary to my taste and to seeming propriety, to adopt a tone of egotism, because it is absolutely necessary to the object. I have in view that I should prove myself to be a competent witness to the circumstances attending the Union, and the policy on which that measure was founded. That policy was fully and unreservedly communicated to me by Lord Cornwallis. I believe this extraordinary confidence, so much beyond my age and pretensions, may be attributed to my zeal on the subject of the Union.

There were very few enthusiasts on our side, and very few of the old jobbers and official men were sincere in their support of the Union.

The tenor of Mr. Pitt's speeches had clearly indicated a liberal policy towards the Roman Catholics: thence sprung the general hostility of the zealous Protestants to the Union. The same cause attracted to it the good will of the Roman Catholics. As the policy of the measure developed itself, those opposite feelings were more distinctly manifested. The compact and energetic resistance was composed of the more zealous Protestants of the North—a sturdy band of the old jobbers and a remnant of the Whig opposition. Its supporters were all those whom the Government could influence, and such independent persons as duly estimated the enlightened policy of Mr. Pitt. We were backed up by the very general popularity of the

measure among the gentry of both persuasions, and the Roman Catholic population of Munster and Connaught.

To exemplify this state of feeling, I may mention that having accepted office as a supporter of the Union, I went to two elections pending the measure, and was returned without opposition in a county where the Roman Catholic interest greatly preponderated, and a Declaration almost unanimous in favour of the Union proceeded from the county of Kerry,* which was followed by similar ones from Tipperary and other districts.

When I look back to the general scheme of *practical relief* and enlightened concession towards the Roman Catholics, projected by Mr. Pitt at the period of the Union, and reflect that, after forty-five years of lamentable procrastination, you attempt to accomplish so mere a fraction of that scheme shall have excited such unexampled clamour, I do indeed stand amazed.

Why, Sir, if you are chargeable with an indifference to our institutions and an intention of endangering Protestantism by endowing the Roman Catholic clergy, what must have been Mr. Pitt's case? (Mr. Pitt, who had no such pressure from without to embarrass him as now affects your Government—Mr. Pitt, at the head of the strongest ministry that ever existed in England, supported by the great Whig

* One of my most strenuous supporters in bringing forward that Declaration was Mr. Maurice O'Connell, a gentleman of wealth, respectability, and decided loyalty, uncle of Mr. Daniel O'Connell; and my most active partisan on the occasion was Mr. John O'Connell, brother of Mr. Daniel O'Connell.

aristocracy which passed over to him under the influence of Mr. Burke,—with a powerless and unpopular opposition, Mr. Pitt deliberately and advisedly propounds a plan of which what you are said to have in hand is not a twentieth part.) Why, Sir, if your Denouncers are right, Mr. Pitt must have been a traitor to his sovereign—his country—and his religion. So must all those great men who were combined with him in such a conspiracy; but as generations pass away, and oblivion of great events succeeds, it may be necessary to recall the thoughts of what Mr. Pitt then was. Having saved England from a revolution, and put down a formidable rebellion in Ireland, having broken up opposition, commanding the confidence not only of Parliament, but of the people,—he stood the most potent and the proudest Minister who could exist in any country.

From that elevation and security, contemplating the inherent distraction of Ireland, and well knowing the impossibility of remedying them through a mere domestic Parliament, he devised the noble expedient of elevating the smaller country by a comprehensive identification with England, including the total abolition of all civil and political disabilities founded on religious grounds. That such were his purposes I can testify. They were communicated to me most unreservedly by Lord Cornwallis. I hold in my hands a confidential letter from Lord Castle-reagh, dated 22nd June, 1802, recognising the pledges given at the Union to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, for which they gave valuable consideration in their support of that measure (without which it could not have been carried), and further instructing

me to endeavour to reconcile the heads of their hierarchy to a delay in the performance of the engagements made to them by Mr. Pitt's Ministry for the endowment of their Church. Dr. Moylan, a justly venerated prelate, had then recently intimated to Lord Cornwallis the cheerful acquiescence of the Roman Catholic Bishops in the endowment of their Church. That letter being of an extremely confidential character, I have not printed it *in extenso*; but when Lord Sandon was assailed by a clerical *furioso*, demanding a proof of a "compact" to the above effect, I furnished his Lordship with the original, authorising him to show it to his assailant. It has been read by Lord Francis Egerton, by two other friends, and by one of the most honourable of those opposed to your present policy.

The extension of the Regium Donum to the Presbyterians had been just then obtained by Lord Castlereagh; but circumstances of a then very delicate nature, but now well understood, prevented Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Pitt from pressing the Catholic Claim: I acted on the negotiation committed to me, and succeeded.

I am aware of the casuistry with which the possibility of a formal compact is disputed; but although under all the circumstances it was impossible for Mr. Pitt to disclose his ulterior purposes without endangering, or rather sacrificing, the measure of the Union, no man of the slightest political knowledge can doubt that, but for the King's illness and his necessary withdrawal from power, Mr. Pitt could immediately after the Union have carried through Parliament, with an overwhelming majority of both Houses, his measures

for the complete political relief of the Roman Catholics and the endowment of their Church; and to Mr. Pitt's intentions on that subject, I personally testify on the authority of Lord Cornwallis.

With respect to the recent alarm excited as to that policy, I ask, can it be supposed by any rational person that such men as Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Windham, would surrender an iota of the security of our institutions for a temporary possession of power? which, alas! they were but too ready to sacrifice; and when, at the end of half a century, I find you cautiously moving on in their footsteps, and on that account assailed by that pseudo-religious madness which pervades a great portion of the public, and the arrogance of that clerical Convocation which, from Exeter Hall, and without the sanction of the heads of our Church, would denounce Ministers and dictate to Parliament, I appeal in the name of the common sense of England to the authority of those great names which I have mentioned.

If Conservatism, bewildered, demands a standard under which it can safely rally, I would require no better than that which was wielded, fifty years ago, by the firm hand of Mr. Pitt.

No doubt the present insolence and perverseness of the Irish Democracy offer a temporary difficulty. Separate, by a generous policy, the good from the bad, and in a spirit congenial to this great British Nation—"Be just, and fear not."

I annex a copy of a paper, explaining the causes of his resignation, drawn up by Mr. Pitt, and delivered

to me by Lord Cornwallis for circulation among the leading Roman Catholics.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

THE KNIGHT OF KERRY.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart.,
&c. &c. &c.

A P P E N D I X.

(COPY.)

“ The leading part of His Majesty’s Ministers, finding insurmountable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of concession to the Catholic body whilst in office, have felt it impossible to continue in administration under their inability to propose it with the circumstances necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages, and they have retired from His Majesty’s service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success.

“ The Catholic body will, therefore, see how much their future hopes must depend upon strengthening their cause by good conduct in the mean time.

“ They will prudently consider their prospects as arising from the persons who now espouse their interests, and compare them with those which they could look to from any other quarter ; they may rely on the zealous support of all those who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success ; they may be assured that Mr. Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favour, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects ; and the Catholics will feel that as Mr. Pitt could not concur in a hopeless attempt to force it now, that he must at all times repress, with the same decision as if he held an adverse opinion, any unconstitutional conduct in the Catholic body.

“ Under these circumstances, it cannot be doubted that the Catholics will take the most loyal, dutiful, and patient line of conduct ; that they will not suffer themselves to be led into measures which can by any construction give a handle to the opposers of their wishes, either to misinterpret their principles or to raise an argument for resisting their claims ; but that by their prudent and exemplary demeanour they will afford additional grounds to the growing number of their advocates, to enforce their claims on proper occasions, until their objects can be finally and advantageously attained.”



A LETTER

TO

SIR CULLING E. SMITH, BART., & J. LORD, ESQ.,

IN REPLY

TO THEIR ADDRESS AND LETTER

FROM THE

ANTI-MAYNOOTH COMMITTEE,

IN WHICH ARE EXAMINED

THE SCRIPTURALITY OF THEIR ALLIANCE—
THE PATRIOTISM, HUMANITY, AND REASONABLENESS OF THEIR AGI-
TATION AGAINST SIR ROBERT PEELE'S MEASURE IN FAVOR
OF THE POOR MAYNOOTH STUDENTS:

IN WHICH IS EXHIBITED

THE IRRECONCILEABLE OPPOSITION BETWEEN THEIR PRINCIPLES AND
PROFESSIONS:

AND IN WHICH IS EXPOSED

THE UNTENABLENESS OF THEIR OBJECTIONS AGAINST MAYNOOTH
AND THE INCREASED ENDOWMENT.

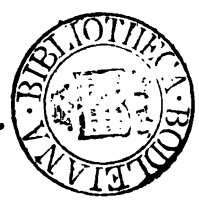
BY A

CLERGYMAN

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND,

(WHO LOVES JUSTICE AND TRUTH.)



LONDON:

SOLD BY SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, AND CO.,
STATIONERS HALL COURT.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

TO SIR CULLING EARDLEY SMITH, BART., AND
JAMES LORD, ESQ.

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a printed letter signed with your names, accompanying a printed address, also bearing your signatures, from the *Central Anti-Maynooth Committee, London Coffee House, Ludgate hill, April 19th, 1845*. The address stating, that "we [Protestants] are fighting anew the battle of the Reformation." The letter expressing a trust that "a holy zeal for our common Protestantism will not permit you to leave any lawful means unemployed, to defeat the Maynooth Bill in Parliament;" and both earnestly urging Protestants (evidently of all denominations) "to form an alliance (counter to Rome) based upon the primary doctrines of the reformation, and upon a mutual forbearance with regard to minor differences."

I trust, Gentlemen, that in this age and country, which maintain the rights of free discussion and private judgment, you will bear with a clergyman of the church of England and Ireland, while he states to you the reasons why he cannot respond or yield to your urgent entreaty to uphold and increase the agitation and outcry that have been, at least industriously, if not honestly raised against SIR ROBERT PEELE'S measure for increasing the present parsimonious grant to Maynooth, to one more commensurate with the wants of Ireland and the wealth of England.

The reasons why I cannot conscientiously have any, even the least participation in the agitation you have raised, and are so eagerly endeavouring to uphold and increase, are threefold.

1st. Because your address and letter exhibit irresistible internal evidence, that the alliance you and the

bodies you represent, have formed or intend to form, is utterly anti-scriptural and therefore unholy ; and that the real object you have in view is so too.

2nd. Because your *real object* is totally different from your *professed* one ; so that you are actually holding out false colours to entice and entrap the unthinking and unwary.

3rd. Because the outcry and opposition you are endeavouring to increase, as you succeeded in raising, are in my judgment, as unsanctioned by the word of God, and as opposed to patriotism and humanity, as they are unworthy of the good common sense of the English nation.

And 1st. The alliance you and your confederates propose, is utterly anti-scriptural and consequently wicked :—for what is that alliance ? it is a union, on religious grounds and for what you profess to be a religious object, between the Church of England and those various sects which have not only renounced her communion, but who decry and denounce, publicly or privately, most of her fundamental doctrines, her government and discipline.

Now I do not here assume the office of a judge, to declare whether dissenters be right or wrong in thus separating from the church ; but I say that a union or alliance on religious grounds, and for religious objects, between parties so situated is utterly anti-scriptural : such a union is nowhere described, except to be condemned, in the word of God :—neither in the pages of revelation, nor in those of Patristic theology do we ever read of a union on religious grounds and for religious objects between any branches of the church catholic and those who were outside her pale or had separated from her communion ; nay, on the contrary, we constantly read in holy writ, and in the history of the earliest ages of the church, such a union universally and unanimously condemned as a wicked and unholy thing.

It is quite scriptural, and therefore lawful, for members of the church to unite with “ those who are without ” on secular grounds and for secular ends. We know from scripture that the early Christians formed civil and social compacts, even marriages with such ; but they never united with them in religious matters : on this

point they were immoveable : yet though they might have it in their power, they never persecuted those who differed from them ; for the word of God adjudges no *temporal* punishment to those who are born outside the fold ; and on this point it may be remarked that rulers and governments seem to have stepped beyond the plain rule marked out in the New Testament when they inflicted *temporal* pains and penalties on those of their subjects who were not members of the church : the *only* persons on whom any temporal chastisement was to be inflicted were those who had personally separated from the communion of the faithful ; and the *only* punishment to be inflicted even on them, was to withdraw from their acquaintance, and hold aloof from their intimacy.

Now from this plain teaching of scripture as to the conduct Christians ought to adopt with regard to those who belong not to their communion it is evident that the real object you have in view is just as opposed to scripture precept as is your alliance or union.

For what is your real object ? in common every day language a man's object is what he aims at, what he desires to attain :—what will you and your confederates obtain if you succeed in the agitation you have sedulously, and in a degree successfully excited ? this is the point at issue here : let us not now discuss your professed object (I shall presently examine and exhibit the hollowness and utter insincerity of that) but let us ascertain what you will obtain if you succeed.

Plainly and indisputably then the only thing you will accomplish—the only end you will obtain, if you succeed by your agitation in overthrowing Sir Robert Peel's beneficent measure, will be the perpetuating the pain and penalty of discomfort and comparative starvation at present inflicted by England's Unenglish penuriousness on 4 or 500 poor Roman Catholic young men : for the outcry is not to withdraw the grant altogether (a logician could understand that although he might demur to the premises on which it rested) :— but to allow the miserable grant of £8000 a-year to continue for the purpose of supporting Maynooth, thereby admitting the principle, and then to invoke heaven and evoke the spirits and passions of earth,

if not of a lower sphere, against increasing that grant to a sum sufficient, and barely sufficient, for the respectable maintenance of the institution, is such an instance of a defect in the reasoning faculty as may induce other nations to suspect the superiority of England's boasted common sense.

Gentlemen, your union, and the real object of that union, are worthy of each other, both being opposed to scripture precept, and the former being as untrue to principle as the latter is to humanity.

I now come in the second place to show that the real—the only object you can possibly obtain by your agitation is totally different from your pretended object, and that therefore you are actually holding out false colours to entice and entrap the unthinking and unwary.

I have shewn above that the only thing you can obtain by your agitation, is to keep the students of Maynooth in the same deplorable and unhealthy discomfort, by which their feelings have been too long aggravated if not exasperated, and their bodily health too frequently injured, if not totally undermined: such is the only end you can obtain; but what do you profess to aim at? what do you pretend to accomplish?

You profess to be "fighting anew the battle of the Reformation," you pretend that your union is based upon the primary doctrines of the Reformation, and that you are struggling to maintain those doctrines:—let us examine this profession by confronting it with facts. By the reformation is meant that great change, not in the constitution of the Church of England, but in its moral condition, and in its spiritual position, with regard to the Church of Rome, which was effected through the instrumentality, partly of our holy and martyred Reformers, and whose primary doctrines and fundamental principles are set forth in our prayer book compiled and composed by those eminent men.

If then you "are fighting anew the battle of the Reformation," you must be fighting for the principles propounded in the prayer book: if your alliance be based upon, and you are contending for, the primary doctrines of the Reformation, you must be resting on and contending for all the great doctrines contained in the prayer book.

for the English Reformation and Reformers, acknowledged no other doctrines than those set forth therein.

You have professed then before the nation, and you have called on the nation to aid you in your agitation on the ground—that you “are fighting anew the battle of the Reformation”—that you are therefore fighting and struggling to maintain all the doctrines set forth in the book of common prayer; for they and they alone are those of the Reformation.

Let us pass in review, some at least, of those primary doctrines on which you pretend your alliance is based, and for which you say you are contending, and then let us compare your profession with your practice.

Are you and your confederates struggling to uphold the three great creeds of the Church? the maintenance of which was a fundamental principle, a primary doctrine of the Reformation:—Is it not notorious that most of those with whom you are leagued scoff at those creeds?

Are you and your allies contending for the great catholic doctrine contained and so plainly set forth in the Baptismal Service and Church Catechism? for this was a primary doctrine of the Reformation:—Do not all dissenters, and even some churchmen, who perhaps may be found mingling in your ranks, not merely reject but denounce this doctrine?

Are you and your co-partners fighting for the great doctrine of the Lord's Supper, so plainly and powerfully set forth in the Prayer Book? for this was a primary doctrine of the reformation: is it not a fact that your party altogether rejects this doctrine, looking on the Lord's Supper; and also on Baptism to be not real things—not sacraments, but merely signs.

Again, are you and your associates “earnest to maintain good works” (the fruits and proofs of living faith) such as self-denial, fasting, almsgiving, &c.? for this was also one of the primary doctrines of the reformation: you must admit, I believe, that self-denial, fasting, and almsgiving, &c., are ranked by too many of your friends, amongst the superstitious practices of a by-gone and popish age.

Again, do you maintain that “whosoever shall affirm

that any of the 39 Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous" ought to be excommunicated? for this was also a doctrine of the reformation.

Furthermore, are you and the bodies you represent, striving to uphold the judgment of the reformers, that "whosoever shall separate themselves from the communion of Saints, as it is approved by the Apostles' Rules in the church of England, and combine themselves together into a new brotherhood, &c.," ought also to be excommunicated? for this was a fundamental principle of the reformation.

But perhaps you will say that the primary doctrines of the reformation, on which your alliance is based, and for which you are contending, are the great doctrine of the Trinity, and the doctrine of protesting against Rome; now here again you will find yourselves in a serious dilemma; for Rome has ever held, and most ably maintained the doctrine of the Trinity, and is far sounder on this doctrine, than many if not all of the dissenting bodies: and therefore, if you base your alliance on the maintenance of this doctrine, you ought in fairness to invite Rome to join your confederation.

You seem then to be reduced to one single doctrine of the reformation on which to base your union, and by which to justify your agitation, viz., your protest against Rome and her various errors: but this protesting is a most dangerous weapon, and cuts both ways; because the church of England never protested against Rome so strongly, as she has protested against those bodies with whom you are identified; for she never pushed her protest against Rome to the length of excommunication, whereas she has authoritatively commanded that awful sentence to be pronounced against dissenters.

Thus every inch of ground on which you based your anti-papal alliance is cut from beneath you; because most of the primary doctrines of the reformation on which you pretended to rest, and for which you professed to be fighting are rejected by you; one is common to you with Rome itself, and one is adverse to you, because the anglican church has *protested* more strongly and solemnly against your sects than against the Roman church.

I am not now discussing whether those primary doctrines of the reformation and the Church of England be right or wrong, I have only advanced them in order to expose the irreconcilable contradiction between the profession and practice of you and your confederates, who appeal to the nation to aid you in "fighting anew the battle of the reformation," and in upholding its fundamental principles; whilst at the same time you actually reject almost all, nay scoff at and denounce many of the primary doctrines you pretend to be struggling to uphold.

I do not think any dispassionate and justly reasoning mind will condemn an honourable man for declining to league himself with individuals who hold and act on principles so diametrically opposed to those they avow.

I now approach the third and last reason why I can have nothing to do with the fierce and violent opposition you are so industriously rousing against the government measure; that opposition being, in my humble opinion, as contrary to the word of God, to truth, to patriotism and humanity, as it is unworthy of the good common sense and masculine understanding of the English nation. The investigation of this third and last part of my subject will render necessary a brief examination into the actual condition of Maynooth, as well as into the objections that are urged against the doctrines taught there, and generally in the Church of Rome.

I do not here intend to discuss the principle involved in granting money to educate Roman Catholic Priests: whether the principle be evil, or whether it be allowable, it is a matter of fact, that it has been admitted and adopted and incorporated into our national system of finance during the last fifty years; and having been thus adopted, it does not make the slightest difference in *principle* whether the nation penuriously doles out, by an annual but yet certain grant, a miserable 8 or £9000 a-year, whereby she half starves and consequently exasperates and revolts the unfortunate young men she professes and pretends to feed; or whether she will increase, by a perpetual endowment, that wretched pittance to the by no means munificent, but still somewhat more generous allowance of £26000, whereby the hard, the iron discipline to which Rome subjects, and by which she

tries all her candidates for holy orders may be rendered more endurable to the youth educated at Maynooth, by their being lodged in healthy dormitories, and *having a sufficiency of wholesome nourishing food*: and whereby the professors and heads of that institution, (some of whom have been men, in letters, of European reputation,) may enjoy that exemption from poor anxieties and petty cares—that leisure in fact, not idle but most useful, which learning demands and deserves.

If we grant any sum at all to Maynooth, (I am not now arguing whether we ought or ought not, I am only reasoning on the fact that we do) I advocate, and most strongly, the increase proposed by Sir Robert Peel, and I advocate such increase, not on the ground of *expediency* but on that of *humanity*.

I believe that English Protestants of every class and shade of creed, who have long admitted the principle of the grant, but who are now raising such an outcry against its increase, would become advocates instead of opponents, were they to spend one month at that much decried seat of learning, and live on the daily fare of the youths educated there.

The college of Maynooth is, unfortunately for the constitutions of its inmates, built in an extremely unhealthy situation, on a low and somewhat marshy soil, and near a sluggish water, so that fogs and exhalations form its general atmosphere; and perhaps one fourth if not a much larger proportion of the young men, who remain to finish their course of study there, leave its cheerless precincts with rheumatism fixed in their bones: one of the ablest Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland, an amiable and learned man, once told me that during the years he spent at Maynooth, he never put on a shirt that was not damp.

It has been, unfortunately for the character of the institution, remarked more than once by fast travelling tourists, who sometimes hasten to a conclusion as speedily, but not quite so safely as they do to the end of their journey, that the appearance of the college is so dirty and dismal as to indicate at once what they are pleased to denominate the uncleanly habits of Roman Catholics:—now, leaving aside

the fact, that the great Roman Catholic institutions for education throughout Great Britain and Ireland are as remarkable for the most exact order and cleanliness, as they are distinguished for superiority in their methods of instruction and the amount of intellectual attainments and accomplishments they impart, if those tourists who, some perhaps on hearsay, have decried Maynooth, would only take time and trouble to inform themselves of the facts of the case, they would find that the dismal and dirty appearance of the college is the consequence not of the habits of the authorities and inmates, but of the influences of the atmosphere which surrounds it: The only improvement on Sir Robert Peel's plan I should venture to propose would be to sell the present establishment altogether, to purchase or procure a site in a healthy situation, and thereon to erect a college so constructed as to secure at least decent comfort to its inhabitants.

But the misery of the students in the present institution does not arise from the wretchedly confined arrangements of the buildings, and the unhealthy locality alone; besides the want of decent personal comfort in the sleeping arrangements—besides the insalubrity of the situation, which injures and debilitates, if it do not totally undermine and destroy the constitutions of many of the students, and besides the strict and severe discipline of the Romish Church to which they are subjected, these unfortunate young men *have not a sufficiency of wholesome nourishing food*,—for the miserable pittance granted by the nation will not afford it: in a word, the treatment at Maynooth is so *Unenglish, so inhuman*, that no gently-reared, no delicately-nurtured youth could endure it, and, therefore, none enter except the sons of the peasantry and small farmers or shopkeepers, who have endured and outlived hardship from their infancy.

Now, in the name of Christianity, in the name of our common country, and in the name of humanity, is this state of things to be allowed to continue? Better a thousand times to withdraw altogether the present parsimonious grant, and throw the Roman Catholics on their own resources for the education and nurture of their priesthood, than profess nationally to undertake it, but

then accomplish it in so ungenerous a manner as to acerbate by suffering the feelings of the recipients of our mock bounty.

And yet this is the wretched state of things your measures of strife and agitation are intended to perpetuate ; you are not calling forth the principle of our national protest to overthrow the institution altogether (this a man could understand though he might not approve) ; but you are waking the spirit of persecution from the grave where we hoped it had been laid,—you are irritating the evil passions of the human heart.—you are endeavouring to rouse and lash into fury the ignorant bigotry of the unlearned and unreasoning (always a large proportion of every people)—and for what purpose ? with what possible object to be obtained ? Not to fight anew the battle or uphold the primary doctrines of the Reformation (the utter disingenuousness, the untruth of that hollow pretence has been proved) but you are troubling and stirring to the depths the bitter waters of national envies and animosities, of social discord and religious strife, over which a calm was settling ; you are rending and tearing anew old wounds which kindness was soothing and time and justice might have healed ; you are flinging the fire-brand of enmity and hate into the irritable elements of the Irish character, instead of holding out the olive-branch of peace to the generous, kind, and grateful feelings of the Irish heart—and for what purpose ? What possible object can you or do you expect to achieve by thus marshalling the two great sections of our country in hostile array against each other ? This, and this only ; you will still inflict the pains and penalties of unhealthy bodily discomfort, and comparative starvation on some 4 or 500 poor Roman Catholic youths ; and you are doing this in the name of Christianity. Well may we apostrophise Christianity, as the poet and philosopher did Liberty, and say, “ What crimes are committed in thy name ! ”

But you say that the Maynooth-bred priests are by no means zealous loyalists to the English nation—that they have proved themselves in fact very discontented

and disloyal subjects : and how can they be any thing else ? Let us make their case our own ; suppose the clergy of the English Church were, during their college life, educated and supported at the expense of the nation, and suppose that in college they had to endure every kind of discomfort and bodily privation, and that when they entered on their spiritual functions, they were habitually treated by the ruling powers and the great with misrepresentation and discourtesy bordering on contempt—would they, so ill-treated in youth and manhood, be zealous loyalists ? I rather think they would not.

The Irish intellect is, perhaps, the most acute and reasoning in the world, the Irish heart the most grateful : justice will secure the former, kindness will attach the latter, and when both are gained and kept, the Irishman is yours for life and death ; no dangers can appal him, no sufferings depress him, no toils can wear him out ; he will stand fast and faithful, even unto death, by him who continues to treat him with equity and kindness : is not such a character worth gaining and keeping by the exercise of these attributes, for which England is, at least *was*, famous, justice and generosity ?

But it has been lately advanced in the House of Commons, as an argument against the proposed increase to the grant, that if you treat the students at Maynooth in a generous and gentlemanlike manner, it will accustom them to habits and give them tastes which will unfit them for the sphere of their future labours.

The gentleman who made this objection, must have rather a queer notion concerning the social condition of England and Ireland, if he imagines that £28 a year will procure such table luxuries, and £20 a year engender such expensive personal habits as to unfit their fortunate possessors for the position of a Roman Catholic parish priest, or even a curate in Ireland ; he must also entertain rather a curious, if not a very correct, idea of the condition of the Irish Roman Catholic Priesthood.

This body of men, so utterly mistaken and misrepresented almost in every way in England, receive from what is called "their dues" at least 8 or £900,000 a-year, about three times the amount of the income of the Clergy of the English Church in that country : this may appear incredible, at all events improbable, in this country ; but it is a fact, and we may make ourselves perfectly easy concerning the apprehension which many entertain, lest Government should next propose to endow the Irish priests with the incomes of the Irish clergy : the former would be very sorry to accept the *tithes* in lieu of the *dues* ; there is no danger however of the Maynooth student being unfitted, even by the annual outlay of the enormous sum of £48 for his living and personal expenses, for the sphere in which he will have to labor as a priest.

But there are other and seemingly more important objections urged against the measure ; and these objections the true friends of England and Ireland are bound to meet and answer fairly : I shall therefore state these objections and endeavour to show that they cannot be maintained.

Some protestants then, whose zeal, perhaps, is greater than their knowledge, exclaim that it is both a sin and a shame for protestant England to support at all an institution wherein *the impure and abominable theology of the confessional is taught*. I am not now arguing about the principle of the thing at all ; but still I say *if it be sinful to support it*, then in the name of truth and true religion and loyalty to God, let the grant be altogether withdrawn : but until the sinfulness of the principle be really established by scriptural and logical proof, it might be well for those clergymen and laymen who decry and denounce on platforms and elsewhere, the theology of Maynooth, to ask themselves and endeavour to answer the following question :—

" If the theology, and particularly of the confessional, taught at Maynooth, be so impure and abominable, how comes it to pass, how does it happen, that the peasantry of Ireland, guided and governed by that theology, is the *chastest* in the British empire ?"

Let the English Clergyman, not he whose lot has fixed

him amidst the festering masses of moral corruption, in our great manufacturing towns, but he who dwells amidst the lovely rural scenery of England, let this Clergyman, if he be in the habit of denouncing the abominably impure Divinity taught at Maynooth, let him examine his own parish, and it is too probable he will find indifference to religion, or infidelity, or heresy rampant there ; and alas, too often *unchastity* hardly reckoned a disgrace : let him then go, if he have the opportunity, among the poor despised Roman Catholics of an Irish parish, and he will indeed meet much ignorance, though great mental acuteness ; he will find too, some superstitions much to be deplored, but no indifference or infidelity ; he will also meet great misery, but great resignation ; and he will discover almost universally prevalent *fidelity* in religion and *chastity* in morals.

Perhaps the purest and chastest portion of the human race, are the females of the upper orders and great middle classes of the British Isles ; next, if not equal to these, are the poor Irish peasantry, taught and governed by the Divinity taught at Maynooth : how can those who declaim against that Divinity and the teaching of those priests, account for this fact ?

Further, if the education given at Maynooth, be so corrupt and corrupting, how does it come to pass that the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland are, as a body, the most self-denying, and the most laborious ministers in the world, and at least as pure in morals as any : no doubt it must be admitted that many of them have, the last few years, injured themselves and the cause of their religion, by violently meddling with politics, adverse to the well-being of the empire, and this error is deeply to be deplored ; but this fact does not invalidate the truth of the self-denial, the laboriousness, and moral purity of their lives.

It might be well, perhaps, for some English clergyman, who rises from his well-spread table and his generous wine (his daily fare), to go to some public meeting for the purpose of making a speech against the Romish Priesthood of Ireland, the impurity of their doctrines, and the immorality of their lives,—it might, perhaps, be well for

this amiable, but in general self-indulging and unlaborious man, *to live and labour even for one month*, as the despised Romish priest *lives and labours during his whole life*.

This much-abused priest fasts, i.e., he eats neither meat, nor eggs nor butter during about 150 days, or nearly half the year : many of us call this *superstition* ; he finds it to be what the Bible and the Church declare it, *self-denial* salutary to the soul. This priest *must* also be at the *sick* and *death-bed* of every Roman Catholic in his parish, no matter what the disease may be. Surely men practising continually such self-denial as this, and braving unceasingly pestilence and death, from a sense of duty, are entitled not to abuse, but, at least, to pity and respect. At all events, when we attack the grant to Maynooth, let us not attack it on the ground that the priests educated there teach impure and unchaste doctrines to the Irish peasantry—the chastest in the world ; or that they themselves are immodest, unlaborious, and self-indulgent in their lives.

Others again denounce Maynooth on account of the wretched education given there, complacently affirming that the Irish Roman Catholic priest is a wofully ignorant and uneducated man. It is really time for the English to be told, if, haply, they will allow themselves to learn a little truth concerning the state of affairs in Ireland, whose moral condition seems a *terra incognita* in this country. The English people are so misinformed and misled by the ignorant or malicious mis-statements of the press concerning Ireland, and particularly the Romish priesthood, that it is not to be wondered at, though it is deeply to be deplored that the most disastrous mistakes are made on these subjects.

What is the fact concerning their education ? The Irish priests, whether educated at Maynooth or elsewhere, are, as a body, far more skilful logicians and much better practical latin scholars than the clergy of the Anglican Church, as a body. They are, indeed, in general, very inferior to the latter in gentlemanlike bearing and deportment, and this is a necessary consequence of their position in youth and manhood ;—but as to learning, energy of mind, self-reliance, and accurate acquaintance with their church's theology, both in principle and practice, they are indeed very much their superiors.

How many of our clergy can hold a conversation of an hour's, or even half an hour's duration in good latin? almost every Romish priest can do so. How many of our clergy know anything of Hebrew? The Romish priests are generally taught it. How many of our clergy understand any of the continental togues? It is an accomplishment by no means rare amongst the Romish priests, while at least one fourth of their number, if not more, are intimately acquainted with the Irish, one of the most expressive and profoundly grammatical languages in the world. How many of the Anglican divines are agreed on the very fundamentals of their faith, or know anything of dogmatic or casuistical theology? The Irish Roman Catholic priests are unanimous in their faith, and deeply instructed in their Divinity, such as it is.

Now this superiority in actual learning of the latter over the former is most easily to be accounted for, by considering the different systems of discipline and study pursued in Maynooth, and at the English Universities.

Granting that the gentleman who enters Oxford or Cambridge, is a better Greek and Latin scholar than the poor youth who is admitted into Maynooth, although this perhaps is in some cases doubtful, for the standard of classical attainments fixed for entrance into the English Universities is very low indeed; and the same may be said with regard to the *pol* degree. This, at all events, is certain that a man can pass not only his *little go*, but obtain his degree in either of the English Universities, on a far less amount of classical learning than is required for entrance into Trinity College, Dublin.

But, granting for argument sake, that those who enter Oxford and Cambridge are in general much better Greek and Latin scholars than those who enter Maynooth, an examination of the difference of their careers will easily explain why the generality of those who pass through the latter and become priests, are far better scholars than the generality of those who graduate in the former and are ordained.

It may, however, here be necessary to state that I am only speaking of the mass; I willingly and gladly acknowledge that many profound and splendid scholars have been formed at these venerable and majestic seats of learning, and that abundant opportunity is afforded to all their

alumni to drink deep at the fountain heads of knowledge ; but while I acknowledge all this, I must not shut my eyes to facts, and these facts prove that, and also explain how the much-misrepresented Irish Romish priests are, as a body, far more learned than the English clergy, as a body.

The Roman Catholic candidate for the priesthood, must spend four years, some of them employ seven, under the sternest and most unrelaxing discipline, in most severe self-denial and most laborious study : there is no escape for any ; all must obey, must deny self, and must study laboriously, or expulsion will follow, and expulsion is ruin for life. Their class books are all in Latin, and no translations are allowed ; their lectures both questions and answers are in Latin ; they systematically learn Logic, and are adepts in the use of its weapons, [a branch of knowledge in which the Anglican clergy, and indeed the English generally are seriously deficient ; witness the present absurdly illogical, unreasoning outcry ; and many such might be mentioned] ; and during three years they are taught the whole theology of their church ; and then, if they do not implicitly believe the doctrines and obey the discipline of their church, they will not be ordained. Is it any wonder that men so trained and taught should become, in from four to seven years, expert Latinists and logicians, good general scholars (some of them are accomplished ones), while at the same time they are all of one mind as to the fundamentals of their faith.

Contrast with the above course of intellectual labor and self-denial, the career of too many of those candidates for Holy Orders which Oxford and Cambridge send forth. Is it not alas too notorious to be denied that the greater number of those who are afterwards ordained, mispend their College years in idleness and pleasure, too often worse ? that they obtain with great difficulty their degree, small as is the amount of knowledge required for that degree ; and then after one, or at most two years' study of Divinity, and that taught on a wrong system, for it is not taught *dogmatically*, they are ordained and placed in charge of souls ; and when so placed, they find themselves too frequently unequal to that charge, and therefore preach compiled, or borrowed, or bought sermons ; or, if they are zealous, they are forced to commence learning their pro-

fession and that Divinity which they were ordained to teach : and being compelled by their position to hide their ignorance, and so to become *self-taught scholars*, they fall into the error of almost all self-taught men, that of imagining that every thing new to themselves which they discover, is equally new and unknown to every one else ; consequently they become proud in their own conceits, vain in their own imaginations, and put forth the opinions they think they have discovered in the Bible as the infallible doctrines thereof ; hence we have our Apostolic Church distressed and distracted by the puerilities of those unfledged theologians, some flying off towards Rome, not knowing what Rome is ; others again diverging towards and leaguings with dissent, not knowing what dissent is ; and both, to all appearance, profoundly ignorant of the true position and impregnable strength of that church, whose appointed soldiers and ordained ministers they are.

I have known personally almost all the clergy, who these latter years have gone to Rome or dissent and I have found universally that this was the rock on which they made shipwreck of their faith and loyalty ; this great misfortune is the fault of our system of teaching divinity—we teach it superficially and *disputatively* : Rome is wiser ; she teaches hers deeply and *dogmatically*.

Another objection urged against Maynooth is that the students there are instructed to believe and to teach their flocks, that we Protestants are heretics, and out of the pale of salvation, and therefore that it is folly if not worse for us to pay for such instruction.

Now, this argument is like a two-edged sword, it cuts two ways ; for there are to be found in Britain at least a score of little sects (some members of which may possibly be found leagued with you at present), each of which firmly believes and boldly maintains that there is no salvation out of the narrow limits of its own little and unknown communion, and whose assumption of the infallibility of its own opinions is as hardy as the assertion of that of the Dogmata of Rome by the Pope himself :—are we just in condemning the mighty communion of Rome with its one hundred and fifty millions of souls for that which we allow as excusable in a small sect numbering perhaps a few hundreds ?

The next objection against Maynooth is that the doctrine of persecution is taught there, and that Rome has been and is a persecuting church : this objection may be answered by an argument similar to the last ; but before stating this answer it may be remarked—

That every church and every sect and every body of religionists, possessing any principle worth holding, any truth worth defending, must be actuated more or less by the spirit of persecution ; which springs from that very principle or truth ; as the goddess or spirit of war and wisdom is fabled to have sprung, all armed for battle from the head of Jove — the seat and citadel of all unchanging principles and eternal truths—whenever these principles and truths are exhibited and exerted, in a world where their opposites have usurped the dominion, there must be war ; and war, until either the latter be uprooted and destroyed, or the former forsake a world unworthy of them, for the pure and bright one whence they came.

Therefore, the *odium theologicum*, more bitter and persecuting than any other, and which has passed into a proverb, of contempt with some, of sorrow or anger with others, must be looked on by the philosophic mind as only the corroboration of a grand and consoling truth of revelation, namely, that in the matter of religion, other and mightier powers than those of earth are engaged—other and mightier principles and passions than those of time are at issue ; and nothing can calm and quell this *odium theologicum* from bursting forth into persecution (for we are more or less impelled by those unseen influences), save the conviction of the great scriptural truths, *viz.*, that we are only subordinate agents and actors on this mighty stage of existence, whereon grander and greater intelligences are contending, and that to our feeble hands are not entrusted the weapons of temporal or eternal destruction—that “the weapons of our warfare are not carnal but spiritual.”

Let us now examine, by comparison, how much more Rome has sinned on this point of persecution than others : consider Rome's enduring and almost unbounded spiritual sway ; consider that for hundreds of years Rome, as a church, was as completely mistress of the world as was Rome as an empire : now compare her power and the

duration of that power with, for example, the power of the Puritans in England during the few years it lasted, and then collect together all the persecutions ever perpetrated by Rome, and put them in one scale, and then place in the other the horrid and hideous atrocities with which the Puritans were stained during the brief period of their tyranny; and you must acknowledge that the argument *ad hominem* does serious damage to your argument against Rome on account of her persecutions.

The truth is, almost all churches and all sects have persecuted, and an honest and accurate investigation might perhaps shew that Rome did not outstrip on the bloody path the speed of others—Rome had her Inquisitions and her autos de fe, but both together did not destroy as much life in a century as did the Puritans during the few years they revelled in blood and blasphemy throughout England; and the puritan spirit is still alive and active, and still according to its little opportunities persecutes all those who differ from its tenets; witness the present persecution against the poor students of Maynooth, whom it would still condemn to discomfort and starvation: does Rome act so at present on the continent where she still maintains her spiritual dominion? ask Roman Catholic France which actually supports out of the national funds the Protestant pastors: ask Italy and Rome itself and almost every Roman Catholic state in Europe where we have our clergy and our congregations unmolested under the government of our own Bishop:—no the arguments of persecution must be given up; it wounds the originators and upholders of the present persecuting agitation more than it does Rome.—

The last argument urged against Maynooth is that the Romish Church is apostate and Antichrist: could this be proved, it would be *decisive*: but until it is proved it might be as safe not to assert it, or act upon it as if it were a fact; for if Rome be not Antichrist—if she be a real portion of the church of Christ wherein the Holy Spirit dwells, to call her Antichrist is a sin fearfully like the unpardonable one.

The Church of England never called her so, neither did her great divines; and the Rev. G. S. Faber, an authority with many even of the puritan opinion has irresistibly proved from Scripture that she is not.

If prejudice and passion would permit us to open our eyes and see things as they really are, we should be able to discern a spiritual power or state of things on the continent, exhibiting the dark outline of anti-Christ, *who denies both the Father and the Son*, by characteristics neither to be mistaken or denied; and this awful form of Pantheism, or rather Atheism, is the full-grown offspring of the fundamental idea of Puritanism—the abuse of private judgment.

To conclude then, Gentlemen, if you persist in opposing the increased grant to Maynooth, do not oppose it on the hollow pretence that you are fighting for the primary doctrines of the Reformation, which doctrines you do not believe;—neither oppose it on the ground that the Theology taught there is impure and unchaste, because there is no chaster priesthood or peasantry in the world than the Irish Roman Catholic;—neither oppose it on the ground of the ignorance of the Maynooth bred Priests, because *stubborn facts* prove them to be generally better scholars and Theologians, than the great mass of the Anglican clergy:—neither oppose it on the grounds that Rome teaches there is no salvation out of her pale, and that she is a persecuting church, because these weapons rebound and damage yourselves more deeply than they injure Rome: and lastly do not for your soul's sake oppose it on the ground that Rome is Antichrist, lest you might find yourselves involved in that sin, which is forgiven “neither in this world nor the world to come.”

Let England then, finding your alliance to be anti-scriptural, your professions hollow, and your agitation as opposed to Christianity, Patriotism, and Philanthropy, as it is to common sense, treat your efforts as they deserve; and, for the sake of humanity, as well as for the sake of the peace of our common country, let her treat with justice and generosity—let her treat as gentlemen and scholars those whom she allows to instruct and guide more than six millions of our fellow subjects in Ireland.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,

PRESBYTER ECCLESIAE ANGLICANÆ.

(*Qui amat justitiam et veritatem.*)

Thursday, 24th April, 1845.

A LETTER
TO THE
ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS
OF THE
United Church of England & Ireland,
ON THE
PROPOSED ENDOWMENT
OF THE
POPISH COLLEGE OF MAYNOOTH.

BY A MASTER OF ARTS,
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.



The Archbishop.—Are you ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's word: and both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to the same?

Answer.—I am ready, The Lord being my helper.

Form of Ordaining or Consecrating a Bishop.

LONDON:
EDWARDS AND HUGHES, AVE-MARIA LANE.

1845.

A LETTER.

MY LORDS,

SEEKING an introduction to your notice, I bethought me of the words of one of the master spirits of our church, who, nearly two centuries ago, spake thus in truth and soberness to the assembled Parliament of Ireland.* That which concerns us most is, that we all keep close to our religion. "*Ad magnas reipublicæ utilitates retinetur religio in civitatibus*," said Cicero: by religion and the strict preserving of it, ye shall best preserve the interests of the nation; and according to the precept of the apostle, "Mark them which cause divisions amongst you, contrary to the doctrine that ye have received, and avoid them." For I beseech you to consider, all you that are true Protestants: do you not think that your religion is holy, and apostolical, and taught by Christ, and pleasing to God? If you do not think so, why do you not leave it? But if you do think so, why are you not zealous for it? My Lords, these words appear to me as much in season now, as when they were first delivered; and after "all the yesterdays, which, since they were enunciated, have lighted fools the way to dusty death," they are still good household words for to-day—ay, and will be for to-morrow. Who recalls them to your notice now, is not a material question; this appeal is not the result of any over-estimation of myself, but of respect for you. I am nothing—the voice of one crying in the wilderness, if you will, not in the solitary majesty of inspiration, but in the

* Jeremy Taylor, May 8th, A.D. 1661.

insignificance of the obscure wayfarer. Your Lordships, however, claim my respect and invite my confidence, for you are called to the privilege and responsibility of lifting your mitred heads in Courts and Parliaments; you belong to an order of men, whose glorious distinction it has been to "speak of God's testimonies before kings, and not be ashamed." Deem it not an intrusion, then, if one, who values and adores God's testimonies as much as you do, but has not the same opportunity or ability to maintain them, thus places before you, the national Christian advocates, the fears, the hopes, and the wishes, of himself and millions of his fellow-christians, at this momentous crisis, in the cause of truth.

Before I proceed, let me entreat your indulgence towards any thing which may fall from me, having the appearance of discourtesy. I disclaim any such intention—no generous mind, therefore, will impute it to me. I shall use great plainness of speech, because, when the subject is awfully important, and the purpose of the writer honest, any thing is better • than being misunderstood. I would season it, however, with sincerity; I would only be severe upon sin and error; and I would be considered personal, only to the father of lies.

I believe, I may assert, with confidence, that the abstinence from merely political conflict and discussion which marks you as a body, is gratifying to the religion and intelligence of the empire, and hailed as a proof that you properly understand the true dignity of the Christian spiritual peerage. But this comparatively lesser care for things "of the earth earthy," is only estimable when it is an earnest of devotion to matters of eternal interest in

the state. Your fellow-christians do not love to see you as mere legislators sitting at the receipt of custom, because they believe that the Lord of all things has called you to follow Him, and to lead others in that course; but, if there be some questions which are beneath your notice as Christian Bishops, there are others which not only deserve, but demand it,—one such is now agitating this country. Shall our Protestant legislature endow Popery out of the national treasury? In other words, shall the power which has sworn to uphold the Bible, is built upon it, and is upheld by its circulation, say God speed to, and aid, that power which contradicts and corrupts the Bible, and would suppress its circulation. High human authority declares this to be expedient—Divine authority must decide whether it be lawful—to you, then, the spiritual judges of the land, the people present the case, and respectfully request your opinion; they ask you for your exposition of the law, in the great cause of Anti-Christ *v.* Christ.

That this question should be raised, viz. whether what is morally wrong, can be politically right, is not surprising; history affords many instances of the same subtlety. The courtly Naaman, a great authority with elastic consciences, considered he might be a godly man, in the main, but on a state occasion, *for expediency*, that he might be allowed to “bow in the house of Rimmon.” Expediency says, “All things are lawful;” but *truth* assumes to tell us what law is; for out of truth are laws made, and this brings us home to the great question, “What is truth?” And this is the question which your Lordships have to answer, to your consciences, to your country, and to your God.

This is a very ancient question ; it is, in fact, a standing monument of man's depravity, the antiquity of which is unquestionable ; it was the question with Adam, when he listened to the tempter ; it was the question with the Israelite, even when his ears tingled and his eyes quivered with the thunderings and lightnings of Jehovah giving his law at Horeb ; it was the question sneered out by Pontius Pilate, and scoffingly asked by the Jews at the judgment of the Incarnate Word ; it was the question asked in blasphemous triumph, by the bold bad men of blood, who buried in one grave the religion and the liberty of France ; it is a question still asked by a large class, which represents the first principle of man's diabolism—pride,—and with whom the real meaning of the question is, "We are they who ought to speak, who is Lord over us ?" In whatever spirit, however, it may be brought forward, it behoves all who make any pretensions to intelligence or principle, to take it into consideration—and this all men do, and proceed in the investigation by various methods. The Free-thinker, of whom it may be said, that the light shineth in darkness and the darkness comprehendeth it not, soon satisfies himself that there is no answer, for in the dark all colours are alike.* The Papist, loving darkness rather than light, because his deeds are evil, soon, from policy, invents an answer of his own. The Protestant, doing and loving the truth, and hearing the voice of the Divine Son of God, saying "I am the light of the world," cometh to the light, and finding by every proof which the human mind can demand, and by demonstration of the very finger of God, that the light is from above—he, from imperative principle, boldly declares, holding up the

* Lord Bacon.

Bible,—This is truth. The great question, “What is truth? is not a question forbidden by Him who gave to man a mind to meddle with all wisdom,” but He requires of man that he shall discuss it, subservient to that infallible Word which He has delivered,—“Prove all things, hold fast that which is good:” so long as that Divine Word is open to him, that man is inexcusable who avoids the question, or who comes to any conclusion with respect to it, which that Word condemns. The enemies of truth know, and have ever known, this, and accordingly have been, and are, wise in their generation. The Word made flesh, and the Word written, give evidence to the same truth: Christ, the wisdom of God and the power of God, justification, sanctification, and redemption; the faith which once was established by miracles, is now established by the inspired Word. The devil has raged furiously against both. When Jesus Christ did many miracles, the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered a council, saying, What do we? if we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him. When the startling intelligence broke upon Papal Rome, that the Bible was abroad, then again, What do we? was the rousing cry. If we let Bible readers thus alone, they will find out that the Bible is true, and Popery is false! “Crucify Christ,” cried the Jew,—“Burn the Bible,” exclaimed the Pope—Protestantism embodies a principle of free enquiry and religious liberty, which has survived all these clamours and assaults of the evil one, and still stands forth to vindicate and uphold, against the spiritual oppressors of mankind, the independence of the free-born soul. In that liberty with which Christ has made them free, her children are determined to stand fast; the Bible is their law; the cross is their standard; they claim to be a church

militant for God and his Christ, tracing their lineage up even to the glorious company of the apostles; and they will not hesitate, if need be, to establish their fellowship with the noble army of martyrs; determined to live for Christ in his undivided Divine dignity of the one Mediator, they are willing also to die for Him. They are Protestants, and their protest is the Bible against Popish error; they are reformed, and their Bible is their guide and warrant, in their never to be sufficiently blessed reformation from Popish corruption; they are soldiers of Christ; they have brought forth the spear to stop the way against those who are advancing against their inheritance, and they call upon you to be their leaders, and to join them in adopting this watchword, "God's word is truth."

My Lords, it is a trite observation in the Holy Gospel, that "No man can serve two masters: ye cannot serve God and mammon." Let me remind you with a respectful candour, that persons are not wanting, who insinuate that these Divine truths may not be duly remembered in your approaching decision. It is whispered that, in some instances, gratitude to a patron for a benefice may be stronger than a sense of responsibility to the Divine Head of the church, for the performance of duty. That such things are even thought of, only proves the importance of its being borne in mind, that the object of your elevation, as spiritual pillars of the state, was not to aggrandize an hierarchy, but to defend the faith once delivered to the saints. Could we conceive such an hireling as I have just alluded to, to exist in your sacred and august conclave, mournful indeed would be the object—one who must, in the attempt to serve God and mammon, find an uncom-

promising enemy in each; for God and the faithful children of God would alike justly denounce the betrayer of God's truth; and the mere child of mammon would not fail to enquire, with unsparing severity, into the policy of rank, wealth, and power, being conferred by the state, upon those who, when put to the test, only prove themselves undignified, unprofitable, and weak.

This is no question about a black gown or a white one, no puerile agitation about many things indifferent, but a solemn deliberation upon the one thing needful—our country's soul. As faithfully Protestant, England is the salt of the earth, one of God's mighty universal preachers, ordained to save herself and the nations who hear her; but let her salt lose its savour, and she is only fit to be cast out upon the dunghill of the universe. Will you stand by, or pass by on the other side, and see Ichabod thus written upon her walls, palaces, and temples? The infatuation of those who in these times can halt between two opinions, as to how they shall act for God's church, is almost inconceivable. The question, "Who is on the Lord's side, who?" is embodied in passing events. Never has human iniquity spoken plainer since the day in which the more than homicides shouted, "Not this man, but Barabbas." If Protestantism and its leaders sleep now, it is the sleep of death. The thunder clap of 1829 did not rouse them; but surely the thunderbolt of 1845 will not fail to bring them to their feet. You were then requested, as Protestant senators, to admit to a participation in your national councils, Popish subjects; midst the smiling astonishment of Europe you consented; now you are further requested to go a step beyond this, and, as Protestant Bishops, to take sweet counsel

with the Popish priesthood in the house of God as friends, and cast a rich gift into the treasury of their temple. Thus injury is added to insult, under the pretence of an appeal to your liberality. You are called upon to acknowledge Popery, which the Bible declares to be damnable idolatry, as a true and spiritual worship of God; and you are called upon to do this by the most authoritative act which you can commit, by the exercise of the most solemn function you possess—your vote in Parliament, to endow with the public money a college for training up its priests, and teaching its abominations, through them, to all Ireland. It is as though the class-books of that institution—productions, at the contents of which every Christian and loyal man shudders with disgust, or swells with indignation, and some of the passages of which could not even be hinted of to our wives and daughters—were to be laid before the world as published by subscription; at the head of the list being—the British people;—No, not the British people,—the British Parliament, by my Lords the Bishops and others—donation £30,000, annual subscription £17,000; and this while Protestant curates are struggling through an arduous ministry on small pittances varying from £50 to £150 per annum, while thousands and thousands of Protestants want churches and schools, and a new diocese of souls has sprung up demanding a bishop, which our rulers tell us they cannot afford to supply, without annihilating one of our oldest bishopricks and appropriating the funds. Surely, unless the nation is mesmerised, this can never be. Again, plain men are much puzzled to understand what sense is to be put upon certain constitutional oaths and declarations, and upon the Articles of the Church, in order to re-

concile them with such a vote as is expected of you. You are called upon to show that you have such veneration for "the blasphemous fables, the dangerous deceits,"* and all the soul-destroying errors of Rome, which your church renounces and abhors, and the state pronounces superstitious and idolatrous, that you are prepared to vote a portion of the funds ground by unprecedented taxation out of your groaning country, to support and encourage those who teach them—displacing for a moment the sacred shield of faith, which ought ever to be interposed between yourselves and the wicked; you are politely to say, "Our Bibles and our reason tell us that you are idolatrous and superstitious;" but modern philosophy tells us we must be liberal, we will then "speak gently of our sister's fall." Our faith condemns you and your practices and doctrines, *in toto*; but then our charity covers the multitude of your sins. Principle says, we ought to withstand you to the face, as those who bring in damnable heresies, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men; but expediency, that arrogant blasphemy, which now assumes to be upon earth, king of kings and lord of lords, and the only ruler of princes—this domineering policy declares that you are many, and you must be conciliated. We bow to the necessity—we cannot convince and convert you by argument, nor embrace you in love; but as, fortunately, we are not in that evil case to say, "Silver and gold have I none," we can perhaps purchase where we cannot persuade—and, moreover, we will not be niggardly in our gift. Like Gehazi, you only ask for a talent of silver; "Be content, take two talents of silver, and two changes of garments."

* Article 31.

Protestant England may do this, and her sons may sanction and may suffer it, but it will only be the signal for the destroying angel to lift the sword yet higher ere he strikes. Wealth, which is bestowed upon a nation as a blessing, when abused in its application, will return upon her as a curse. "Thy money perish with thee," may be brought home to a people as well as to a man. Belshazzar, in all the blazing splendour of his banquet hall, could not shut out from his aching eyes, the burning handwriting upon the wall, which told him his kingdom was departed; and England, if she prostitute her ten talents of power, dominion, and riches, to anything short of the glory of the God who gave them, must still hear, through all the clangour of her arms, the noise and bustle of her commerce, and the rustling of her silken and golden draperies, the judicial voice of God, which will cry, till it cries over her tomb—"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth." *

My Lords, you are placed in a prominent, a trying, and an awful position; but to have your faithfulness thus put to the test, is a privilege as well as a trial. Protestantism and Popery are met now in

this country as the great arena of Europe and the world, and the eyes of all the congregations of Christendom are fixed upon the conflict; a deep consciousness pervades all ranks and conditions of men, that "*libertas et anima nostra in dubio est*;" and no less are the enemies of our faith and our country watching anxiously your motions, but with ill-disguised hopes, to take their course from your bearing, whether they shall advance or retreat. The great emissary of the Papacy has already half dropped his mask, and laughs at our simplicity, while he stretches forth his hand for the proffered grant to his master. The nation looks, as its last hope, to find that outraged constitutional principle has taken sanctuary with you, and cries out to you, "*Expergiscimini aliquando et capessite rempublicam*." You have become thus a spectacle to angels and to men; and the anxiety with which your decision is expected, is not lessened by the fact, that you are unwillingly brought into this predicament; for assuredly you have not, of late years, sought the van of the church militant. Those important questions, What have our Bishops done? What are they doing? What do they intend to do? continue to be repeated more frequently and more loudly, as, one after another, cords are cut and stakes are loosened in the camp of the church. The hour is come when these must be answered. Many doubt whether you are girded for the fight. I do not; I believe you are. I will not doubt that you have the shield of faith, though you may not often have brandished the sword of the Spirit. The present crisis will decide the question. It is the maxim of all good men and true, "*Amicus episcopus, sed magis amicus veritas*;" but they would embrace the two in one.

I tell you, and the people of England will repeat it from shore to shore, that you have the power to crush the minister who has dared to tamper with the constitution and to trifle with the Protestantism of this land. The man does not live, who can stand against that principle when fairly roused and represented; and as to quelling it, it is as the lion of the tribe of Judah,—he can no more do it than Canute could roll back the advancing waves of the ocean. The Reformation was a direct gift of God to this country, and not for our own good alone, but in trust for the benefit of mankind, and the trust has been fulfilled, in the advancement of the peace and prosperity of the nations for hundreds of years. I believe that, with regard to that signal monument of God's wisdom and mercy, he has fixed his decree, "Touch not mine anointed;" and if we continue true to our stewardship he will be true to us, and not all the kings of the earth, the chief captains and the mighty men, will be able to lay a finger upon the ark of that magnificent and awful cause—Protestant Christianity. The people of England are true to that cause: they live for it; they are ready to die for it; but above all they pray for it—and what shall stand between God and the prayers of his people! You, my Lords, are the representatives, in your sphere and station, of this national sentiment; give it, then, becoming speech. Tell the mistaken disciples of a worldly policy, that they are exceeding their commission, and mistaking their province, when they measure and weigh heavenly things in an earthly balance; that the religion of a country is not to be settled by cold calculations like a tariff for merchandize; that the position of a national church, with reference to an ungodly idolatry, is

not to be arranged, like conflicting worldly interests, by a sliding scale, to suit the mutual convenience of political parties; and that you, the consecrated defenders and guardians of that church, are not to appear or disappear upon the political stage, like puppets, at the beck of any living mortal, however exalted. Tell our great masters of finance, that while we are grateful to them for their sagacious laws on commerce, we humbly think that they have inadvertently confused the Bible among their account books; that they have thereby stumbled upon some dangerous and difficult subjects, which they do not understand; that they have, in short, mistaken your holy house of convocation for the chamber of the national exchequer—politely, but firmly, point out their mistake: they are gentlemen, and they may find it expedient to retire.

But be this as it may, be assured that the country and its Protestantism will be saved, whoever may, or may not, survive any convulsion which may come to pass. It is not in the power of any one dictator, however great or gifted in resources and genius, or however supported by ready and servile followers, to bring to the dust such a time-honoured and firmly-based fabric as the Protestant Church of this country: wherever there is a Bible, there is settled down one of the pillars of that church, and you must spring a mine under the whole empire before you can overthrow it. You may scatter the living coals from its altars, but the whole land will be filled with a train of holy fire, and you cannot pursue and trample it out. The hoof of the persecutor has attempted it ere now, and only been burnt to the very bone in the mad undertaking. But even were it not so, suppose our Zion doomed to fall, who

would not, while life lasts, protest against her persecutors? Who would not rather be crushed under the falling temple, than live to wail over its ruins? Who would not rather await the barbarian to pluck him by the beard and stab him before the altar, than avoid him by an ignominious flight? Better, my Lords, to fight the backward course, if it must be so, inch by inch to the scaffold, and there perish with the crown of martyrdom hanging over us, and the holy and sweet memories of the martyrs mingling with our dying thoughts, than to lay down our necks before the advancing car of triumphant Rome;—better, my Lords, for you to fold your robes in dying dignity, and fall gloriously at the foot of the throne, than to be cajoled out of life little by little, or perhaps be sent into dishonourable exile by the machinations of treacherous friends, who, like the Thugs of India, profess friendship only to hide evil intentions, and inspire confidence that they may securely destroy.

My Lords, in England there was once a cry heard, in the hour of national danger, “Thank God we have a House of Lords.” It is for you to throw a whole nation on their knees, and to give the signal for another general ejaculation—Thank God we have a Bench of Bishops.

I remain,

MY LORDS,

Your respectful and obedient Servant,

A MASTER OF ARTS,
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

April, 1845.

A LETTER

TO THE RIGHT HON. AND RIGHT REV.

THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,

ON THE DESIRABLENESS

OF AN

AUTHORIZED NATIONAL COLLECTION,

ON THE FEAST OF THE EPIPHANY,

FOR THE

INCORPORATED SOCIETY

FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN

FOREIGN PARTS.

BY THE REV.

FRANCIS MEREWETHER, M.A.

RECTOR OF COLE ORTON,

AND VICAR OF WHITWICK, LEICESTERSHIRE.



"And there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ."

REVELATION XI. 15.

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A
L E T T E R,

&c.

MY LORD,

As the highest ecclesiastical authority in the Church of this country is, on the one hand, perhaps one too extensively responsible to address on the subject of this letter; and as the jurisdiction of the next ecclesiastic in station is, on the other hand, of too limited a nature to be commensurate with the aim here in view; there is no direction in which I can so naturally look as to your Lordship, for a channel through whom I may offer to the public the following remarks. Your Lordship presides over the spiritual concerns of the metropolis, in which, if the plan here described be successful, it may reasonably be hoped to meet with the largest share of encouragement. Your Lordship is also placed in close connexion with that important body, the Corporation of the City of London, who have

long conferred distinguished support on the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. And your position, viewed nationally, is obviously on religious subjects so influential, that should the present attempt succeed in attracting a share of your attention, and engaging your Lordship's interest, the example thus set in the metropolis, and the metropolitan diocese, can hardly fail of having its effect on the remotest corners and parishes in England and Wales.

The object here aimed at cannot be denied to be comprehensive, if the following view be just. It is impossible, my Lord, not to consider the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as, of all other religious and charitable institutions, the most widely national, the most venerable, scriptural, and evangelical, and the most calculated to excite impressions of the highest import, and to effect the greatest practical good. It expands our religious charity, associated with our patriotism, to every quarter of the globe; that is, throughout those extensive dominions which it has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the universe to vouchsafe to the British throne. And hence (to omit other considerations which crowd on my mind, and would force themselves on my pen, but I repress them,) it affords the largest scope, the freest exercise, and the noblest elevation to our piety.

If, my Lord, these stimulants of the purest, largest, and holiest kind to our charity, to our

patriotism, and to our piety, are of the sweeping nature I cannot help supposing they are, it is obvious that no other single charitable institution in England partakes equally of the same, or even the like characteristics: to which, amongst many of us, may be added the direct ties of actual kindred:—a topic I shall be tempted to handle slightly in the sequel. Consequently, in submitting to your Lordship's judgment, and I would fain hope your favourable construction, a scheme of considerable comprehension,—I trust the foundation just laid will correspond in depth and breadth with the proposed superstructure.

The fulness of the proposition,—any thing short of which, I freely confess, would, in my opinion, be unworthy of its object,—seems to be essential to its purpose. Whilst I shall endeavour to point out that no other institution in the kingdom has equal grounds for asking such a permanent and extensive measure of aid, having also a solemn feast of our Church, in *special* consistency with its objects:—viz., a permanent Royal letter, at least during the Royal pleasure, for an annual collection on the feast of the Epiphany, in the churches and chapels throughout England and Wales, for “the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.” And lastly, I shall entreat the hearty co-operation of your Lordship, together with the Archbishops and Bishops of our Church, towards deliberating and determining on the propriety of application to the

Crown, through her Majesty's constitutional and responsible advisers ; soliciting this exercise of Royal authority and recommendation for the measure.

I submit that any scheme, short of the one here proposed, would be inadequate to its object. For if the Society makes its appeal to our charity, patriotism, and piety, in the manner and degree already stated, the mode adopted should be a national one, to correspond with the nature of the attempt. Other means, perhaps, there are which your Lordship, in conjunction with the other Prelates, might recommend and sanction ; or which the constitutional powers of individual ministers, with the concurrence of their respective churchwardens, may admit of being generally adopted. But in my view of the matter, the essence of the measure seems to be, that it should be uniform, general, and national. The cause of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel I consider to be that of our Church and Nation : and it commands the respect, and deserves the universal support, of *all* members of the Church. From Churchmen I have not the smallest doubt, if the plan be attempted, it will receive immediate encouragement. The proposition, my Lord, amounts to a grateful recognition of the extensive dominion which an all-gracious Providence has vouchsafed to this, comparatively speaking, small island ; for purposes, we cannot doubt, connected with the highest aims of the Messiah's kingdom.

And where is the Christian patriot, where is the enlightened, where is even the unenlightened, if sincere and earnest, member of Christ's Church, that can either be backward in this recognition, or otherwise than cheerfully and loyally prompt in the expression of it, at the call of Royal authority? Make the measure partial, dependent on the accidental views of this or that clergyman, even of this or that prelate; strip it of its universality; and you rob it of what constitutes its essence—Nationality. To the King of kings the Queen of England (may I respectfully say?) should be asked to pay this homage. Compliance with this request would be one of the brightest gems in the British crown; it would serve to sanctify and expand British loyalty; it would illustrate, in a measure as co-extensive as we could make it with the occasion and object, British piety and holy gratitude.

The proposed special mark of Royal favour can hardly be asked or hoped for by any other Society which does not *comprise* within its grasp the whole extent of the British dominions, and at the same time *limit* itself to them. First, then, this Society confines itself strictly to the sphere of the British dominions. I would cite in its behalf, "If any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel¹:" and we cannot but consider the

¹ 1 Tim. v. 8.

extent of need within our own dominions and dependencies the almost absorbing principle to be observed by Englishmen.

Secondly, it should seem as if no more effectual, and perhaps, under all the circumstances, more immediate way of propagating the Gospel amongst the subjects of other nations, could in our case be adopted, than that of exhibiting to them such a nation as ours evangelizing largely within its own limits, and thus stimulating them to godly imitation. For it will be remembered, that our sphere is so large and so variously located, that a strictly *national* impulse of this kind, *all moving in one path and under one system*, could not fail of being felt beyond it.

Thirdly, the hazard of failure in the endeavours even of a *body*, whose expenditure *in the enlarged direction* of the heathen world *in general* must be so very inadequate to the need, is far greater than where the sphere of action is more in proportion to the means.

But to pass to the *next* claim of the old Society, if one only can be thus supported. Its action, being in strict union with our episcopal polity (which in other countries not subject to British rule could not equally be the case), is obviously in effect of a more compact and condensed nature, so as to furnish ground for encouragement on that score.

Lastly, its Charter of Incorporation is surely, in this point of view, a strong plea in its favour; at

the same time that it may be fairly questioned whether a Royal Letter could with propriety be asked, or becomingly given, for an object of this kind *out* of the Queen's dominions.

Upon all these grounds, therefore, the support of the Crown, in this special instance, if granted at all, seems justly applicable to the ancient, chartered Society, without implying or involving any invidious comparison with others more modern and less strictly national.

The next matter to be noticed is the solemn feast of our Church, pointing to the plan here suggested as one of *special* consistency with its objects. And surely, my Lord, it may be asked, Can any thing be more appropriate to a festival commemorating "the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles," than the solemn act of a whole Church and Nation, not only joining, under the special recommendation of the Crown, in a simultaneous service of public worship appropriate to the occasion, but also, under the same recommendation, in bestowing alms for the extension of Christ's kingdom in the distant branches of this same Church and Nation? Here, again, we may revert to the nationality of the scheme.—England thus becomes collectively a manifestor (through the distinguishing bounty of Providence a chief manifestor) of Christ to the Gentiles. What a gracious, what a glorious position, my Lord, is this for a Christian nation! coupled with the command of its ascending Lord to His

Apostles and their successors to the end of time, to "go, teach all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost!" Truly it is one that may well fill us, and ought to fill us, with a deep sense of piety and gratitude, as a Church and Nation. Let the spectacle of an entire Church and Nation assembled under the directions of that Church itself to celebrate a holy day; let the spectacle of this Church and Nation laying its collected alms at one moment, as it were, on the altar of its Lord and Saviour; let this solemn spectacle be viewed as a faint endeavour to pay, in spirit at least, if not as to extent of alms in act, some poor advance to the righteous Governor of the Universe towards the payment of a vast, a mighty debt! And shall the rulers of Church and State refuse us the opportunity of making this glorious, however inadequate and unworthy, offering? The laws of our Church and State have furnished us with an injunction to keep this day; and, in the opinion of some, have afforded us the opportunity of collecting alms on that day for this pious purpose. But do not our feeble, our faltering piety and charity need a greater and stronger excitement? Is not the voice of the Crown itself, respectfully invoked by the prelacy, needed to awake our slumbering zeal, our torpid faith? You, my Lord, and your brethren in the episcopacy, must see it is so. And shall you shrink from lifting up your voices, rather your one collective voice, to entreat the su-

preme authority of these realms for its interposition? Shall that high authority not yield to the entreaties of its spiritual guides, to give spirit, and energy, and life to this holy attempt? Let not this whisper of despair be heard amongst us! And if Church and State authority move in this course, on what better, what more appropriate, what more stirring occasion can it adopt, than that of a holy festival sanctified by the decree of the Church; sanctified by long and ancient usage; above all, sanctified by the ennobling event of the infant Saviour glorified by the first fruits of the Gentiles? Gentiles, of whom we are?

It has been suggested from many quarters, that *one of the Sundays after the Epiphany*, especially the *first*, would be more suitable for a collection; more likely to secure a larger number of contributors; and more likely to give increased celebrity, both to the object and the mode of advancing it. I cannot say the subject presents itself to me in this light. The whole essence of the proposition appears to me to consist in adhering to the special festival, so closely characteristic of its subject. And other advantages appear to attach to this mode of observance of the day itself. In the first place, carrying us back, as the festival itself does, far more directly than any Sunday after, to the high subject commemorated; it enlivens our Christian faith, animates our devotion, and kindles our religious gratitude, far more than the less direct days of commemoration. And all these feelings are near akin to

charity and alms-giving. Again, as some of us are old enough to remember the days appointed by the public wisdom of the State for days of religious National Thanksgiving during the war; on which occasions the attendances at our Churches were wont to be both numerous, and in every way considerable: why should it be thought strange, that the assemblies under the act of Royal Authority here suggested should partake of the same characteristics? Why should it be thought a thing incredible, that the commemoration of triumphs over earthly potentates should be equalled, if not surpassed in attractiveness, by thankful acknowledgments of conquest over the kingdoms of this world, and the kingdom of Satan? Let our faith be animated by better and brighter hopes. At any rate, let us not doubt that there are devout Churchmen and Christian patriots who will be "glad when," on such an occasion, under such authority, and for such a purpose, it is said unto them, "Let us go into the house of the Lord." Even, to put the worst face on the matter, should the collections be found comparatively small, yet coming as they will probably *on that day* from the warmest, steadiest, and best friends of the Church; so they will prevent any complaint of a second Queen's Letter on *a Sunday* for this, or any other kindred Church Society. And perhaps an *annual* Sunday collection for this Society specially, growing out of the Epiphany season, might be of questionable expediency;

for fear of any collision with other collections frustrating this more general, and, as I hope, more feasible object¹.

Another benefit apparently growing out of the special observance of the festival itself, is its tendency, not only to beget and kindle Catholic feelings whilst thus making a "a feast of charity" of a day in the calendar, observed by all the great branches of the Universal Church; but also, even amongst those of our own communion, to invite strongly to Catholic unity and uniformity. On this important topic a few remarks might have been wholesomely applied, but that they might appear to some not so immediately connected with the present object.

There is, however, another feature of this Catholicity, which applies itself closely to the present subject, and the present plan. It is this:—There is an assumed, there is also a genuine Catholicity. Assumed Catholicity is that which, in contradiction to the very name, seeks to confine itself to one

¹ As I have known one instance of a most favourable result, in point of amount, from a collection on the first Sunday after the Epiphany, instead of the Epiphany itself, viz. the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire; perhaps, whilst the Epiphany-day was used for this purpose in some cases;—of large towns for example; a *later* Sunday growing out of the Epiphany might with safety be also resorted to. Amongst good Churchmen, for so large an object, would two collections, connected with the Epiphany season, be thought too much, or be likely to be complained of?

community, for instance, the Roman. Genuine Catholicity is that which grudges its name to none, but extends itself to all who hold the vital truths of Christianity and are united in Christ's Church. Viewed in this light, the Catholic claims of the Anglican Church press themselves upon our attention with reference to the subject before us in the following striking light.

Let a statistical comparison be made of the numbers, territorial extent, and missionary power of the Churches of England and Rome respectively. The former, in all essential and characteristic particulars, Scriptural and Apostolical, and Primitive;—the latter advancing pretensions neither Scriptural, Apostolical, nor Primitive. The one humbly and reverently hoping the Divine blessing; the other too probably within the scope of that curse, appended to the closing Book of Divine Revelation. "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add to him the plagues that are written in this book³."

Let us contrast, I say, statistically, the numbers, territorial extent, and missionary powers of these two branches of the Catholic Church; the one legitimate, the other the contrary. There are, probably, but three⁴ individuals now living in England who

³ Revelation xxii. 18.

⁴ Bishop Coleridge, late of Barbadoes; Archdeacon Robinson, late of Madras; and Archdeacon Barnes, late of Bombay.—But for his position's being more academical than ecclesiastical, the name of the excellent Dr. Mill, formerly Principal of Bishop's College at Calcutta, could not be omitted in this connexion.

could adequately prepare and arrange this statement : mingling with it the almost indispensable accompaniment of suitable reflections on the real state of the case, and the proper inferences from the *actual* missionary bearings of these two large bodies upon each other. In drawing this comparison, the numbers, extent, and means would, perhaps, be found to prevail largely on the side of Rome : but when on the other side, the false assumptions, the inadequate proofs, the unscriptural or rather anti-scriptural practices and discipline, and the seductive blandishments of unauthorized mystery and superstition of the Romanists are taken into the account, —all of them wanting in that badge of truth, Catholicity ; and, on the other hand, we contemplate the Church of England as holding no essential doctrine, retaining no leading characteristic in government, nor adopting any order in its ritual, that is not consonant with the plain word of Scripture, and the uniform stream of Catholic consent ; we must at once perceive, that superiority in numbers, extent, or even resources, is outweighed in the balance by the preponderating element of strict scriptural truth, now spreading under British auspices in a manner calculated to win the interest, and arrest the sympathies of every Englishman, as in one united body, in support of the chartered Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, whose designs are commensurate with, and only limited by, the extent of the British dominions.

And what a field, my Lord, is this ; vouchsafed, let it be again remembered, by the undeserved bounty of a gracious Providence, of the King of kings, and Lord of lords ! What English breast does not kindle at the very mention of this feature in British Sovereignty ? In particular, my Lord, with the distinguished properties of the position your Lordship occupies ; with its metropolitan influence, its enlarged opportunities of public usefulness, its extended occasions for the influential exercise of example ; whose holiest and best feelings, under such circumstances as those of your Lordship's, must not vibrate at the consideration of this topic ? —Not to add, how recently (by comparison) the See of London has been withdrawn from official ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the wide portion of British territory here referred to. Further yet ; what member of the British Prelacy can have his heart dead to the recollection of the millions of souls thus brought within the pale of Christianity ? And, to appeal at once to the highest authority within these realms, can the august Individual who sits on the British Throne, fail to be filled with holy gratitude and love for the extent of dominion of that island over which she rules, holding, as it does, within its grasp millions of not mere citizens of earth, but also denizens of Heaven ?

Under such a sublime reflection, can it be enough to satisfy the feelings of a grateful Sovereign and Nation, to confine the acknowledgment of this

mighty debt to an ordinary sabbath commemoration? (Forgive the combination of two such words for the present purpose.) Can it be, that an ordinary sabbath commemoration shall suffice for the expression of our National thankfulness? Will not a distinct appropriate holyday celebration, sanctified by the highest associations, and dedicated to this purpose—will not such a mode of returning thanks to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe be at once acceptable to God, pleasing to man, and most likely to effect the object intended?

Before I pass to the concluding part of my subject, a few words may, perhaps, be allowed on the interesting fact, that most classes of our National community have many near and dear relatives resident in the British Colonies. I write feelingly on this subject; I have not less than six relatives, one, a beloved son, so circumstanced. The consideration of how these many relatives of British subjects may be circumstanced as to spiritual things, must often vibrate on an anxious parent's heart; and of my own relatives just referred to, two have their residence many miles from any Church: one of them, the husband, who happens to be the son of a deceased dignitary of our Church, and himself, I trust, one of her faithful sons, has often, though a layman, had to perform, according to the Rites of the Church of England, the several offices of Baptism, Marriage, and Burial. What relative living in England, if warmed with attachment to

the Church, of which he is a member, could be deaf to the call of the Church and its earthly head, to be present at its worship, on the day of the Epiphany, and to take that occasion for laying his alms on the altar of Christ's Church, to aid the national endeavour that Christ's "ways may be known upon earth, His saving health among all nations?"

I come now, in the last place, to invite and intreat the hearty co-operation of your Lordship, and your brethren in the Episcopate, towards deliberating and determining on the propriety of application to the Crown, through Her Majesty's Ministers, soliciting the exercise of Royal Authority and recommendation for the measure suggested.

And, together with your Lordship, may I, respectfully, offer a few observations to the Archbishops and the Bishops? If the foregoing remarks should appear to carry any weight with them, I trust the extent, and, in some sense, œcumenical grasp, of the special manner in which the proposition is suggested to be carried out, may appear such as to invite attention. I venture, also, again to remark, that any authoritative act of *single* Bishops of the same nature (although in the possible event of failure in the larger attempt, it may be decidedly the next best step to resort to), would have the disadvantage of obtruding into public notice slight differences that were far better kept in the shade, and also would assuredly be *somewhat* less extensive in its success: although yet I believe firmly, no

Bishop would speak either to his clergy or laity on this subject, without a considerable and beneficial effect. But, in addition to this consideration, the authority of the Crown, moved by the most legitimate of all impulses on such a subject, that of the united voice of the Bench of Bishops, followed up, as it would doubtless be, by the dutiful conformity and acquiescence of the Nation and Church ;—would give to the measure a dignity which no other arrangement could effect. Let the hope, therefore, be indulged, that a respectful suggestion on this subject, conveyed in duty, and offered with submission, will be kindly and indulgently received in that important quarter.

As respects the Ministers of the Crown ; these will surely not be backward, should the spiritual Heads of the Church request the weight of their advice and interposition on this subject. Without examining this point in detail, or attempting to discover unwilling hearers of this proposal in that quarter, several distinguished ministers of the Crown occur to the mind in an instant, who, from what the public see of their proceedings and measures, would probably without hesitation answer to a proposal so submitted to them. Every feeling of holy patriotism, of enlarged piety, of generous faith and confidence, would urge them to forward the pious plan. Not a single motive occurs to me from that quarter, that could be anticipated to be unfriendly to it ; every argument that can address itself to the

loftiest emotions of the breast of an English statesman occurs in favour of it.

Proceeding thus far, with the recommendation of the Bench of Bishops in favour of this proposal, and introduced through their influence to the Council Chamber of the Sovereign, who can doubt that her Majesty's zeal and affection for the best and highest interests of her distant subjects, and for the advancement of a general movement of piety and charity throughout the wide range of her subjects at home, would prompt her Royal Mind to set her seal of approbation on the wishes of her Bishops and the advice of her Ministers?

Whilst the Sovereign of these realms surveys in thought, as doubtless she must often do, the vast extent of the empire she governs, recalling in majesty of sentiment corresponding with that of her position, the vast number of spiritual children within her wide influence as the nursing mother of Christ's Church; whilst she considers herself swaying the destinies of millions of the human race, by the tone and character of her measures, suggested by her constitutional advisers; must it not also frequently enter into the Royal Mind, that these countless millions have immortal souls, and that any train of thought or action which cements and binds together, or even tends to cement and bind together, these myriads of her subjects, must be a consummation devoutly to be wished? To an unregenerate, unrenewed heart, indeed, the power that belongs to the

wearer of the British Crown might be too apt to suggest the unholy thought harboured by the haughty, self-trusting Nebuchadnezzar: "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the honour of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty¹?" But when, on the other hand, it is thankfully remembered that the sceptre of the British realms is in the hands of a baptized Christian Sovereign,—of one who both herself, and with her royal consort, is wont to "call the sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable," to "honour God's sabbaths, and reverence His sanctuary;" when it is further remembered, that the Church of which her Majesty is at once a member, and, in these realms, the earthly head,—is that very body ordained, under Christ, to be the instrument of fulfilment of His divine prayer, that all His followers "may be one²;"—can we doubt for a moment that to a mind so circumstanced no bond of union could seem more effective and more effectual, from the North to the South, from the East to the West of her Empire, than that suggested by a simultaneous act of national piety and devotion, whereby to concentrate the collected alms of a large Church and Nation, for the extension of Christ's everlasting Gospel to the utmost limits of her sway? As the mind travels with this vast thought to the secret chamber of the illustrious individual reverently

¹ Daniel iv. 20.

² St. John xvii. 22.

referred to, it is lost in admiration at the powers one individual possesses of carrying out such a project, whilst the warmest hopes are breathed at the same time of her readiness to advance its fulfilment !

It should seem, therefore, my Lord, as if in the chain of auxiliaries that has been respectfully described, every ground of hope presents itself for anticipating sympathy and co-operation,—from the spiritual heads of the Church, from the constitutional advisers of the State, and from the highest civil and ecclesiastical authority in the realm ! God grant that it may so prove ! May the present extensive project, my Lord, reach the minds of your superiors and brethren in the Episcopate, in a practicable and desirable form ! May their convictions on it be such as to urge their views upon the Ministers of State, who in their turn, let us hope, will not afford a cold or reluctant ear to such a project from such a quarter ! And, finally, should the proposition advance so far, let a still livelier hope be respectfully cherished, that the august Monarch of these realms may look with an eye of favour on the suggestion of her Bishops and her Civil Ministers, and set the seal of her Royal approbation on this work of charity and religion.

Allow me, my Lord, in conclusion, to apply thus practically that large, comprehensive prayer of our Liturgy :—“ for the good estate of the Catholick Church ;—that it may be so guided and governed

by God's good Spirit, that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life."

In the spirit of this prayer, and with much respect for your Lordship's person and office, believe me to remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Obedient Servant,

FRANCIS MEREWETHER.

COLE ORTON RECTORY,
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7

THE
I D E A L
OF
THE ENGLISH CHURCH.
A SKETCH.

BY THE
REV. R. MONTGOMERY, M.A.
AUTHOR OF "LUTHER," "THE GOSPEL BEFORE THE AGE," ETC. ETC.

~~~~~  
"There is **ONE** BODY and **ONE** Spirit."—*Eph. iv.*  
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE following pages are, *in part*, derived from two of the Author's Theological Works, which are nearly out of print. The particular reasons for their publication need not be intruded on the reader. Let it suffice to say that, in the opinion of some competent judges, they contain the germs of those distinctive Principles, and the seeds of those glorious Doctrines, which the Reformed Church of England in the IDEAL of her own Constitution professes to maintain, and by the due ascendancy of which over the minds and morals of her children, her loyal adherence unto Christ will be best understood.

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THE
IDEAL OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

I.

A DISTINCTION TO BE REMEMBERED.

CHRISTIANITY according to the DIVINE IDEA, and Christianity according to its HUMAN EMBODIMENT, is to be regarded in a distinct manner. Unless this be done, we can never pay due reverence to the abstract glory of the one, or comprehend the palpable inconsistencies of the other. The necessity for this distinction may be proved instantaneously, if we compare the attributes of the believer as he is described in the letter of the Word, with the development of the same as bodied forth in the experience of life. In the former case a Christian is a ROYAL PRIEST, a HOLY PERSON, a PECULIAR PERSON. In him eternity hallows time, heaven approaches earth, and the moral glories of God's revealed character are seen to be reflected on the mirror of man's graces. Here all appears high and heavenly; nor can we yield ourselves to the descriptions of such a believer, as set forth by the Divine Spirit, without being elevated into a region of purity and a realm of privilege, far beyond the culture

of mere intellect to reach, and the aspirations of sentiment to attain. But when we revert to the latter case, and contemplate Christianity as unfolded in the erring forms of human discipleship,—alas! what infirmities and inconsistencies on all sides meet our view, and mortify our hopes! Nay, to such an extent does the contrast between the ideal of the Bible, and the actual of man, in Divine things, exist,—that perchance the infidel has derived stronger arguments against the Gospel from the frailties and sins of those who profess to be guided by its principles, than he has from the philosophy of those who have openly rejected it.

And now let us venture to assert, that we must proceed in analogy with the preceding distinction, when we come to reason on the faculties and functions of our Anglican Church. Estimated according to Her own *IDEA*, or theoretic Conception, as exhibited in Her Constitution, Liturgy, Creeds, and Articles,—we may proclaim with truthful modesty, that she approximates directly to the Apostolic platform. But when we examine Her positive influence and practical results, we must adopt a humbler tone, because we are then compelled to move within a lower range of observation. Were this distinction between our Church in the ideal and in the actual remembered, controversy would often be mitigated, and charity increased. However mysterious it may appear to us, man must acknowledge what God is pleased to allow,—namely, the incidental failure of moral remedies which His own wisdom hath appointed.

Let the spirit of the above considerations be remembered, and then the view which we are about to take of the *NATURAL TENDENCIES* of the English Church, will not be questioned by those who believe the transforming

energies of a spiritual life to be communicated through her instrumentality.

The Church, we know, is an ORDINANCE OF GOD, which is intended to direct the moral nature of mankind upward towards Divinity, and forward towards eternity. But against this, how vehement, multiform, and incessant are the counteractions with which she has to contend! Her office, indeed, is heavenly and sublime: to lift man out of the debasement of the senses and the passions into an ethereal region of sanctity and love; to hold ever before the purged eye of his faith "CHRIST AND HIM CRUCIFIED" AND GLORIFIED, as His faultless ARCHETYPE; and so to attract him off from earthly pursuits and finite good, to celestial pleasures and infinite perfections. Such we repeat is the duty of our Church: to this all her Rites, Sacraments, and Doctrines tend. But daily the British people are becoming more and more luxurious and sensually inclined; and so intensely secular, as to consider everything but Mammon, and manufactures, and incomes, something for poets and priests to admire, but not for the wise of this world to pursue. In one word, the practical habits of our country are growing ATHEISTICAL and UNSPIRITUAL. "The things that are *seen*" so pamper the minds of the majority with their incessant excitements, as to destroy all intellectual appetite for the calmer and deeper claims of "the things which are *unseen*." Here is the great antagonist of a spiritual Church—even the sad materialism and sinful luxury of the times.

In addition to opposing forces such as these, the Church has to contend against difficulties and dangers which beset her from the sad conflict which ECCLESIASTICAL PARTY at the present moment is promoting.

Yet, far from the English Churchman be undutiful words, unloyal thoughts, and unholy sarcasms. For if he looks on the past,—can he trace our Church from its apostolical planting through successive ages downwards, and mark how wondrously her Lord and Head hath protected, guided, chastened, and controlled her,—without prayers and presentiments of the deepest order? From what invasions hath she recovered, what shocks withstood, what persecutions overcome, what heresies silenced, and over what martyrdoms, fires, and fetters hath she triumphed? And who can contrast her unparalleled consistency at the Reformation,—when she REJECTED alike Roman falsehood and schismatic novelty, while she RETAINED Evangelic truth in combination with Apostolic order,—and not perceive “the good hand of God” upon her? And if with what she *has* been, he also reflects on what, under the promised guidance of her Divine Master, she may yet become,—even the Educatrix of nations and the great Ambassadors for Christ to the world’s Gentile myriads,—how can he view with any but a religious eye, every danger that threatens her catholicity, and every schism that would rend her unity?

While then the plotting Romanist, and his unnatural ally, the Political Dissenter, in combination with a miscellaneous rabble of Deists, Socinians, philosophic Infidels, Chartists, Socialists, and all who abhor the “things which belong unto Cæsar,”—while these are malevolently enraptured with the bare idea of our Church’s downfall, her faithful son will behold her warfare with reverence, sympathy, and prayer. He has not read history in vain; and therefore cannot be blind to the undeniable fact that our Church has ever been bound up with the solid glories, the substantial interests, and the per-

manent welfare of the Empire. To a great extent we may say, that with all her allowed faults, sins, and inconsistencies, and after a candid and full confession of her manifold short-comings, declensions, and carnalities,—yet has she been on the whole the peerless blessing of our country. For in so far as Her sacred function has been duly exercised, and her spiritual apparatus successfully applied, the Church of England has proved the spring of national piety, the root of public morals, the guardian of political liberty, the protector of social rights, and the universal sanctifier of every home she has visited, and every heart where her doctrines have been permitted to prevail. It is not then that a loyal Churchman is ready to say, with King James, “No Church, no King;” but more than this: he is convinced that if the national Church of these realms were overthrown, she would not be alone in her ruins; but around her prostrated temples and demolished shrines would lie scattered in awful waste, public religion, national morality, and private virtue.

The scoffing democrat indeed will wag his audacious tongue against her faults, and delight to expose what *he* calls her defects; and the Papist will be all alive to every seeming rent or threatened division in her unity, which appear to contrast her discords with that hollow unity his own apostate communion enjoys, under the headship of that antichristian invention, called a Pope. But in opposition to these mockers, gratefully may the true Catholic call to mind, that his beloved Church is not only associated with a “noble army of saints and martyrs;” but that whatever has made the name of Briton a talismanic word among the nations of the earth, is more or less connected with the doctrines she has professed, the

principles she has maintained, and the vast influences she has wielded. Religion, science, art, literature, and eloquence,—had not the Church of England been preserved, how different perchance would the inspiring history of these have been? In truth, as regards theological literature, by the confession even of her bitterest foes, she has, by her magnificent authorship, her profound erudition, and polemical masterpieces, laid the instructed intellect of mankind under an obligation which can never expire, while such a thing as spiritual appreciation remains. It is thus then, while he regards our Church as indeed the very apple of the nation's eye, the catholic Churchman will survey the agitations which now disturb her principles within, and also the perils which assail her security from without, with thoughts "too deep for tears;" and yet not with morbid dejection nor despair. He is taught by a consoling Volume which cannot err, that as a true branch of Christ's apostolical and universal Church, "He who keepeth our Zion will not slumber nor sleep," but indeed be "with HER always unto the end of the world." Nor let it be unremembered, that amid the dimness and perplexity of things in which we are now enveloped,—there is much of cheering promise, which demands from every patriotic believer the glowing acknowledgment of gratitude and praise. For besides what we have already suggested as material for thanksgiving, let the following FACTS be taken into account when we speak of our ecclesiastical condition. The extension of churches is proceeding at a glorious rate; district societies, headed by the clergy of their respective localities, are multiplied on all sides; diocesan schools are being numerously formed; our three great societies, the "Propagation of the Gospel," the Society for "Promoting Christian

Knowledge," and the "Church Missionary Society," are zealously at work, and spreading the triumphs of the Redeemer's truth and the infallible Word of God almost to the very confines of humanity: the English Episcopate is being established amid our colonial possessions and dependencies; on the magic soil of Palestine itself we shall soon have erected an Episcopal Temple, where the once crucified Jesus will be worshipped on Calvary's Hill, in the prayers and chants of our unrivalled Liturgy; popular education and means for instructing the infant poor are now engaging the devoted attention of our bishops and clergy;—and these surely are things for which we may well thank God and take courage! And let us append to this brighter view of our position another consideration; namely, that the savage yell which the unprincipled destructives of our day set up against the English Church, is a PROOF that with all their pretended scorn for her constitution and claims,—there is a Divine charm in her apostolic Orders, primitive Liturgy, evangelic Creed, Sacramental privileges, and catholic orthodoxy, beyond this world, with all its devilish wisdom, to contravene.

II.

ON THE IDEAL OF THE CHURCH AS TO THE GREAT
PRINCIPLE OF HER CONSTITUTION.

SINCE Christ is "the All in All," of true Religion—*may we venerate our own ecclesiastical mother, THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH OF ENGLAND.* Let the adherents of the Romish schism in this country pray for her downfall; let those, whose Papal yearnings for a spurious catholicity are not satisfied with our Church, strive to betray her interests, distort her doctrines, and abuse her services after a Jesuitical fashion; let the unbelieving radical imprecate curses on her powers and prerogatives, and the political Dissenter plot and scheme for her ruin; or, lastly, let the morbid victims of Trentine Theology, mutter their treason and whisper their dislike against her formularies and creeds:—but be it our privilege, as it is our duty, evermore to say, "Peace be within thy walls;"—when we "forget thee," may "our right hands forget their cunning!" And why should we not thus supplicate the God of heaven to protect our venerated Zion, when her Orders and Sacraments, her Rites and Ceremonies, her Services and Chants, her Symbols, Articles, and Homilies, do each and all, with unvarying fidelity and firmness, maintain this blessed doctrine,—that "Christ" is "All and in All." But in order to illustrate how truly she does respond to the theology of Scripture, let us venture to

Contemplate the great Principle of her Constitution.

Now as to the Episcopate, it would be quite out of the province of a transient allusion such as this, to repeat the inviolable arguments which learning, genius, eloquence, and piety have produced as evidence that the Church of

England is built "upon the foundations of apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone." A DIVINE COMMISSION, authenticating all her agencies, inspiring all her privileges, and controlling all her responsibilities, is at once the basis of her claim, and the interpretation of her character. Holding fast a principle which is moveless as the throne of the Almighty, that *the Maker and the Master of the Church is Christ alone*, and that all power, authority, and administration, with regard to the channels of grace, are valid only as emanating from and acting *by Him*,—Episcopacy with her is neither a simple apostolical institution, which might be argued down by reasoning guess-work into a temporal arrangement; nor is it merely a rational inference from primitive antiquity; and still less is it the cold production of mean and miserable expediency;—but neither more nor less than *an express institute of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, as the Head of ministerial commission.** "As my father

* The phrase "APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION," from its vague and somewhat pliable meaning, is the source of much acrimony, ridicule, and controversy, in the popular writings of our day. But is there not one fundamental mistake at the root of all this confusion and bitterness? *viz.* has not the question, *What is essential to a canonical ministry*, as founded by our Lord, confirmed by his apostles, and continued with unbroken adherence up to the time of the Reformation, been confused with another, which is very distinct, *viz.* *What is essential to salvation?* Here is a double error constantly at work in this discussion. The one party argue, as if the commission of the clergy *could be* of human origination; and the other sometimes express themselves as if mere *episcopacy were* ABSOLUTELY essential to salvation. No wonder when these extremes meet that in the clash of the conflict truth disappears, and charity itself evaporates away. Meekly and truly did the late Bishop Hobart state the distinction, when thus speaking of the sacred and spiritually-minded Churchman,—“He presumes not to arraign the fitness of the peculiar constitution of Christ's

sent me, so I send you." In these syllables are enshrined the true and living elements of whatsoever constitutes *Evangelic Churchmanship* in the Church of England. Ordination to ecclesiastical offices, and the administration of the means of grace, together with their adjuncts, de-

mystical body, wisely and humbly judging that the Divine personage who came to save the world knew by what institutions this all-merciful object was to be best accomplished. *So far, indeed, from CONFINING SALVATION to a state of visible union with Christ's mystical body, he extends the benefits of the Redeemer's merits and grace to the PIOUS and SINCERE of all sects, and of all nations."*

In reference to what may be legitimately inferred from the phrase "Apostolical succession," the following quotation from Bishop Hall, and also from Field, will be found full of pertinency:—"These (i. e. the apostles) great ambassadors of Christ sustained more persons than one. They comprehended in themselves the whole hierarchy: they were Christians, presbyters, bishops, apostles. So it was they were apostles immediately called, miraculously gifted, infallibly guided, universally charged. *Thus they had not, they could not have, any successors.* They were faithful Church governors, appointed by Christ to order and settle the affairs of his spiritual kingdom, and therein (beside the preaching and baptizing common to them with other ministers) *to ordain a succession of the great administrators of His Church. THUS they were, would be, must be, succeeded.*"—(Episcopacy by Divine Right, parts 2 and 3.)

"The divines doe note that there were foure things proper and peculiar to the apostles, and not communicable to any other of the ministers of Christ, appointed by Him for the gathering of his saints. The first was *immediate vocation*; the second, *infallibility of judgment*; the third, *generality of commission*, to doe all things pertaining to the minister of salvation, in all places, towards all persons; the fourth, the speaking in all the tongues and languages of the world, the knowledge of all secrets, and power to confirm their doctrine by signs and miracles, and by imposition of their hands, to give the like miraculous gifts of the Spirit to others. * * * And as these things were reserved as proper and peculiar unto the apostles, and not communicated to any other in their time, so are they not passed over to their

pendencies, and connexions, may all be traced to this as their pure and only fountain. Mere human will can no more create a minister than it can create a Redeemer; the power in the one case and the Person in the other are inseparable. "All power is given unto ME in heaven and earth. Go ye, THEREFORE, and teach all nations (i. e. *disciple* all nations), baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever *I have commanded you*: and, lo! I AM WITH YOU ALWAYS, EVEN TO THE END OF THE WORLD." What power St. Paul considered this commission to mean and to convey, his Epistles to Timothy and Titus amply unfold: *e. g.* among other decisive passages, weigh the following:—"I charge thee before God, and the elect angels, &c., &c.—*lay hands* (Acts vi. 6; xiii. 3) *suddenly on no man* (1 Tim. v. 21, 22): the things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same COMMIT THOU TO FAITHFUL men, who shall be able to teach others also." (2 Tim. ii. 2.) "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that THOU shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ORDAIN ELDERS in every city, as I HAD APPOINTED THEE." (Titus i. 5.)

And now let us select from an immense "cloud of witnesses" to the Divine origin of Episcopacy, three. The first is Hooker, who, in the fourth section of the

aftercomers by succession; but instead of immediate calling, we have new succession; instead of infallibility of judgment, the direction of their writing, guiding us to the finding out of the truth; instead of general commission, particular assignation of churches to rule, and parts of Christ's flocke to feede; instead of miraculous gifts, and the apostles' power to confere them, a settled course of schools and universities, fitting men for the work of the ministry, &c.—*Field on the Church.*

Preface to his almost inspired work on "Ecclesiastical Polity," thus challenges the admirers of Genevan novelties.—"The government against which ye band yourselves has been observed every where throughout ALL GENERATIONS AND AGES OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD, NO CHURCH EVER PERCEIVING THE WORD OF GOD TO BE AGAINST IT. We require you to find out but one Church upon the face of the whole earth that hath been ordered by your discipline, and hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by EPISCOPAL REGIMENT, since the time that the blessed apostles were here conversant." Our second witness is Jeremy Taylor, who, in his "Introduction to Episcopacy Asserted," thus delivers himself. "The catholic practice of Christendom for 1600 years is so insupportable a prejudice against the enemies of Episcopacy, that they must bring admirable evidence of Scripture, or a clear revelation proved by miracles, or a contrary undoubted tradition apostolical for themselves, or else hope for no belief against the prescribed possession of so many ages." Our last testimony is from Bishop Hobart's "Apology for Apostolic Order." The discernment and sobriety of his words will not be denied even by those who may question his argument.

"Episcopalians do not contend that in AN EXTENSIVE AND UNQUALIFIED SENSE there is any form of Church government of DIVINE RIGHT. Church government is often applied, by Episcopal writers, in a confined sense, to the orders of the ministry, and in this confined signification Episcopal government is of Divine right; but in a more extensive sense, Church government excludes the particular organization by which ecclesiastical power is exercised, and discipline is administered, and the rights and ceremonies by which public worship is conducted. In

this extensive signification, Episcopalians maintain that there is no precise form of Church government of Divine right; the organization of ecclesiastical authority, the forms of discipline, the rites and ceremonies of public worship, they maintain are not laid down in Scripture, and therefore by common consent and authority they may be altered, abridged, enlarged, amended, or otherwise disposed of as may seem most convenient for the edification of the people."—*Preface to American Prayer-Book.*

"The single point for which they contend is, that Episcopacy was instituted by Christ and his Apostles; that the three grades of ministers—bishops, priests, and deacons, with their appropriate powers—are of Divine and Apostolical institution."

"The GOVERNMENT of the Church, therefore, is evidently not to be identified with its MINISTRY. The former, as including discipline, rites, and ceremonies, may be altered by human authority; the latter can only be altered by that Divine authority which originally instituted it. If we change the distinctive grades and powers of the ministry, and take power of ordination from the hands in which it was originally vested, we MAKE THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN INSTEAD OF DIVINE AUTHORITY!"

Nor let those who are accustomed to take low views of the ministerial Commission imagine, that to maintain the Divine origin of Episcopacy is the sign of an earthly mind, and the symbol of a bigoted heart. On the contrary, churchmen who value Episcopacy rightly, thereby intend not to gratify the vaunting pretensions of man, but to reverence what they believe the *official mind of the Holy Ghost*, touching the orders, sacraments, and ordinances of His Church. And should these remarks meet the eye of

a sectarian objector, who is so uncharitable as to assert that a love for Episcopacy and an experience of spirituality are incompatible in the same person,—we hope he will read the following death-scene of Hooker, as described by his exquisite biographer. Here at least is one proof how a man can maintain the scriptural IDEAL of Office in the Church, and yet lie in humble and heavenly self-renunciation at the foot of the Cross.

“The doctor left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following, which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse, which gave the doctor occasion to inquire his present thoughts; to which he replied, “That he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in heaven; and, oh! that it might be so on earth!” After which words he said, “I have lived to see this world is made up of perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near; and though I have, by His grace, loved Him from my youth, and feared Him in my age, and laboured to have a conscience void of offence to Him and to all men; yet, if thou, oh! Lord, be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it? And, therefore, where I have failed, Lord, show mercy to me: for I plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for His merits who died to purchase a pardon for penitent sinners. And since I owe thee a death, Lord, let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time! I submit to it! Let not mine, O Lord, but let thy will be done.”

III.

ON THE IDEAL OF THE CHURCH AS TO RITUAL FORMS
AND CEREMONIAL EMBLEMS.

IN the religion of Jesus Christ there is a body of visible Forms and a soul of invisible Principles, which respond to the twofold attributes which compose our human nature, even that of material flesh, and immaterial spirit And in what does the perfection of practical devotion consist, but in maintaining an harmonious counterbalance between these parts of our religion, and these properties of our nature? When is the life of faith more fruitful, and the science of our worshipping souls more heavenly and complete,—than when it yields to our SENSES such a proportion of outward rite as they require, and to our SOULS such an amount of inward doctrines as they need? The *entire man* is redeemed by Christ, and therefore the *entire man* must worship Christ. But how can the Saviour be adored by our human entireness, and a religion *commensurate* with our entireness be put into action? Consequently a liturgy exclusively spiritual, would be altogether *unsuited* to man in his earthly condition as an embodied soul. Were it all viewless spirit, what would become of his sensible faculties? Were it all visible form, what would become of his spiritual faculties? But let him be provided with a religious apparatus responsively adapted to meet the distinct requirements of his compound nature, and the whole humanity is then supplied with a sacred nourishment suitable to its weaknesses and wants.

In theory, of course, few will deny these observations to be grounded on a correct interpretation of Christ's

religion and man's need. But, alas! in practice, how often have the Church and her children violated the harmony which the Redeemer hath established between His faith and our faculties.

In every age a bias of disturbing prejudice hath dislocated the proportion which HE designed ever to be preserved between the body and soul of Christianity, and the body and soul of the Christian. Sometimes this bias has tended to a religion exclusively *ad extra*, or one of embodied rites; and again in another period the bias has inclined to a religion exclusively *ad intra*, or one of internal experiences. Thus, more or less, there has ever been (especially since the Reformation) a great contention where there ought to have been a glorious concord. One class of theologians have unwisely separated the means too far from the end in reference to salvation, and the result has been—*ritual formalism*. Again, another species of theologians have separated the end too far from the means, and the consequence has been—*spiritual fanaticism*. In either case this is indeed to be sorely lamented, as tending not more to dishonour the wondrous perfections of the Redeemer's economy, than to disturb the proportions of man's being. Would that the *VIA MEDIA*, along which apostles, saints, and martyrs walked in fraternal unity and loving concord, towards their common heaven, had been reverently kept! This indeed is at once the primitive, sincere, and catholic way. This is a path which verges neither to the right hand nor to the left; which tends not to one extreme or to another; but leads man by a direct line straight towards his final home. "What GOD hath JOINED together let not MAN put asunder." (Matt. xix. 26.) Here is a due regard for the *use of means* as connected with an end; and what

“God” hath put asunder let “not man” “join together;” here is also a right esteem for the *end as distinct* from the means.

Extremes on this point, as in most others connected with our relative acts, are to be avoided. External forms, sacramental ceremonies, and symbolic observances can never be despised by a soundly spiritual mind. The decent pomp, the ordered rite, and all the expressive adjuncts of public worship, will ever assume a holy importance in the hearts of those who, while they remember “God is a Spirit,” recollect man hath a body likewise. Convinced on the one hand that the *mere excitement* of the senses is not religion, they are equally assured on the other, that to *enlist them on the side of religion*, is both wise and necessary. No thinking person therefore, who has really studied the constitutional requirements of human nature, will presume to ridicule those auxiliary influences of religious forms and rites, which the Divine Architect of that nature intended for the Church’s visible edification and uniting bond.

But when the exterior functions of religious worship are lauded to an extravagant height, and all the complex minutiae of a most fatiguing ritual are enforced upon worshippers, as if the seeds of the soul’s eternity were enclosed within them—or when that which is but an *instrumental means* is magnified into a *final aim*,—then it is that the instinctive pharisaism of our fallen nature is unwisely and unsafely flattered. Nothing, we venture with sacred confidence to assert, but the popish bigotry of a petty mind will dispute this opinion. When the *sensible* is allowed to *overwhelm* the spiritual in Christian worship, the Almighty seems to retire behind the thick veilings of rites, and sensual drapery of forms; the fer-

vour of a God-realizing devotion begins to evaporate, and the rational worshipper of a spiritual Jehovah is in danger of being transmuted into a kind of liturgical machine, who blindly worships "*he knows not what.*"

But perhaps the true and only rectifier of our conceptions touching the principles and proportions of sacred worship, as offered by the whole man, is this sublime fact that,—CHRIST is "*IN ALL*" *the ordinances of true religion.* When we say this, our meaning is, that He is in them one and all, as their SUPREME END AND OBJECT; so that if ceremonial institutes and religious acts be followed and performed without a distinct reference unto the Redeemer as the soul and substance of their significance and effect—they are ritual mockeries and nought beside. To render this more plain, let us in theory imagine Christ to be extracted out of our religious forms; or let us suppose something else to be *substituted* in His holy place, and then,—what description shall we give of symbolic worship and liturgical rites? For instance, let us consider SACRAMENTS, SERMONS, and PRAYERS, and if Christ be divorced from them, what have we left but an emblematic skeleton, an intellectual homily, and a fruitless supplication? For what are Christian sacraments but signs and seals of our incorporation into CHRIST and His Church? What are Christian sermons but exhortations to bring us into the love and likeness of Christ? And what are Christian prayers but adorations to the Trinity, offered by the faithful that CHRIST may become theirs and they become CHRIST's, for ever? Thus too with all the subordinate rites and subsidiary ceremonies of the Church,—CHRIST is at once both their Alpha and Omega, their first principle and their last end. Indeed even as the ritual of ancient Judaism would be a libel on the

Divine wisdom, if Christ were not the predestined ante-type, to Whose Person and Merits all its shadows referred,—so would the liturgy of modern evangelism be a satire on human necessity, if Christ were not realized there as ruling “IN” and over “ALL.”

But if a substitution of something else instead of our Lord Christ, as the terminal glory to which all ceremonial ordinances and institutes tend, be imagined,—we shall find in this case likewise our religion to be a hollow name and little more. Now that, to a great extent, in practical effects such a substitution does take place will scarcely be denied: and therefore it can never be “out of season” for the minister of Christ to impress on his own conscience, and on that of others whom he can influence, that unless we are “looking unto Jesus” in the glass of the ordinances, we are really deceiving our souls. As believers, we are “predestinated to be *conformed to the image of His Son*,” and this Divine conformation of man unto Christ through the power of His Spirit, is the grand achievement which the instruments of grace are designed to complete. Unless then He who is the life and light of our redeemed nature, be ever adored as the central inspiration of all rites, ceremonies, and sacraments,—we may be ritualists, but we are not Christians; we have an abstract creed, but not an embodied Christ; a doctrinal religion, but not a Personal God. Let us then be thankful that the services of our Church warn us against substituting any of the following ends for a spiritual conjunction with Him whose we are, and whose name we bear. (1.) The regalement of the senses by the bland attractions of music, sculpture, architecture, and painting. (2.) The excitement of the emotions, by the power and pathos of moving appeals and high-wrought

arguments. (3.) The morbid gratification of an exacting mind, which loves to feed on doctrines, while the heart is famished for want of moral nutriment. (4.) A zeal for an articulated orthodoxy, which is content with terms that adorn the head, rather than truths which influence the life. (5.) A providential regard for the good opinion of the world and the gracious esteem of friends, both of which would be endangered were we to neglect our Church and her observances. (6.) The indolent pleasure of yielding to a mere habit in coming to the Lord's house on Sundays. (7.) A legal desire to propitiate God by a regular discharge of religious duties, rather than by faith and repentance through Jesus Christ. (Lastly.) A pharisaic complacency in the ritual discharge of Sabbath duties, as if going to church and going to heaven were synonymous.—Numerous others might of course be adduced, but assuredly *these* are among some of those false ends and deceitful lures which thousands pursue, and by which thousands are beguiled, in bringing their souls and bodies under the commingled power of Church doctrines and ordinances. Through the guidance of God's Holy Spirit, the only remedy for this suicidal fraud is, the prayerful acknowledgment of Christ as being "IN ALL" the institutes of religion, as their only pure and perfect END. Therefore, both in public worship and in private adoration, let us ever keep this sublime object before our conscience,—namely, a *conformity* unto Christ by grace on earth, that we may hereafter have a *communion* with Christ in glory above. The means are *for* the end; let us not reverse the matter, and treat the means as though they *were* the end: moreover, as God hath allied certain ends *with* corresponding means, let us not presume to reach the one, while we are mad enough

to despise the other. Above all, let us remember that—"as IN ADAM all die," so it is not by forms, fancies, or feelings, but by being vitally and spiritually "IN CHRIST, we are made alive." Compared with this, all the formal outworks of religion, however orthodox and sincere, are fond dreams and futile delusions. And to prove that we do not overrate the distinction between a religion externally kept, and a Christ internally experienced,—let us hear the sentiments of one, whose oriental richness of taste and luxury of imagination rendered him peculiarly open to all the fascinations of artistical effect, in the Church he loved. "It is but an ill sign of holiness when a man is busy in troubling himself and his superior in little scruples and fantastic opinions about things *not concerning the life of religion or the pleasure of God, or the excellences of the Spirit*. A good man knows how to please God, how to converse with him, how to advance the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, to set forward holiness, and the love of God and of his brother; and he knows that there is no godliness in spending our time and our talk, our heart and our spirits, about the garments and outsides of religion; . . . and he that for that which is no part of religion destroys religion, is a man of fancy and of the world; but he gives but an ill account that he is a man of God and a son of the Spirit."—(JEREMY TAYLOR'S "Via Intelligenciæ.")

IV.

ON THE IDEAL OF THE CHURCH AS TO HER PROTESTING CHARACTER.

WE may as well renounce the name of MEN, because some people who bear it are brutal, base, and unbelieving, as reject the title "Protestants,"—because sects of different enormity arrange themselves under its nominal shelter. Secondly; we assert that GENUINE PROTESTANTISM has no more to do with BARREN NEGATIVES than it has to do with POSITIVE DELUSIONS. On the contrary, it asserts positively, broadly, and intelligibly, an actual creed and a defined theology; because it is rooted in this doctrine which came directly from the throne of the Almighty,—viz., *every single man is a responsible unit, whom the Incarnation and Redemption by Christ has brought into an individual and independent position before God.* The grand idea, the central principle and leading power of what a catholic Churchman means by his Protestantism, is involved in this,—God hath commanded EVERY MAN TO BELIEVE, REPENT, and be RECONCILED UNTO GOD PERSONALLY, as a single and accountable agent. Now the Church, as a BODY, cannot be to this or that individual what by an absurd fiction the Romish apostacy presumes itself to be,—a kind of SPIRITUAL PROXY for her members; as if in fact, she were a repentant, believing, and praying MACHINE to represent her people. Moreover, supposing we are right in saying that a belief in justification by faith, election, and the Word of God as the supreme rule of faith, to be one of the primary elements involved in the Reformation,—with what decent regard to truth can it be asserted,—sound Protestantism is nothing but a barren NEGATIVE? Again; the word "Protestant" has

many shades of meaning which ought not to be confounded. It may, for instance, refer to certain princes in Germany who signed a memorable "PROTEST:" sometimes, it has been applied to political Dissenterism and rationalistic theology; occasionally, civil rebellion has borrowed the name: moreover, in our country, it has been chiefly employed to signify our ecclesiastical PROTEST against the abominations, idolatries, and delusions of the Roman communion. But the term "Protestant," as used by SOUND CHURCHMEN, is employed in the pregnant sense which Jeremy Taylor perchance meant, when speaking of our Church he made this striking remark,—"**PROTESTANT IS HER NAME, AND CATHOLIC HER SURNAME.**" Hence, all this fastidious horror at the word "Protestant" is one of those affectations of a school in a pedantic *caste* of men who *call* themselves "Catholics,"—which no Christian who values sobriety and discernment should indulge. **THE ORTHODOX PROTESTANT IS A SOUND CATHOLIC; AND THE ORTHODOX CATHOLIC IS A SOUND PROTESTANT:** the two elements in both are distinct and different, and yet not opposites or contraries. Protestantism and Catholicism are two principles equally required to the perfection of an apostolical Church; and ought to be allowed to co-operate in peaceful harmony towards one common good, and glorious consummation. By the one, man's RESPONSIBLE DISTINCTNESS, as singly and personally the subject of electing grace and spiritual life in Christ Jesus is mainly understood: but by the other man's CORPORATE STATE, or sympathetic alliance with an ecclesiastical "**BODY**" or "**KINGDOM**," is intended. Nothing therefore can be more unphilosophical and unscriptural, than to array these two principles of Protestantism and Catholicity in battle *against* each other.

One might as well complain of the centripetal and centrifugal forces in astronomy, without which, in *combined action* we know there would be no revolution of the planets round their central orb. And need we add, that in OUR CHURCH there is an ample provision both for the element of Protestantism and the element of Catholicity to act, in their conjunct and correlative order? In our creeds, articles, litany, and sacraments, man, both in his individual responsibility, and in his collective capacity, is perpetually supplied with motive, and instructed by doctrine. And we may further add, that the Romanizing party in their rancour against a term which the noblest and the most accomplished of English Churchmen have adopted,—are as ignorant of man's real constitution, as of the Church's true perfection. For look at man when under the principle of INDIVIDUAL LIFE alone,—and see how selfish, isolate, morbid, and uncharitable he becomes! His *own* taste, pleasure, enjoyment, and aggrandizement, form the pivot on which his exclusive heart revolves. On the other hand, regard man when absorbed *altogether* into the COLLECTIVE LIFE of an ecclesiastical corporation,—and mark how the spirit of a manful independence wanes within him; how soon all mental energy and moral force begin to languish; till at length he terminates in becoming little more than a minute portion of PASSIVE EXISTENCE, in the vast mechanism of an ecclesiastical constitution. Thus then, whether you look at the nature of man or the constitution of the Church, the blended action and harmonizing presence of *both* Protestantism and Catholicism are alike required for the perfection of either. Protestantism is not therefore the mere CONTRADICTION of the Pope's lie, but the ASSERTION of God's truth also.

V.

ON THE IDEAL OF THE CHURCH AS TO INDIVIDUAL AND CORPORATE LIFE.

THE Redeemer is the "HEAD OF EVERY MAN." But is that ALL we intend by believers in Christ? Are we only to select that part of his revelation which leads to PERSONAL EXPERIENCE, and neglect all the rest which authorizes and endows SOCIAL COMMUNION, as an essential element in apostolical religion? And it is precisely at this point so many of our brethren break down; and are utterly incompetent to contend with those who not only believe that Jesus Christ founded a RELIGION for man, but also organized an EXPRESS SOCIETY, to be administered by POSITIVE LAWS, and expressed by FIXED RITES, DEFINITE SACRAMENTS, and CEREMONIAL ACTS,—THROUGH WHICH HIS revealed system of faith and doctrine should act itself out upon the hearts and consciences of men. The Christianity therefore of Christ is not simply a spiritual INFLUENCE felt by the individual believer; but it is also an INCORPORATED MEMBERSHIP with an UNIVERSAL BODY, or KINGDOM of fellow-partakers in this influence; and which influence is itself a life dispensed over the whole body from ONE HEAD, Jesus Christ. It seems therefore that it is *not* according "to the mind of Christ" that our religion should be *nothing more* than personal experience, or individual life, however spiritual, holy, and rapt it may be thought; but that we should be "joint heirs" of Him, and be compacted into ONE BODY of communing hearts and minds, where the selfishness of THE INDIVIDUAL will be counterpoised by the corrective law of THE SOCIAL life of Jesus. Now we fear the root of all secta-

rian errors lies in this: namely, that although Christ leaves man no choice for his *religious system*,—he does permit him to choose ANY FORM by which that system can be DEVELOPED. In other words, Sectarians think the external and the formal in Christianity are *nothing*; and that the internal and spiritual are *all*. Hence as a natural consequence, they practically deny that Jesus Christ established a VISIBLE CORPORATION, or EXTERNALLY ORGANIZED CHURCH on earth; and conclude that if a man belong to that ecclesiastical invention, that anomalous ideal, and imaginary home of all the sects and schisms under the sun, yeleft some INVISIBLE CHURCH!—why he believes all which the Gospel requires. Now we enter our protest against this; we solemnly and in the name of Zion's crucified and crowned King, appeal against this theory, as equally opposed to the GLORY OF THE REDEEMER and the WELFARE OF THE REDEEMED. On the contrary, so far from believing that a man may choose what he *calls* "his Church," even as he may select his residence; or from thinking that the visible Church is nothing more than a voluntary adherence of separate and independent units into any ecclesiastical organization *they choose*;—we are convinced that as certainly as Christ revealed a system of DIVINE TRUTH, so certainly did He authorize personally and by His apostles, a POSITIVE INSTITUTION through which that truth might be applied. To enter on this at full, is here out of the question; but inasmuch as our Lord's allusion to a "KINGDOM" in his sermon to Nicodemus involves this; and as the great controversy of the day turns on this very point,—we shall just intimate the heads of an argument, for a reply against those sectarian dispositions which deny the social, in order to protect the individual life, of the Church.

1. The signs of God intending Humanity to exist under the mode of a spiritual constitution are not confined to Scripture; but may be evidenced by the fact that every human being who comes into the world, enters it under the LAW of RELATIONSHIP; hence the family constitution is an eloquent symptom of God's intention that man should not exist for *himself* alone. In like manner, we may reason from the fact that NATIONAL COMMUNIONS exist; which are also signs of some universal and positive institutes, designed to *limit* the indulgence of individuality; and which institutes moreover *do* exist whether man wills it or not.

2. A Church *absolutely* invisible *on earth*, would seem to be a mere creation of the intellect, which can have no objective reality in this coarse and actual world. Even the sect called the Quakers,—who more than any body have desired to live upon THE IDEA of an internal or unseen Church,—have been *compelled* to use some visible tokens and outward signs wherewith to CONNECT themselves with the world and with one another.

3. We demand where the visible Church, as *essentially* distinct from the invisible, is *recognised by the Bible*? Indeed, so far as we have read the Scripture, we can only detect ONE CHURCH OF THE LIVING GOD FROM THE BEGINNING,—“the ground and pillar of the truth.” When Churches are spoken of in particular, the distinction is geographical, and the plurality altogether a thing of local definition.

4. Although it be manifest that, when we compare the magnificent privileges and mysterious endowments which Scripture attributes to the “Body of Christ,” with its present characteristics,—we are appalled by the hideous and unholy contrasts which present themselves; yet does

the same Scripture *prepare us for this*. A blended condition of light and darkness; of sin and holiness; of chaff and wheat; of branches which bear fruit and those which bear none; of nets which hold good fish and bad;—such is the description which our Lord himself gives of His gospel kingdom on earth, till the grand hour of final separation before His throne arrives. And we may ask, is not this sad inconsistency in the experience of the universal “Body,” illustrated by a resembling experience as to every “member in particular?” If the CORPORATE LIFE of the Church be so lamentably deficient, is not the INDIVIDUAL LIFE of the believer continually marred by a like defection from holiness and truth?

5. We have before endeavoured to prove, that if religion *only* provided for man's welfare as a spiritual unit, it would be a defective system; and altogether out of analogy with those relations which every human being bears to the settled constitution of a family and a nation. Indeed SPIRITUAL EGOTISM would be all which such an isolation of religious principle would produce. A law of positive restraint to act upon our faculties from without, is just as requisite to the perfection of our nature as a spiritual principle to operate on our moral springs within.

6. The whole doctrine of the Church, as laid down in the Bible, confirms this view of the Church as designed not to be only an UNSEEN INFLUENCE for the individual, but an embodied constitution, a visible framework, or sacramental Ark, for containing and preserving THE TRUTH.

7. Both the religious wants and the very nature of man require something outward and visible, as well as the inward and invisible, in religion. And this is true, because, 1st, Body and soul were BOTH brought under

the curse by primal transgressions; and therefore the spiritual corrective must be applied to BOTH PARTS of our compounded being. And 2d, By a primitive law of our nature, every internal principle seeks to *express itself* by some outward development; and by such external manifestation both strengthens itself and the religious constitution out of which it proceeds. Now with what consistency can it be maintained, that Christianity violates the whole analogy of our human being in every other respect? If the religious principle be truly inward as a LIFE, why should it not also be really outward in DEVELOPMENT? Hence rites, ceremonies, and sacramental emblems become requisites, in order to interpret through sensible media to others what must otherwise have been incarcerated in our own solitary bosoms.

8. Analogical proofs that spiritual powers and agencies should operate upon humanity through external and by DEFINED FORMS, which depend upon God's ABSOLUTE WILL alone for their authority,—abound on all sides; and wonderfully strengthen the argument for a VISIBLE CHURCH, to be considered as an ORGANIZED RECEPTACLE for those who receive Christ for their Lord. Thus, when we contemplate the mysterious kingdom of nature, we have no revelation of nude ESSENCES and abstract LAWS; but what we call by the names of Gravitation, Attraction, Chemical Affinity, &c., are the mere exponents of a hidden life, thus realized to man's observing senses. So also if we revert to God's empire of providential government, we behold all carried on through the palpable instrumentality of acts, persons, and events which, however transient and slight they may outwardly appear, often produce influences on the spiritual destinies of mankind beyond human calculation to overtake. Let

not therefore Rationalism cavil at the exceeding glory of the **SACRAMENTAL BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST** being associated with a **FORM** of communication so simple as bread and wine:—for how often have the revolution of kingdoms and the welfare of untold myriads depended on a look or tone, a passing word or single deed of a human being?

9. In order to perpetuate religious Principles and sacred doctrines, it appears necessary to enclose them in the **PROTECTIVE FRAMEWORK** of palpable rites, ceremonies, and exterior symbols. In accordance with this requirement, God has ever communicated Himself to our nature chiefly by **TOKENS** and **TESTIMONIES** which were the coverings of His **SPIRITUAL APPROACH** to the soul of man. Thus did He manifest himself in fiery visions, a “cloud of glory,” &c., to the patriarchal and Mosaic worshippers of old. Hence we conclude that, the kingdom of Christ is not simply truth revealed and grace and gifts imparted: but that it also consists of a **POSITIVE INSTITUTION**, wherein and whereby such truth, grace, and gifts are taught and conveyed.

10. The spiritual and the visible are **DISTINCTIONS**, but not **OPPOSITES**. The one may be intelligibly allied with the other; even as the soul is not less *real* in the body, than when *out* of it. Those, therefore, who are afraid to admit the importance of the **VISIBLE** in religion, are as much mistaken in their philosophy as they are incomplete in their Christianity.

11. Again: It is very remarkable that in the New Testament our **CORPORATE LIFE** of spiritual privilege in the **BODY OF CHRIST**, is far more the subject of apostolical counsel, exhortation, and warning, than the **PERSONAL EXPERIENCE** of the single believer. The “**WE**,” and the

"US," are infinitely more frequent than the "I" and "THOU." Now a COMMUNION to be effective and permanent must be ORGANIC; and therefore some external institute is plainly implied, as a means for collecting the individual members into a GENERIC WHOLE. In other terms, a VISIBLE CHURCH must be constituted, if an external communion is to be maintained in this sensible world.

12. Finally (and as we venture to think, *incontestably*), in Scripture again and again by analogies, metaphors, figures, parables, &c., God's elect in Christ are so described as to *annul the idea that the mere faith of the individual is ALL which the dispensation of Christ is intended to produce*. As a proof; consider that "THE CHURCH" is represented under the following illustrations: a "BRIDE;" the "KING'S DAUGHTER;" the "BELOVED;" a "MOUNTAIN;" the "Lord's House, or TEMPLE;" the "KINGDOM OF HEAVEN;" the "BODY of Christ;" the "SPOUSE;" the "LAMB'S WIFE;" the "GROUND and PILLAR of the Truth." Now if we attach any meaning at all to these phrases, it must be one which implies the soul's experimental union with Christ, and through Him a sympathetic communion of the Saints with each other. True, our blessed Lord says, "The kingdom of God is WITHIN you" (Luke xvii. 20, 21): but this assertion does not in the remotest degree interfere with the doctrine of a CATHOLIC BODY, public and palpable, to be seen and heard and understood of men. It simply intimates that the PRIMARY WORD of the Divine Spirit is "within" the circle of man's own invisible spirit: but when that spirit is thus quickened by the SANCTIFIER, the new principle of heavenly life in Christ will speedily *embody* itself in exterior operations, and thus become a *member* of the Church

catholic and visible. In truth, an objection against a Positive Church from this text, would be equally fatal to all conjunction or outward fellowship for any religious purpose whatsoever.

Thus then we humbly think, that our brethren who desire to subdue into silence their Romanistic opponents, by making personal Life ALL and corporate Life nothing, cannot fortify their position either by the principles of Reason, the analogies of Providence, or the declarations of Scripture. Let them rather meet them on the *scriptural ground* which the Church of England takes; whose doctrines both as to INDIVIDUALITY and CATHOLICITY, are in perfect harmony both with the teachings of the Bible, and the moral need of the human mind. She neither exaggerates, distorts, contracts, nor abbreviates one principle in religion, in order to enforce another: but, finding it the will of Christ that man's *individual life* should be maintained in CONJUNCTION with his *social life*, she provides for BOTH with maternal love, spiritual wisdom, and tender care. And would to God, instead of rending our Church by these unholy controversies, we could all say with affectionate reverence, oh! my Mother Church, "If I forget THEE let my right hand forget her cunning!"

VI.

ON THE IDEAL OF THE CHURCH, AS TO THE CREED WHICH
HER CATHOLIC MEMBERS MAINTAIN.

1. THEY hold that Christianity itself, so far as it is a religion of positive requirements, is a MEANS, and not an END. They cannot, therefore, mistake their CREED for a CHRIST, nor magnify their RELIGION into their GOD. The END, therefore, of the sublime Economy revealed unto mankind IN CHRIST,—they believe to be a FELLOWSHIP WITH THE TRIUNE JEHOVAH for evermore; which commences in the operations of covenanted grace now, and will be consummated in the fruitions of endless glory hereafter. Hence with them, CHRIST is “ALL IN ALL” in time, and *through* Him as Redeemer, and *by* His imparted Sanctifier, God may become their “ALL IN ALL” in eternity. Hence Forms, Rites, and Sacraments are not with them believed in as absolute and final, but relative and instrumental. FORMALISM, therefore, in principle is as much opposed to their views, as HERESY in doctrine.

2. But while TRUE CATHOLICS believe that Means are never to be falsely glorified into Ends, they are equally convinced that it is a wicked presumption on the part of man to aim at the End WITHOUT the Means. Hence again forms in religion are not by them considered merely as contingent appendices, or local modifications; nor as venerable Relics of the ancient Church, to be regarded with the traditional enthusiasm by Priests and Churchmen; but rather as INSTRUMENTS of a positive connexion between God and man; or as ATTESTING SYMBOLS which outwardly shadow forth inward truths; or as SACRAMENTAL CONVEYANCERS of Christ's free grace to His

Body the Church. Holding therefore these views of Forms,—they cannot sympathize with those who arrogate to themselves the right to reject formal INSTITUTES which Christ or His Apostles have ordained ; any more than they can approve of others who wish to modify DOCTRINES which Christ and His Apostles have also revealed.

3. The Catholic Churchmen believe that in England we have a TRUE BRANCH OF CHRIST'S HOLY AND APOSTOLICAL CHURCH, which Church is ONE ; though partly visible in one sense, and partly invisible in another. Moreover, they believe that of this Church Jesus Christ, and HE ONLY, is the INVISIBLE, UNIVERSAL, and EVER-LASTING HEAD. And thus, if contemplated under the aspect of a Kingdom, they consider this Kingdom to be founded on the INCARNATION of the Son of God ; whereby a union hath been established between God reconciled and man redeemed, through the life, sufferings, and death of Jesus. Thus the Church is rooted and grounded in CHRIST : and by a living communion with Him, both in a corporate or individual capacity,—our Humanity attains its consummation of bliss now, and its glory hereafter.

4. They believe that as this kingdom of Christ was designed to be universal, spiritual, and yet VISIBLE,—so hath Christ not committed it to the invention of human wisdom ; nor to the protection of human feelings ; but that He ORDERED, ENDOWED, and APPOINTED it in all things requisite unto “decency,” dignity, and permanence.

5. For the government of this kingdom, or Church Catholic, they resort to Christ's will as developed in His Word, expounded by his apostles, and carried out and continued on from their day unto the present hour :—during the whole of which period Christ has never been without a WITNESSING BODY FOR HIMSELF, on earth.

6. Catholic Churchmen believe that the Church of England hath been in possession from the earliest ages of certain SIGNS and SYMBOLS which exhibit the infallible proofs of her truly and apostolically forming a PART of the Redeemer's SPIRITUAL CONSTITUTION. Among these they consider the following ;—a Creed, the Sacraments, Offices, Liturgies, and Orders. And moreover they delight in the glorious fact, that amid all the mutations of time, the revolutions of kingdoms, and the passing away of earthly systems and schemes,—our APOSTOLICAL CHURCH hath stood firm and fast to the “faith once delivered unto the saints.” The presence of her GREAT HEAD hath been with her: and her clergy at this day can trace their ministerial commission, not to historical contingencies; nor political convulsions; nor to the expediencies of State-craft; nor to the SOCIAL INVENTIONS of any age or country;—but by a transmitted line upwardly and unbrokenly to an apostolical origin; and which origin itself is ultimately resolved into the COMMISSION OF CHRIST FROM THE FATHER. “Go ye forth,” &c. AS my Father sent me, SO I send you.

7. They believe that THE REFORMATION, in the majesty and purity of its great principle, was FROM GOD: and that our glorious Reformers were human instruments in His hands for effectuating the mighty deliverance of our Church from the thralldom of Romish assumption, idolatry, and superstition. Thus, they are a PROTESTING body of Catholic believers: that is, men who *because* they are CATHOLICS, cannot be ROMANISTS. The so-called headship of the POPE they are convinced is nothing less than a SATANIC CARICATURE, set up by pride and ambition AGAINST the sacerdotal and regal offices of the Lord Jesus. In their valiant protest against this horrible intrusion of

a sinful creature between Nations and Christ as **THEIR HEAD ALONE**; between individual souls and Christ as also **THEIR ONLY LORD**; in this they admire and reverence the mission to which the martyrs and leaders of the **ANGLICAN REFORMATION** were called. Meanwhile, they are perfectly aware that many faults, inconsistencies, and errors accompanied this grand deliverance: but from the very nature of the case it could hardly have been prevented, but that the **DISTINCT PERSONALITIES** of nations and men, rather than the **CORPORATE PRIVILEGES** and duties of the Church,—must have *exclusively* employed and engrossed the minds of the Reformers.

8. But while the Catholic party abhor Rome, they heartily and honestly reject Geneva: as superstitions and idolatries are to be detested in the one case,—so sectarian egotism and schismatical novelties are to be avoided in the other. The catholic believer must have an **EMBODIED CHURCH** as well as an **ABSTRACT CREED**; and hence he is persuaded, that as the communication of grace to a sinner is altogether a free act of royal will on the part of Christ,—so must the *mode* and the *method*, by which and through which such grace comes, be left entirely and implicitly in the hands of our blessed Redeemer. Under this solemn impression, true Churchmen further believe that it is **DISHONOURABLE TO CHRIST** to imagine that He intended a **MINISTRY**, but left no rules for the selection and commission of ministers; and instituted **SACRAMENTS**, but made no provision for their dispensers! Hence it appears unto them that the Church of Christ (functionally viewed) is not chosen **BY** man, but constituted **FOR** him, by the Redeemer; and that instead of being a mere **SPIRITUAL CLUB** where each contributes his sum, and enters according to his own arbitrary taste or will, it is a

SUBLIME ORGANIZATION founded upon the positive decrees of Christ, and built upon the apostles and their successors in the ministry. Between the **CATHOLICS** therefore and **SECTARIANS** there is an immense gulf, not to be bridged over except by spurious charity and blind indifference to the law of the Redeemer.

9. So far from thinking that, to view Christianity as applied to man not only as an **ISOLATED PERSON**, but socially as a **MEMBER IN A BODY**, is to encourage formalism, they rather conclude that thereby Christ is *especially magnified*. For as long as religion is confined to the frames, feelings, and experience of an **INDIVIDUAL**, there is danger of egotism, self-indulgence, and self-righteousness. But when faith beholds the "**BODY of Christ**," and each man as a member related thereby to the whole, and *in* that whole enjoying a communion-life, the heart expands into a largeness which is heavenly and divine. Above all, this realization of **CHRIST AND CHRIST ALONE**, as the actuating Life and ruling Head not only of doctrines, but of **INSTITUTES** and **FORMS** in the Church, tends to empty the creature of all merit, and to ascribe everything holy, spiritual, and real, unto the Lord. The Word preached; the Sacrament dispensed; the prayer offered; the chapter read, and the praise ascribed—oh! the genuine Churchman in each and all can say, He is the Alpha of all their validity, and the Omega of all their effect.

10, and Lastly. In their positive aspect the Catholic party believe that all the yearnings of the age; all the restlessness of exacting intellect; the aspirations of society for fellowships on a broader basis, and the cry for education, enlightenment, liberty, and peace, **ARE TO BE MET BY THAT SPIRITUAL PROVISION FOR HUMANITY WHICH**

CHRIST HATH TREASURED UP IN HIS CHURCH. Thus, too, while they dread Dissenterism, they can perceive that in every form of self-will which the manifold sectarianism of the heart exhibits, there are distorted TRUTHS, mangled DOCTRINES, and mutilated PRINCIPLES at work, which are capable of finding a true explanation and deliverance in that SPIRITUAL CONSTITUTION which the Kingdom of Christ exhibits. In fact, they believe in the Church and in the Church ALONE, the harmony, unity, and co-existence of all those separate ideas and clashing systems which sectarianism loves and invents, *are to be realized*. This Creed therefore engenders no harsh bigotry, hatred, or intolerance, in the minds of those who hold it; but whether they cry "Glory to God in the highest," or "Good-will to man," they are convinced both the glory and the good-will are BEST promoted by those who live, feel, and act, under the controlling power of these words, "I BELIEVE IN THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH."

VII.

ON THE IDEAL OF THE CHURCH IN REGARD TO HER
EXISTING RELATIONS.

FINALLY, let us consecrate a few pages to the Church of England, in regard to the extent of her existing relations. And here it is mere supererogation to observe, that within the narrow bounds of some brief pages we can enclose but few of those presiding truths which, under other circumstances, might be prominently developed and applied. All that we shall presume to attempt, is to throw a few glimmering remarks on the relationship which our venerable Establishment is now exhibiting towards the political, social, intellectual, and spiritual state of the empire.

In the outset, then, we may observe, that if the Church of England be indeed a true branch of Christ's holy and apostolic Church, then by her very spiritual constitution, she must emanate both directly and indirectly throughout the heart of the nation, a corrective influence and transforming efficacy, which, though the filmed eyes of political utilitarians may choose not to see,—are nevertheless deep, subtle, pervading, and in many ways spiritually and morally victorious over all the opposing elements of corruption with which they come in contact. For, experimentally defined, what is Christianity but "*the salt of the earth*," and "*the light of the world*;" and in proportion as the Church of England retains the one in its full savour, and the other in effective clearness, her Divine privilege is to act, under God, chiefly in the way of CONTRAST AND CORRECTION to the Christless world around. AS THE SALT, her office is to preserve mankind

from spiritual death and moral putrefaction ; and as **THE LIGHT**, her duty is, to irradiate and dissolve the clouds of unbelieving darkness that sin has gathered round the soul, in reference to God's character and its own condition. Here it is that the Church of Christ is realized in that lofty position to which she was predestinated from everlasting ; she miniatures the living character of the Redeemer on earth, by "*doing good*" both to the bodies and souls of men ; and therefore to quench her saving principles, would be virtually to bury mankind in the blackness of a moral eclipse, and in the blight of moral death.

In reference then to the energizing contrast which our Church must ever exhibit under all the complexional varieties of popular error and religion, need we hesitate to affirm that she is at this moment nobly authenticating her claims to be **INSTRUCTRESS** of the empire, by opposing mildly, majestically, and consistently, the **GREAT HERESY OF OUR NATION—SELF-WILL?** Let us trace the evolution of this, under the fourfold division which we have already suggested.

And first, we have self-will in politics, producing treason to authority. We use the word treason advisedly, for under every varied shape, whether of Radicalism, Chartism, or Socialism, treason to all coercive law is at the root of this evil manifestation. Now, in what way does the Church counteract this political enormity? Why, by embodying in all her forms, and implicating in all her doctrines the following truth, viz.—That in reference to government, the principle of God is sovereignty, the means submission, and the result order ; but that the principle of the Devil is equality, the means rebellion, and the result disorder. Assuredly, the suicidal axiom,

that "the people (*i.e.* the SELF-willing masses,) are the source of power," enjoys no shielding authority either from the Articles, Services, or Formulas of the Church of England. With her, sovereignty and magistracy are God-sanctioned and God-derived. "By **ME** kings reign, and princes decree justice." "The powers **THAT BE** are ordained of God." "Honour the king;" "Obey them that have the rule over you;" "I exhort that, first of all, supplications, &c. &c., be made for kings, and *for all that are in authority.*" These are the maxims and principles which pervade the whole service and spirit of the Church of England. Like golden ligatures of truth, they bind the throne of human majesty on earth to the Throne of divine supremacy in heaven. Truths like these constitute the doctrinal inheritance, as well as the political glory of her people: and evil indeed will that day be, when, forsaking the foundation of **DIVINE WILL** as the basis of government and source of power, the Church should either attempt to teach, or the nation at large be willing to be taught,—that government sprung from a compromise of the individual will with general expediency; and that instead of an express sanction for sovereignty from God himself, a convenient phantasm, called in the vocabulary of political speculation, "*social compact*"—is the true ground and reason on which our civil authority may be said to repose. Let us devoutly thank God, that as long as the Church of England shall echo the Divine assertion, that "*whatsoever* things were written aforetime, were written for *our learning*,"—she will never require the light of mere human argument wherewith to thread her way through the labyrinthine darkness of political sophistry. It is her sublime and inalienable privilege both to possess, and to consult at the

Shrine of infallible reason itself, and thence to deliver the true principles of polity as well as faith to her children :—the Bible is in the midst of her (that intellectual Shekinah where the Supreme Intellect is enthroned) —and she will never authorize the blind doctrine of social parity in man, as long as her oracle of truth declares human subordination to be the revealed principle of God.

In passing from this subject, we may take the liberty to add, that much of the sinful confusion that covers the national mind on the subject of sovereignty and subjection, may be traced to the popularity of that destructive falsehood,—viz., That politics and religion are entirely unconnected. Now what is this but POLITICAL ATHEISM? Surely if the attributes of the Creator and the responsibilities of a rational creature are at all related to each other in the way of command and obedience, there can be no region of moral conduct in which this relationship may develop itself, or over which our faculties can expatiate,—where Divine control on the one hand, and human subjection on the other, are not to be distinctly, reverently, and uniformly acknowledged. So far from admitting the principle that politics and religion are separate and separable things, the Bible, and the Church of England, as instructing us by and through its pages, everywhere teaches us that God must be in politics, as in all other principles of conduct; or else, those politics must be virtually atheism in public men and measures; and if carried up to their native climax, tend to unthrone the Almighty as the God of nations, before the bar of whose will the character of man, under every form of evolution, is to stand and be judged. True, our Lord has illustrated the *distinct actings* of our obedience by his de-

cision. *Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's;*" but it yet remains to be proved, that he has any where implied that God is not the God of Cæsar and his things also! So that in all cases in which a king exerts authority, or a subject pays obedience, a Divine principle must never cease to control the one, or to actuate the other.

Let us now regard the Church of England as respects her relation to the social state of the empire: and may we not at once assert with a grateful largeness of expression, that she is the spiritual Centre, from whence our domestic morals pre-eminently derive their sacred force and beautiful expansion? Circulating, as she does by her varied ministrations, a rich life-blood of celestial influence through the vast framework of the social body,—who shall duly estimate the pervading energy with which she purifies the hearts and households of the land? Consider for instance, that when on every Sabbath-day she opens in the Gospel the gates of mercy to mankind, and causes the freshness and the fragrance of eternity to breathe over the deadness and dryness of our sin-fevered world,—how much of all that constitutes the moral heaven of the coming week—how much of all that is chaste in love, refined in thought, exalted in idea, and benevolent in action,—might be traced up to the truths she expounds, to the ordinances she administers, and to the motives which she is authorized to supply? Around her as the sun of our social system, the graces of private life may be said to shine and act; while from her they derive the evangelic beauty of their expression, and the philanthropic form of their development. How many crushed hearts does her soothing voice revive! How many chilled and desolated natures does she warm and cheer! How many

dark, doubting, and depraved spirits does she enlighten, convince, and restore! And on the bosom of Jesus how many a throbbing head has she pillowed in peace! And consider, too, how finely adapted is her ritual to that varied round of experiences, which are commensurate with the circles of social life. Whether present at the bridal altar, to hallow the bonds of human affection with the principles of Divine purity; or placing in the baptismal embrace of the child-loving Redeemer, new-born infancy; or hovering with all the watching eyes of a spiritual mother beside the solemnities of a dying bed; or chanting over the cherished dust of some departed saint the august requiem of immortality: in a word, whether you contemplate social life at the height of action, or in the depth of affliction,—may we not pour forth a national hymn of gratitude to the Most High for the influence, the character, and the principles of the Church of England? Surely he that toucheth Her toucheth the apple of the Nation's eye!

The third aspect under which the benign agency of our Establishment discovers itself shall now be considered, viz., as controlling and chastening the INTELLECTUAL STATE of the empire. And here, as before, we are profoundly mistaken if we do not find Her attitude, as the endowed teacher of revealed truth, and the commissioned proclaimer of divine mysteries,—to be at once dignified, noble, and uncompromising; and thus confronting with mild but majestic antagonism, certain states of national mind, modes of popular feeling, and manifestations of public delusion, which, if allowed to operate unchastened and uncoerced,—will terminate in the destruction of the real intellectual grandeur and moral sanity of the empire. Let us indulge in a little detail.

On casting our regards on the signs of the times, we are struck with the fact, that the expansive culture of the intellectual powers in the leading systems of the day, is heralded as the climax of national attainment, without the slightest reverence for the growth of moral feelings. INTELLECT IS NOW THE POPULAR GOD, around whose altar the discoveries of science and the flatteries of philosophy are concentrated and combined. The disastrous consequences of all this would require volumes to unfold. Let it suffice to say, that according to the revealed mind of God, man is a fallen being; that is, human nature is utterly, absolutely, and helplessly CORRUPT; and moreover, that much of this dreadful malady is rooted in the haughtiness of the intellect. This being the case, man can no more regenerate his own nature than he can magnify himself into the Almighty; whatever comes *from* man will partake *of* man. He is darkness, and cannot produce light; weakness, and cannot produce strength; corruption, and cannot produce purity. If restored at all therefore, the influence that will be adequate to the achievement must be *above* and *beyond* that nature with which it is to contend; in other words, it must be *super-natural* and divine. And if moreover we add to this, that the will is so distinct from the intellect, that no cultivation of the last, however exquisite and refined, can really of itself overcome the perversity of the first,—we cannot resist the conviction, that attained knowledge, apart from sacred principle, will serve only to deepen the moral gulf which exists between the Divine character and the human condition. Unfallen nature might be cultivated into an approximation with Deity, on its own principles, because they would be in harmonious analogy with the principles of God; but fallen nature can only

approach that blessed communion by a remedial process, that shall at every application of its alterative energy absorb the proud self-will of the creature in the absolute sovereignty of the Creator, until it be finally restored to its primeval image. Hence the grand especiality of the gospel is this: it drains out the self-righteousness and the self-confidence of human nature, that the righteousness and strength of the Divine may freely and fully be poured into its place. Thus the doctrines of grace present a humbling process to the native pride, powers, and principles of man. Either reason is transcended; or imagination checked; or curiosity tamed; or the will crossed, the affections subdued, and passions denied;—in other words, the “old man” is morally crucified on the cross of truth, that the “new man” may be produced by the creative energy of grace in his stead.

How closely these views apply to the Socinian arrogance of our day, and to that educational heresy which now so mournfully deludes even those who profess to “walk by faith, and not by sight,” needs no argument to show. But this we venture to assert, that if at the period of the Reformation sacred truth was concealed under clouds of Papal darkness and polluting superstition—the danger now is, that we shall be so dazzled by the intellectual glare of our own attainments, as to have no eyesight sufficiently meek and purified to behold the solemn lustre and loveliness of divine realities. We are more endangered by our light than our darkness; and in the blaze of scientific discovery have need to fear earnestly, that we do not mistake a philosophic admiration of God’s WORK for a spiritual imitation of His WILL. By contemplating the first we may indeed admire His Attri-

butes, but it is only by practising the second that we can adore his Personality.

And this brings us to a few remarks on the passion for physical science which now infects the entire frame of our popular literature. *Matter is more cultivated than mind*; and a spirit of subtle Materialism directly or indirectly wields a palsyng influence over the free movements of all that is high, holy, and ethereal in our being. Above all, the facts of creation are beginning to be lifted into a rivalry with the principles of revelation, as though exhibiting a counterpart view of Godhead; so that if we adopt the fashionable creed of certain philosophers, the earth itself is a species of responsive Scripture, out of whose syllables of matter science may spell the complete name and nature of the Invisible God! Now, in opposition to all this, let us observe that the CHARACTER of God never was, and never can be, interpreted on the mere principles of natural philosophy. For notwithstanding the boasted march of physical science into the secrets of material creation, and the constitution of man, — *we are as far off as ever from a practical knowledge of the Divine will and purposes, if we exclude revelation.* The truth is, natural science has lighted its torch at the sun of revelation, and then waved it over the heads of mankind, in the boastful attitude of a light self-discovered. Or, we may otherwise assert, that philosophy has plundered the Bible of its costly principles, and thus attempted to demonstrate the adequacy of reason, to the overthrow of spiritual averments in the Bible. But after all, what is the amount of fair conclusion, drawn from “the things that are seen?” Why, that man is encircled with one huge MYSTERY OF MYSTERIALISM, without a single gleam

of moral explanation to illuminate the whole! If God (as philosophic sentiment exclaims) be simply merciful and wise, why this disorder and death? How can the philosopher reason his way by logical assent, from an imperfect and polluted creation, to the all-perfect and all-holy God? The utmost (we say it with profound respect) that *mere science* can achieve for him, is to leave his mind in a state of vibration between two wonders;—that, on the one hand, of those crowding glories and harmonies which combine their fascinations on all sides; and that, on the other, of those disorders and disasters that perpetually interrupt the scene, and mar the symmetry and benevolence of the whole. Here is mystery: before it philosophy is either mute, or babbles like an infant in its dream. But what says the Bible? “Cursed is the ground for **THY SAKE**.” “*The earnest expectation of the creature (creation) waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God, for the creature was made subject to vanity not willingly . . . —itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God, for we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain until now.*” In this passage we have a profound inference, which science could never have educated; viz.—that the disorders of the natural world are to be *interpreted* by the disorders of the rational. In the existence of the last, there is a penal foundation for the first: in a word, the moral corruption of the world within and the physical corruption of the world without, when placed in the light of Scripture, are seen to be the interpreting counterparts of each other.

But enough of this: and now it may be asked, in what way do the doctrinal energies of our Church tend to counteract and chasten down this idolatry for unsanctified

intellect, and this vehement cultivation of physical science? We answer simply,—by setting a **PERSONAL** God in mystery and in mercy in all her prayers, praises, ordinances, and sacraments, continually before the mental eyes and capacities of her people. We say **PERSONAL** God; because it is with God in His living, acting, and controlling **PERSONALITY**, and not with mere attributes, or divine abstractions, that religion is conversant. In the world, all is earthly, sensual, temporal; in the Church, on the contrary, all is heavenly, spiritual, and eternal: man and his Maker are brought face to face; and instead of the exciting, feverish, and ever-changing novelties of material science, the mind converses with the venerable secrets and the solemn verities of a spiritual world to come. Above all, the Church of England preserves the intellect unflattered, by holding her mysteries unexplained. While paying due homage to the reason of man as a glorious **FACULTY**, she never trusts the presumption of its feeble **ACTS**. The presiding character of her formularies seems to be,—first, an authoritative announcement of the truth, claiming the submission ever, but the sacrifice never, of the human intellect: secondly, a scriptural fulness of doctrine: thirdly, a comprehensive grasp of application to the exigencies of the heart, and to the experiences of the soul: and fourthly, a spirit of candour and charity to all:—in short, at one time exhibiting heights of intellectual majesty which the mind of an archangel might delight to mount,—and at another, affording simplicities of statement which the tiny faculties of an infant may embrace. Thus under Divine mercy and guidance, she co-works with the central design of the Bible, in humbling the pride of our intellect, and subduing the perversity of our will. And how significant

is this momentous truth,—that as the *rejection* of mystery out of Christ was the fall of man unto death, so the *reception* of mystery in Christ must be his rise again unto life!

To this view of the Church of England, in connexion with her tranquillizing influence on the intellectual fever of our day,—much might be added also as to her wise provision against the imposture of excitement, the perils of expediency, and the power of opinion which are now diseasing the moral health of millions around us. But our space will only permit us to occupy a page or two on the bearings of our Church towards the nation at large, considered as her spiritual diocese.

What then is the general expression of the National Mind at present, considered as an index to its temperament in spiritual things? And here it would resemble a heathenish gratitude towards the Almighty Inspirer of whatsoever is divine in the motive, and exalted in the actions of man,—to deny that there is a spirit of *practical benevolence* distinguishing a large portion of professing members of our Church, which cannot be too highly commended. Their religion is not the monastic ideal of the mere contemplatist, residing coldly apart from the warm stir and homely life of men and things around them: but on the contrary, it is social in its very essence, and realizes its origin from the heart of God, by its catholic sympathy with the heart of man. Aware of that tremendous change which the increase of population will speedily introduce into the habits and principles of the people, and deeply impressed with the truth also, that in consequence of the extension of the elective franchise, the middle classes must virtually become the political masters of the empire,—we delight to recognise the heroic activity of thousands,

who are preparing to meet this crisis of national character on the sound principles of Christianity and Churchmanship. Hence societies for relieving the temporal distress, and for dispersing the spiritual darkness in which some millions of our countrymen are wasting and withering away,—are multiplying around with magnificent increase. For this revival of Christian energy, this noble combination of doctrines of love with deeds of mercy,—our gratitude cannot be too intensely felt, or too fervidly expressed. Above all, the fine glow of missionary zeal which is beginning to diffuse itself over the whole body of our Church with somewhat of its apostolical purity, together with a deepening consciousness of those paramount claims which the Colonies have on our spiritual compassion,—these, and other cheering signs and comforting manifestations, must not remain unthanked or unregarded.

But, granting all this to be no enthusiast's dream, but simply reality, we cannot disguise from ourselves, that in the main, the spirit of our day is utterly uncongenial with the humbling character and coercive power of those truths, for the teaching and impressing of which the Church of Christ has been constituted by God. To say nothing of those revolting forms and infernal shapes in which infidelity is daily revealing itself,—we have only to enumerate a few of the deteriorating influences at present in national prominence and power, to perceive at once that the sacred warfare of the Church of England is neither vague nor superficial. The intense passion for accumulation, under the spell of which money and the market become practically "the all in all" of popular sway and reference;* the distracting variety of pursuits,

* While mechanic arts, manufactures, agriculture, commerce, and

through which, as by so many moral valves, the steaming excitement of public restlessness continues to escape: the grovelling sacrifice of what is lofty in principle to the low venalties of expediency; the feverish love of external result in religion, science, and literature, instead of internal influence; a sickly homage paid to reigning opinion, however adverse that opinion may be to the Divine glory or human warfare; a profane trust in the powers of unconverted nature,—as if there yet lurked in the secrecies of our constitution certain elements of perfectability, which will enable victorious philosophy to triumph over the fallen nature of man: above all, the fatal blunder of thinking that the real elevation of the expanded intellect can be carried on by any other process than through the purifying transformation of the moral powers; *—these

all those 'products of knowledge which are confined to gross, definite and tangible objects, have, with the aid of experimental philosophy, been every day putting on more brilliant colours, the splendour of the imagination has been fading; sensibility, which was formerly a generous nursing of rude nature, has been chased from its ancient range in the wide dominion of patriotism and religion with the weapons of derision, by a shadow calling it good sense; and calculations of presumptuous expediency, groping their way among partial and temporary consequences, have been substituted for the dictates of paramount and infallible conscience, the supreme embracer of consequences; lifeless and circumspect decencies have banished the graceful negligence and unsuspecting dignity of virtue.—*Wordsworth on the Relations of Great Britain, &c. &c.*, p. 164.

* There are mysteries relative to the connexion between the moral and intellectual frame of man, which our faculties in their present fallen and deluded state are unequal to unfold. But notwithstanding this, all men, more or less, actually realize the connexion. There is a circular action between the state of the will and the conduct of the intellect continually experienced; while in reference to the force of the affections, how often does the deforming power of passion trans-

and other influences might be adduced as counteracting the mild agency of scriptural truth, and wielding a perpetual hostility against the moral aggression of our Church, in her endeavours to season the world with the salt of divine principle, and to preserve the souls of her children from doctrinal putrefaction and spiritual death.

Against all these varied elements then of existing enmity (combined in their action, though clashing in their principles), is there aught in the ruling doctrines and ritual apparatus of the Church of England, calculated to make head? Under God, we believe there is: and in her, we venture to assert, amid the rising waves of revolution and the tossing sea of popular discontent, the peace,

impute the Deity into a moral similitude to itself, and thus tempt the dreaming heretic to bask his voluptuous life away under the approving smile of an imagined Jehovah! Various are the passages in Scripture which contain the seeds of the finest and most effective arguments which may be brought against the profane tendency of our times, to make the expansion of the mental faculties, rather than the purification of the moral feelings, the great object of national ambition. Among others, let the following two be reverently considered, and we will dare to assert that they establish a principle firm as the divine attributes themselves, viz., that *the loftiest expansion of mind can never be attained without a corresponding purification of the heart.*

"The Jews marvelled (being worshippers of mere knowledge), saying, how knoweth this man letters, *having never learned?* Jesus answered them and said, my doctrine is not mine (i. e., humanly excogitated, as you dream), but his that sent me. If any will (*WILLS*) TO DO HIS WILL, he shall KNOW OF THE DOCTRINE, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." (John vii. 15, 16, 17.) Again, in a passage equally profound and sublime, we read, "Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself *unto us*, and *not unto the world?*" Jesus answered and said unto him, if a MAN LOVE ME, HE WILL KEEP MY WORDS; and my Father will love him, and WE WILL COME UNTO HIM, and make our abode with him." (John xiv. 22, 23.)

happiness, and glory of the empire can alone be safely arked. To illustrate this would require a volume: yet may the whole be concentrated in this one inviolable fact, — THE SAVING PRINCIPLES OF OUR CHURCH ARE IN ABSOLUTE HARMONY WITH THE REVEALED PROMISES OF HEAVEN; AND THE MORE THE NATION IS TAUGHT TO EMBODY THE PURITY OF THE ONE IN HER CHARACTER, THE MORE SHE WILL REALIZE THE BLESSING OF THE OTHER IN HER WELFARE. For demonstrated it may be with the precision of mathematical proof, that "*righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.*" True, in the eye of our Church no relation which man bears to this world is forgot; but it is pre-eminently over the destinies of his eternal consciousness that she bends her watchful and unwearied gaze. In order to discipline the infant of time for its manhood in eternity, she perpetually brings before the responsible soul its ever-awful relationship to Godhead, in the Triune aspect of CREATOR, REDEEMER, and JUDGE: and in all the detail of that supernatural hidden life which religion inculcates, there is a celestial provision for counteracting the infection of that lower form of visible and worldly life, which our blended experience must continually face. Heavenly and holy indeed must that Church be, that unteaches human pride before she teaches Divine knowledge—that everywhere subordinates the intellectual to the moral, the temporal to the eternal—and in contrast with the baseness of expediency, and the vagaries of opinion, authenticates SACRED PRINCIPLE as the only standard of what is right, and the WORD OF GOD as the only test of what is true. Above all, while by her Litany our venerated Church interprets the national conscience in reference to sin felt and salvation needed,—what irradiations of joy does she at-

tract from the Sanctuary of peace above, wherewith to illumine this blighted world of darkness, graves, and tears! Mindful that the begun heaven of the spirit consists in that moral reflection of our Maker which holiness begets within,—she ever sets before the eyes of her people the promotion of the DIVINE GLORY as the great purpose of their lives, and the exhibition of DIVINE LOVE as the great motive of their hearts: and teaches them that not in wealth acquired, not in rank enjoyed, not in the palms of intellect, not in the pursuits of science, but that in spiritual reconciliation with God in the conscience,—the perfective grandeur and ennobling happiness of our nature can be found. Profoundly indeed does she show the way to be happy, by affording the means how to become holy. And if it can be proved that UNIVERSAL TRUTH is the object of the intellect, and UNIVERSAL GOOD the object of the will,—what is the Church of England in her doctrinal voice but the spiritual echo of this almighty text—“Christ is ALL and in All?”

And yet though CHRIST be now “All in All,” *there will come a period in the history of the Church glorified, when “God shall be All in All.”* What we intend by this prospect of man’s predestinated glory, will appear from the following passage in the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. “And when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the *Son also himself be subject unto him*, that put all things under Him,” that “GOD MAY BE ALL IN ALL.” In Colossians we read, “CHRIST is all in All;” but the distinctive language in these parallel texts relates to the difference of *time*, to which each belongs. In the Colossians the Apostle alludes to all connected with the *mediatorial empire* over which Christ as meritorious God-man reigns; but in the

Corinthians he carries the mind to a period beyond this, when the *designs* of mediation being accomplished, the entire *system* of mediation shall terminate, and thus God HIMSELF be an IMMEDIATE "All in All." This is indeed a contemplation almost too sublime for our feeble minds to endure. The dominion of the Mediator commenced with the entrance of sin into our nature, and it appears that when that sin, both in principle and in fact has been expelled,—then with the conclusion of its power, shall also end the mediatorial reign of Christ. Henceforth no religion will be required ; no sacraments needed ; no veiling ceremonies and intervening rites will come between the consciousness of the glorified Spirits and the Godhead whom they are to adore. But, whether or no, Christ will continue to be a MANIFESTER of God to all finite Intelligence throughout eternity, although not a Mediator between them,—is a matter on which it becomes us to speak with cautious reverence. In the opinions of some divines, though CHRIST will hereafter resign His throne as a Mediatorial King, he must ever constitute the GRAND MEDIUM whereby the Invisible Jehovah will disclose and display His essential glories and attributes, both unto angels and unto men. Meanwhile, if we confine ourselves to the literal expression, "God shall be ALL IN ALL,"—do not the words imply that in some ineffable way the souls of the beatified shall worship in the living sanctuary of the DIVINE BEING Himself, since God is to be All in All? Wondrous promise ! which intimates that every saved human spirit shall be instinct with divinity, and "*all*" which our actuated soul *is, thinks, feels, or wills*, appear like a mysterious pulsation of the ONE INFINITE MIND who throbs with simultaneous expression "in All." A truth of kindred magnificence

is conveyed also by what is said in the Revelations, concerning "the Lord God Almighty" being a "*Temple*." Does not this mean that within the awful shrine of His encompassing Attributes, the Church of the Redeemed is destined to worship and wonder, and thus feel her conscious eternity to be nothing less than prediction fulfilled, —" GOD IS ALL IN ALL ?"

A P P E N D I X.

NOTE ON THE ROMAN SCHISM AND THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

[RECENT debates in both Houses of Parliament must have impressed upon all sound and spiritual Churchmen, the necessity of imbuing the popular mind with a right view of what constitutes the real catholicity of the English and Irish Church, in contrast with that fictitious universalism which Romish arrogance perpetually assumes. The following remarks may, therefore, be useful in this respect. They are selected from a letter addressed by the present writer to one of the editors of an ultra-montane newspaper, called the "*Univers*," published in Paris. The work specifically alluded to is a French publication, entitled "*LE MOUVEMENT RELIGIEUX*," &c. &c., and is precisely such a production as a believing student of the "*TABLET*," or an impassioned worshipper of Mr. O'Connell, might be expected to compose :]—

"The very title of his work is gratuitous, and takes for granted what thousands of English Churchmen laugh to scorn, and repudiate with ineffable disgust. M. Gondon puts in his title page not simply "*Le Mouvement Religieux* ;" but also "*Le Retour de l'Eglise Anglicane, à l'Unité*." This ridiculous verbiage may be very soothing in the ears of ultra-montane Papists, whose intellects have been blinded by Satan into the monstrous belief, that submission to a mere Italian priest, and adherence to Catholic unity, are inseparable things! But I beg to assure the presiding genius of *L'Univers*, we deny, as REAL CATHOLICS, the presumption on which M. Gondon's dogmatic produc-

tion starts. Like most of his fraternity, this gentleman finds it marvellously convenient to *assume* as an unquestioned and unquestionable verity, that the Romish Church and the Catholic Church are convertible things; and moreover, that the Pope is the earthly head of this Church, and the centre of visible unity: so that, forsooth, those Churches who do not submit to his decrees, and sustain his supremacy, are not *Catholic*, but sectarian novelties! This, we repeat, is the ultra-montanism of *L'Univers*, in its essential principle; and need we add, that we reject this fundamental sophism with the utmost disdain: it is indeed taking for GRANTED the very thing which Anglo-Catholics deny. If M. Gondon can suggest any mode of carrying on this controversy, with the blessing of God, I undertake to disprove this gigantic assumption concerning the Pope as the centre of unity, from REASON, HISTORY, TRADITION, and THE WORD OF GOD. Meanwhile, let us just whisper into his ear the mighty words of no less a Pope than the great St. Gregory himself, who, when John, patriarch of Constantinople, dared to assume the title of "UNIVERSAL BISHOP," protested against this anti-Christian arrogance thus:—"FAR BE THIS BLASPHEMOUS TITLE FROM THE HEART OF CHRISTIANS." We earnestly commend this glorious orthodoxy of A POPE to *les Redacteurs de l'Univers*, when they fulminate their ultra-montane bulls in favour of Popish supremacy at Rome."

"The word *Catholic* is next alluded to by M. Gondon; and he is quite right in asserting that no controversy could be carried on in a logical way between us, until we understand each other's precise meaning in the use of that pregnant term. In a transient communication like this, I cannot of course be expected to enter into a dogmatic treatise on the word *Catholic*. But a few passing remarks you must allow me to offer. UNIVERSALISM, then, in its PHYSICAL and ABSOLUTE sense, cannot be predicated of ANY Church on the face of the earth; this is a self-evident proposition, which, like a first principle, is seen in its own light. Accordingly, M. Gondon must agree with me in using the word *Catholic* in a moral and ecclesiastical sense. What then do we mean by "Catholic Church?" My answer is twofold:—first, we thereby intend to *distinguish* the Christian Church from the Jewish; which plainly was not Catholic, but peculiar: there the PUBLIC WORSHIP of God was confined to ONE COUNTRY, the sacrifices were limited to ONE TEMPLE, and the Church was contracted into ONE NATION: not so with the Church of Christ, which, in distinction,

is *universal* or catholic. Still the question is *positively* to be considered, viz. :—what do we mean when we say “I believe in the Holy *Catholic* Church?” Now, is M. Gondon aware, that the more ancient creeds have not the “Catholic,” but simply “Holy?” The word *Catholic* was added by the Greeks, and afterwards received into the Latin Symbol. Let us then simply state what we understand by “Catholic Church” the entire body of believing Christians, who continue in “the Apostles’ doctrine and fellowship,” holding fast and firm the “faith once delivered unto the saints.” Will M. Gondon accept this interpretation of Catholic? As he has presumed to write a thick volume upon our English Church, has he ever read the immortal pages of Bishop Pearson on the Creed?—a man of whose genius the illustrious scholar and critic, Bentley, said, “Its very dust was gold.” I am bold enough to suspect, that M. Gondon knows nothing of our theological literature, in its HIGHEST FORMS, whatever; and he must, therefore, pardon me for offering two brief extracts on the meaning of *Catholic*—the one is from the writings of Pearson, and the other from the celebrated Bishop Bull, the great antagonist of Boussuet. Pearson says (Works, Oxford edition, 8vo. vol. . p. 410)—“Wherefore, I conclude that this Catholicism, or second affection of the Church, consisteth generally in universality, or embracing all sorts of persons, as to be disseminated through all nations, as comprehending all ages, as containing all necessary and saving truths, as obliging all conditions of men to all kinds of obedience, as curing all diseases and planting all graces in the souls of men. The necessity of believing the Holy Catholic Church, appeareth first in this, that Christ hath appointed it as the only way unto eternal life. . . . Christ never appointed two ways to heaven; nor did he build a Church to save some, and make another institution for other men’s salvation. There is no other name under heaven, given among men, whereby we must be saved, but the name of Jesus; and that name is no otherwise given under heaven than in the Church. As none were saved from the deluge but such as were within the ark of Noah, framed for their reception by the command of God; as none of the first-born of Egypt lived, but such as were within those habitations which were sprinkled with blood by the appointment of God, for their preservation; so none shall ever be of God, which belong not to the Church of God.” And now let us hear that fine champion of English Catholicism, Bishop Bull, whose prodigious learning caused Boussuet himself to compliment an Anglican

prelate. "By the CATHOLIC CHURCH, I mean the Church universal, being a collection of all the Churches throughout the world, who retain *the faith* (*αρά*) delivered to the saints (Jude 3); that is, who hold and profess, in the substance of it, that faith and religion which was delivered by the apostles of Christ to the first original Churches, according to Tertullian's rule before mentioned."—(Bull's Works, Oxford edition, vol. ii. p. 242.) "None of us do affirm that our Church is the only true Church: for that would be a schismatic assertion, like that of the Donatists of old, and THE PAPISTS nowadays, and the highest breach of charity, in damning all the Christian world besides ourselves."—(*Ibid*, vol. ii. p. 188.)

"We must now revert to another point in my remarks on M. Gondon's "*Mouvement*," to which the editor of *L'Univers* has alluded with sarcastic triumph. How far or not his sneering Romanism is premature, will presently appear. Your readers, sir, will perhaps remember, that in reply to the boastful assertions of M. Gondon, against the Catholicity of the English Church, I threw down the following challenge: viz., that I would undertake to prove the following three propositions:"

(1.) That in England the so-called Romish Church is nothing more than a SECT.

(2.) That the English Church is our true Catholic Church.

(3.) That the Popish "Bishops" in England and Ireland are SCHISMATICS.

"Now on this occasion I am not called to enter on this triple argument, but to M. Gondon's sneer I am bound to reply—" *Je ne comprends pas sa seconde proposition. Comment une Eglise serait elle Catholique en Angleterre, si elle cesse de l'être en quittant cette île?*" Really, sir, it is not my duty to supply the editor of the *L'Univers* with comprehension as well as ideas; but let me tell him, that when English Churchmen call their Church by the venerable name of "Catholic," they do so principally for two reasons: first, because they consider her to be not exclusively the Catholic Church, like the Romish Dissenters; but because they know her to be a TRUE BRANCH, primitive and apostolical, of that ONE CHURCH UNIVERSAL which Christ founded; and secondly, in order to *distinguish* their own Communion from the almost numberless sects and nameless societies which arrogate to themselves the attributes of "Churches," but which, according to the tenth Canon of the English Church, are to be consi-

dered as no organized Churches at all. Where then is the absurdity of our denominating the Mother Church of Great Britain, *Catholic*?"

"But let us again retort the argument on this oracle of modern ultra-montaniam. What right then, either in reason, history, or fact, has the Romish Church to limit the exclusive appropriation of *Catholic* to herself? Her dogmas, principles, articles, and doctrines, are to a great extent novelties and intrusions, which, like all other forms of dissenterism, have been invented by the sectarian discontent of man's heart; and have therefore no pretensions whatever to Catholicity, or primitive truth. The Romanists vastly exaggerate the extent of the Papal see. Before the fifteenth century, those Roman Churches, which are not within the European continent, had no existence. Then, neither in Africa, Asia, nor America, had Rome her ecclesiastical colonies. And at the present period can anything be more preposterous, than for the slaves of the Pope to grasp unto themselves the title of exclusive Catholicity? Do these adulators of Romish assumption imagine, that the ORIENTAL CHURCH in European Turkey, Siberia, a great part of Russia, Moldavia, Greece, the Archipelago, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt—is an absolute nonentity? Are the immense communions of believers in the East, which are under the Episcopacy of the four Patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, to be melted into mere negations before the flaming arrogance of pontifical Rome? If not, then what becomes of that miserable falsehood, and bombastic absurdity, that in the Roman community THE Catholic Church exists, to the destruction of all other branches of the Church Universal? In the words then of a distinguished Churchman in our day, let me add:—"Our Churches are CATHOLIC, because they acknowledge *the* Catholic Church, respect its authority, receive its faith, and have never been divided from it."

"In another part of M. Gondon's letter, the writer of this is censured for speaking of Mr. Ward's book as "heretical." Since that letter appeared, we all know the decision which an overwhelming majority in Oxford have come to, in reference to some passages of ecclesiastical treason towards the Church of England, which this "Ideal" of Mr. Ward has ventured to publish:—we need not therefore enter largely into this subject. Let others plead for "*holding*" Romish doctrines, as distinct from "*teaching*" them: let them reconcile their consciences as they can, before a heart-searching God, as to the honesty of their conduct towards a Church whose principles they betray, and whose

creed they undermine. They are left to "stand or fall to their own Master." Still, we do venture to say, that should this period of ecclesiastical excitement be recorded by some future historian, he will blush to register the names of men, who have taught the young minds and the inexperienced hearts of our Church to believe, that the Fathers of our Reformed Communion were fools who did not understand their own words, and heretics who betrayed the purity of that truth which they were bound to defend. As a specimen of "Ideal" orthodoxy—in which we are at a loss which to prefer, either the charity of the text or the soundness of the doctrine—permit me to quote one passage from Mr. Ward's book, upon which the University has put its righteous brand. We all know that in many of our Articles a strong element of Lutheran sentiment prevails. Every one who has studied the mere alphabet of the Reformation, is quite aware that Melancthon was more than once consulted by Cranmer in their preparation; and that both before and after their revision, concerning our justification in a *forensic sense* before God, the Augsburg confession was virtually a model. Now the author of the following dreadful language, be it remembered, swore on the faith of the Holy Gospels, in plain, literal, obvious, and absolute terms, his adherence to our "Articles"—the 11th of which delivers this doctrine: "We are accounted *righteous before God*, ONLY for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by FAITH, and not for our own WORKS or de-servings." Bearing this fact in mind, we transcribe the ensuing extract, which Mr. Ward quotes from his own articles in the *British Critic*, and honours it with his high and holy approval:—"Evangelicals cleave to the soul-destroying heresy of Luther on the subject of justification."—"A religious person, who shall be sufficiently clear-headed to understand the meaning of words" (this is really a very suicidal remark for the author of "the Ideal" to venture) "is warranted in rejecting Lutheranism (which, by the way, Mr. Ward does not comprehend) ON THE VERY SAME GROUNDS WHICH WOULD INDUCE HIM TO REJECT ATHEISM!—which he feels on most certain grounds to be opposed to first principles." This is tolerably severe, and rather strong than otherwise. But our Jupiter Tonans of Romanistic orthodoxy, comes down upon the defenceless head of poor Luther with a still more overwhelming burst of indignation: "When we speak of Lutheranism; we speak of an abstract doctrine, which cannot, we verily believe, be held consistently *by the Devils*; but which is held to

an alarming extent among 'EVANGELICALS,' *though INCONSISTENTLY!!*" Truly the "Evangelicals" are indebted much to the Christian mildness and touching pathos of this reproof. They have often been assailed with the contempt and sarcasm of writers before this; but there is a combination of poetry and piety about the author of the "Ideal," which leaves all prior rebuke from "those who *hold* Romish doctrines" far distant. Meanwhile, may an insignificant Presbyter, with the utmost delicacy, be allowed to intimate—that such treatment of the "Devils" is almost as unjust as his conduct to the "Evangelicals." Mr. Ward intimates that the "Devils" are even worse than "Atheists." But a certain writer in a book called the "New Testament," informs us that "Devils *believe* and tremble." It is therefore not even giving the "Devils" their due, thus to confound them with "Ideal" "Atheists."

"In contrast, however, with this volcanicirruption of burning disgust against an anti-Romish Article in our Reformed Church, let us hear the language of "judicious Master Hooker." Even among those English ultra-Montanists whose desire it is that we should bewail "THE GREAT SIN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY" (!!!) at the feet of the Romish Pontiff, there never was a man who felt the true and healthful meaning of the following maxim like the venerable saint whose words will follow it:—"*Contra rationem nemo sobrius; contra scripturam nemo Christianus; CONTRA ECCLESIAM NEMO CATHOLICUS.*" But now let the English words of Hooker be heard:—

"Such are we in the sight of God the Father AS IS THE VERY SON OF GOD HIMSELF. Let it be counted folly, or frenzy, or fury whatsoever, it is our comfort and wisdom; we care for no knowledge in the world but this, that man hath sinned and God hath suffered; that God hath made himself the son of man; and that MEN ARE MADE THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD. * * * Search all the generations of men since the fall of our father Adam; find one man that hath done one action which hath passed from him pure, and for that one man's only action neither man nor angel shall feel the torments that are prepared for both."—*Discourse of Justification.*

Perhaps, however, some people may be ready to say, the author of the "Ideal" does not seriously mean to assert that such men as Latimer, Ridley, Hooker, and Davenant—all of whom held justification by faith, *properly understood*—were more infernal in their creed than "Devils." His own words shall reply to this generous supposition:—

"Speaking still of the said abstract Lutheran doctrine, there is no one circumstance connected with my HUMBLE (?) efforts in the *British Critic*, on which I look back with so much satisfaction as on this; that I have ventured to characterise THAT HATEFUL AND FEARFUL TYPE OF ANTICHRIST IN TERMS NOT WHOLLY INADEQUATE TO ITS PRODIGIOUS DEMERITS."

"So much for "The Ideal," which if not in this passage the *actual* of Tractarian Popery run mad—is something else, which no brother clergyman would like to describe. And here, after this fulmination of fierce abuse on "the Lutheran heresy," allow one, who perchance has studied the life, principles, and character of Martin Luther, a little more than the author of "THE IDEAL" pretends to have done—to say a passing word in behalf of the valiant Reformer. Who then disputes for one moment, that there are passages in his life and portions of his conduct, which even Luther's German admirers acknowledge with sincere regret? His natural temper was violent and headstrong; oft-times his language grew revoltingly coarse; and in controversy he was apt to fall into that very fault of assumed infallibility which he reprobated with such severe energy in others. Moreover, let it be freely granted that there are *some* theological views developed by Luther, which no consistent English Churchman would be willing to defend, and that in his honest recoil from the self-righteous tendencies of Romanism, he frequently rebounded to the very brink of Antinomian heterodoxy. Let all this, we say, be allowed; and still we venture to assert, that since the Apostolic age a finer specimen of magnanimity and faith, of fearless heart and gigantic intellect, of heroic resolve and heavenly enthusiasm for what was believed to be the cause of Christ's truth and man's salvation—this world of ours had not witnessed. Let it never be forgotten, that many of those elements which vitiated the excellencies of Luther's great heart and glorious mind, *were partially derived from the bad system in which his moral being was originally nurtured*. Hence, it is a savage injustice on the part of the Romanists, to taunt the German Reformer with faults, which their own ecclesiastical corruptions assisted in producing. And who can estimate Luther, with the faintest possibility of giving his character a fair consideration, who does not remember the character of the times, their political complexion, their moral and spiritual peculiarities, the style of Latin freedom in which polemics were then carried on, and above all, the gross, glaring, and grievous wrongs inflicted by Leo,

his legates, and agents, on the appeals of the Reformer for a fair trial? That writers of the "IDEAL" school, whose morbid sickliness of mind, and religious sentimentalism of feeling sympathise with all the mysticism of Roman theology, cannot appreciate Luther—is almost a natural consequence of their peculiar temperament in regard to divine things: in this respect they are to be pitied more than condemned. Still, they might have the modest forbearance to abstain from dealing out their atrocious invectives and ruthless censures on a man who, at least, was an earnest, truth-seeking, and God-fearing spirit; and one (with all his allowed infirmities), the dust from whose shoes many of his modern revilers are not worthy to wipe. Again, sir, how comes it to pass that these "Ideal" sycophants of the Trentine Creed do not remember, that if ever one human being more than another, really, prayerfully, and intensely endeavoured to absorb into the very life-blood of his spiritual nature *all which Roman theology could impart*—that soul was Martin Luther? As a proof of this, we have only to remind the reader of all the process of mighty experience and mysterious trial through which Luther passed, on his way to the clear "*truth as it is in Jesus*;" and how teachably and meekly, at all times, he surrendered both heart and head to the rules and restraints of his Church. In short, we cannot understand how any one who believes that Luther was sincere in his convictions, can doubt this—that he left the Romish Church, simply because to the very centre of his consciousness was he convinced that the Romish Church *had deserted God*. In him there was nothing of the anarch, the fanatic, or the schismatical innovator. He loved TRUTH with impassioned earnestness; and he yearned over the endangered souls of his benighted countrymen with a compassion, which had its perfect archetype in HIM who wept over Jerusalem's fated towers. In the Gospel, according to the Pope and priesthood of Rome, he had found that man's own WORKS tended to supplant the Saviour's merit, and man's own WILL to be a substitute for the Holy Ghost. But in the Gospel according unto God, and in the Priesthood of Jesus Christ, he discovered that we are "justified FREELY by His GRACE through the redemption that is IN Jesus Christ;" and also, that there is a Divine Spirit who "worketh in us both to WILL and to DO of His good pleasure."

"I have now responded to the chief points treated upon in M. Gondon's letter, so far as they relate to matters of personal opinion and conduct. As to the strictly *theological* questions to which he refers, as

tained in his audacious work—you do not seem inclined to offer your pages for their discussion. I must therefore leave this matter for some other occasion. Before, however, I terminate this protracted epistle, let me boldly tell the editor of *L'Univers*, that his conception of what the Anglican Reformation really was, is altogether erroneous and unsound. He considers it, in the main, as almost the national apotheosis of SELF-WILL in an ecclesiastical form, and that its doctrine amounts to this monstrous assertion—a man may choose his own Creed and select his own Church, according to the arbitrary action of his own private judgment, without the remotest submission of heart and mind to the teaching of THE Church, and the voice of UNIVERSAL TRADITION. Nothing can be more completely the reverse of truth than this. The foreign Reformers rejected such hideous licence; and the English Reformers again and again, both in their treatises, sermons, and homilies, repudiate this rash and unholy flattery of INDIVIDUAL SELF, under the plea of conscience and private judgment. Even Luther pronounces a direct anathema upon those sectarian anarchists who are wicked enough to despise and repudiate the consenting voice of universal antiquity. The Saxon Confession, for instance, says, “We condemn all the madnesses (*furores*) which are opposed to the creed;” and others *condemned by the true judgments of the Church*. And when we revert to the historic annals of our own Reformation, we find Latimer, Ridley, and especially Cranmer and Jewell, perpetually doing homage, not to the wild movements of partial self-will, but to the voice of TRUE ANTIQUITY AND CATHOLIC TRADITION. For instance, the “*Necessary Doctrine*,” &c., which was agreed on by the Church, *as such*, in 1543, has the following passage:—“All those things which were taught by the apostles, and have been, by a *whole universal consent of the Church of Christ ever sith that time, taught continually, and taken always for true*, ought to be received, accepted, and kept, as a PERFECT DOCTRINE APOSTOLIC.”

“In future therefore let M. Gondon and his editorial compeers—who through the pages of *L'Univers* deify the Pope into a kind of terrestrial god, and slander the Catholic Church of England—study the principles of the Reformation, before they presume to condemn its consequences. Our Church is no more answerable for the sectarian abuse to which the doctrine of “private judgment” has been subject, than the Romish Communion is accountable for every mad perversity which the rashness of her individual members has ventured to exhibit.

Whatever the flippant pages of foreign authors may venture to assert, I can assure M. Gondon and *L'Univers*, that there are thousands of true-hearted Churchmen in England who are quite willing to say, with the accomplished author of "*Origines Liturgicæ*," — "The Church of England, in fact, rejects every doctrine that the UNIVERSAL CHURCH has condemned, and believes everything which that Church has declared to be an article of faith; and as a member of the Church of England, and in the strictest conformity with her principles, I receive every decree, council, and doctrine which the CATHOLIC CHURCH receives, and anathematize every heresy which she anathematizes."

"With these words, sir, I conclude this epistle, which has extended itself far beyond my intention. Be assured that my heart's prayer is for a holy unity of Christ's Church here on earth, both VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE. For that blessed consummation may we incessantly besiege the throne of grace with our prayers; and, so far as the blinded victims of Romish superstition are personally concerned, give me credit for plain sincerity and Christian truthfulness when I add, that 'my heart's desire and prayer is—THAT THEY MAY BE SAVED.'"

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18

MAYNOOTH AND ST. ASAPH:

OR, THE

RELIGIOUS POLICY

OF THE

CONSERVATIVE CABINET

CONSIDERED.



REV. R. W. MORGAN,

PERPETUAL CURATE OF TREGYNON, MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

LONDON:

ROBERT WEIR, 57, HARLEY-STREET,
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MAYNOOTH AND ST. ASAPH.

THE present Conservative Cabinet, of which nothing can be with certainty predicated, save its course of systematic repudiation of its former plighted faith, is now about to open a new era in the religious policy of this great Protestant Empire. No one can affirm that it has any principles, except its own ends. And of all the millions of the empire, not a soul knows what those ends are, except Sir Robert Peel, if indeed *he* does. To extract a distinct enunciation is impossible from the nature of the creature, and would be useless; for if enounced, no one would believe him; and the same difficulty presents itself in drawing conclusions from his actions. He favours schism and dissent in England, and Papistry in Ireland: he gives his right hand to an heterogeneous hydra that bears a different religious creed on every head, agreeing only in the singular crotchet that no nation has the right to establish and support Christianity—and his left he resigns to a foreign church, the head of which is at Rome, though its arms are everywhere, and which in return for his amazing cordiality presents him with her little finger. This side of St. George's Channel, he is only Anti-Church of England; the other side, he is both Anti-Church of England and Anti-Protestant. Here he destroys an Anglican Bishopric, there he endows an Anti-Protestant College. Here he looks coldly upon the renovation of Church discipline; there he

contracts the brows of the Premiership, and frowns down the Bible education of the Protestant clergy: here he removes Episcopacy from the centre of a primitive people that were Christians before Rome had a Pope, and that are still, almost to a child, opposed to her resuscitations of heathenism; there he establishes the titles of Roman priests, bishops, archbishops, and hierarchs: here he takes away 7000*l.* per annum from a poor and Protestant principality; there he gives 30,000*l.* per annum to a sect whose constant boast is, that they reckon six millions, and that their country is the richest and finest upon earth. I do not see what other conclusion remains to be drawn, than that Sir Robert Peel is inimical to the Established Church of England and Ireland. He certainly, the Minister of the State, does not at this moment represent either the interests or the mind of the Church of the State; he allows her no position, or places her in a false one; he maintains her cause against no party, and backs every party against her. I can conceive him arguing in some such style as the following with such of her members as are admitted into his half-confidences.

“I am the Minister of conservatism, the Protector of existing interests: you are both from principles and interests conservative, and in every shape anti-revolutionary. You are throughout the empire the Christian-state representatives in every town and village of subordination to Government, loyalty to the Crown, security for property, toleration for opinions, devotion to our country, kindness to persons, attachment to principles: you are always the same in the mass; you opposed Cromwell, you forfeited place and fortune rather than turn Puritans and Dissenters; you regard Charles as more “sinned against than sinning;” you sanction a public thanksgiving to the Almighty for the deliverance of the Crown from the tyranny of the democracy; you pray every Sunday for the Queen, Royal Family, Lords in Council, Parliament, magistrates, bishops, and priests, in a word—“for all in authority;” you look upon the

aristocracy as containing not only stationally but personally some of the best and most noble characters in the kingdom. You believe that, if a man murdered the Queen, he would be guilty in the sight of God of a crime so much more enormous than the murder of a subject, as the heaven-anointed head is more holy than the unconsecrated hand. You acknowledge and pay high veneration to spiritual superiorities: you teach and preach that a bishop should not only be more wise, learned, and pious, than a priest, but that, whether he is or not, the mere office carries with it a higher Christian grade, and that, independently of temporal considerations, it is your bounden duty to revere whatever proceeds from such a functionary, consistent with the Holy Scriptures, from which you derive your obedience and he his authority. Moreover, by far the larger portion of your priests are selected from families above the lower, and very many from families above the middle classes of society. All the nobility and gentry, the men and women of any rank, fortune, or education, have been, with very few exceptions, born, taught, and confirmed under your spiritual care and tuition; and if a Dissenter rise in the world, he, in most instances, joins your communion, or educates his children at your universities, and in your better knowledge; above all, your congregations and yourselves are one body—you stand on the same ground, are built on the same foundation, refer your duties and convictions to the same Divine book, and form an indissoluble church, in which the sole distinction is that of your being consecrated for their sakes to every thing spiritual and nothing temporal; in fine, your principles fix you. I know that you are always to be found in one and the same acknowledged position, in one and the same doctrine, and that, if twenty thousand strangers on the same Sabbath entered your twenty thousand churches, they would one and all hear the same prayers, the same litany, the same lessons from the Bible, the same commandments, the same epistle, the same gospel, the

same loyalty, nationality, Christianity, and all precisely the same, word for word, as your fathers, grandfathers, ancestors, and preceding generations, since the Scriptures were opened in Britain, listened to, and, in listening to and obeying, believed that they were advancing upon the best and plainest, if not the only, road to heaven. Yes, Government, if it cannot trust, never need fear your agitation, whether it be Whig, or Tory, or Radical: Government in the abstract, though not in the actual, is with you a Divine institution, without which no people could exist for twenty-four hours in safety or peace. But as for the Italian Church in one extreme, and the Baptists, Wesleyans, Independents, Calvinists, Methodists, Ranters, *et hoc genus omne*, in the other; these are sects that no Government can depend upon, and it must therefore conciliate them. What principles the latter have are perpetually re-subdivided into fractions, and their religious tenets are always shifting and changing, but never forming; the vast majority, indeed, know neither what they assent to, nor what they dissent from. It is hopeless to appeal to sectaries on high grounds, and I am reduced to the necessity of making them friendly to my administration upon such grounds as the indefinite nature of their tenets admits. But do not rashly conclude that I am unfriendly to the Church: consider this Maynooth question politically not, religiously.

“The danger of the Church will never come from Rome: all apprehension from that quarter has long ceased; the Stuarts are extinct; wars are no longer religious; France, instead of championing deposed monarchs, has had the cup of retribution prescribed, and when she thinks of Louis XVIII., Napoleon, and Charles X., she cannot well realize the times and policy of Louis XIV., James II., and Charles the Pretender. All these things are changed: England is not what she was, nor Europe, nor the world. We live in a new world, much newer than America. The simpleton that believes that the good old gentleman who occupies the

apostolical seat of St. Peter, dreams of burning Englishmen in the centre of London in the middle of a century which does more in an hour than the sixteenth did in ten years, and under the eye of a sun that, look where he will upon the globe, sees English colours, English powers, English cannon, English Bibles, should be brought up before the magistrates, and committed for phrenological examination as a religious lunatic. It would be easier for us to burn all Rome, than for the Pope to burn an English negro. No; times and circumstances are completely changed. For one ship that the nation possessed in the time of Elizabeth, it now possesses a thousand; for one subject, a thousand; for one pound, a thousand; for one conquest, a thousand. Then it would have been death to our independency to tolerate a religion which hounded confederate Europe against us. All this is past: we can now afford not only to tolerate it, but to take it under our protection; our religious policy must be that no longer of a little kingdom, but of an immense empire. Immediately the Irishman feels that his religion creates no difference between him and his countrymen, and that no change in this respect can be of advantage to him, he will become, heart and hand, a Western Briton. He will find his own interests united with the great commonwealth; he will take pride in being a strong limb of a magnificent Constitution, from the mouth of which he will continually hear the words—‘Maintain your empire;’ he will exult in being intrusted with the guard and glory of a kingdom with which already his annals and reminiscences are for ever bound; than which, with all its faults, there never existed a nobler, and admission into which opens a finer career for honourable ambition than any other country can for centuries hope to present. We must, in fact, have no differences at home. Ireland is yet in an undeveloped state; by herself she never can effect any good; her independence is a silly chimera, which, if persisted in, would the very first month that called for serious exertion on the part of

the empire, terminate in her utter prostration. There are not a dozen strong military lines in her four provinces; every part of her is vulnerable; she is open and exposed to deadly thrusts from her neck to her heel; she may be operated upon to within fifty miles of her centre by naval power; she has not a ship on the sea, nor a stiver to spare; she is no favourite with Scotland nor Wales; her aristocracy and property are devoted to the integrity of the empire; and in the North there live a stern, thorough-minded, powerful confederation of Protestants, who assert and believe that, if England withdraw her forces, they would not be the chief sufferers in being left to fight their own battles. The day of her disunion from the empire would be the birth of civil war amongst themselves. In ten years, from wholesale bloodshed, internecine hatred, and periodical famine, the population would be halved, and the miseries of the remainder quadrupled in intensity and duration. As for France, Russia, or America, they would, of course, attempt to use her for their own peculiar purposes. A foreign army might, by singular good fortune, effect a landing, to be ultimately massacred by the Irish themselves, or handed over to the Imperial mercies. Without Great Britain, Ireland must always be either a ruin or a cipher; with Great Britain she may fill the same throne, and wield the same sceptre of universal dominion. The union is too intimate already to be ever dissolved; there is such an amalgamation of blood, feelings, connexions, language, literature, houses and families, that ~~it~~ has become a moral impossibility. Irish blood flows in so many English veins, and English in so many Irish veins, that myriads must be ignorant whether they are most English or most Irish. We must prepare a large type of mind, on this and the other side of the Tweed, for a total revolution in our policy towards Ireland; she must be absorbed into British interests by kindness and affection. I must regard the question, as it bears upon a hundred, three hundred, years to come, and not as it affects the prejudices of the

speech.

present generation. And to produce this result, the Church of England and the Church of Rome in Ireland must come to an understanding with each other. When you are both established, both endowed, your advantages and disadvantages, your likings and dislikings, will be the same; you will soon begin to sympathize with each other; you will meet at dinner and in general society, not as Churchman and Dissenter, but as High-Church and Low-Church Clergymen. The Roman Catholic Priest will then have every thing to lose and nothing to gain by sedition and anarchy; he will be more independent of, and therefore possess more authority for good over, his congregation; he will be identified, like yourselves, with peace, order, and government, and it will require a very persuasive or very authoritative rescript from the Pope or M^r Hale to make him sacrifice his literary leisure, his quiet enjoyments, and his funded stipend, to an appearance on the hustings. It is not from the Roman priest, I repeat, but from the Dissenting preacher, that the Church of England has animosity to fear. Give them credit that have so many principles in common with your own; strengthen your own position by sharing its dangers and privileges with the priesthood of Ireland; they will prove themselves as sturdy advocates for your temporal rights and interests as for their own, for they will be one and the same. Do this and your duty, and all that aggregate of schism which foolishly supposes that religion may be left to shift for itself on the voluntary charities of a human nature which many of them teach to be little better than the devil's, will be dissolved, and again flow into the ancient channels of the Church; the Irish Roman Priest will care as little for Agitation and O'Connell, as you for Dissent and Duncombe, and the Home Empire will have a religious Establishment united, if not in doctrinal tenets and feudal usages, at any rate in the same bond of mutual interest and good government. This is the animus of my plan: I say nothing of the severance which it will originate be-

tween the great Church of England Whigs, such as Lord John Russell, and the little Dissenting Radicals; I establish a gulf between them. I say nothing of the blow which I deal to the voluntary system; I say nothing of the *fait accompli*, that I have now committed both of the great parties of the State to the measure, and that whether Lord John or myself be Premier, it will be carried; nor do I hint that it would be difficult for you to select a successor—there is a choice from Newcastle to Napier, from Sibthorpe to Roebuck—but, ‘take me for all in all, why, you will not find my like again.’”

I have attempted a dim outline of what appears, through the mystery in which it is enveloped, to be the body of Sir Robert Peel's Ecclesiastical Constitution. It is exceedingly difficult, from the reserve which he maintains, to penetrate any of his single schemes; and the difficulty is greatly increased when we attempt to discover the line of principle upon which he runs a succession of political trains. He retreats from his opponents with such self-possession, that few consider that the retreat is a betrayal of the position intrusted to him; and he masks his attacks with such skill and forethought, that the point is carried before any defence can be organized. He is thoroughly acquainted with every weakness in both camps; he responds instantly to a parley; he cares not whether his Tenth Legion amuse themselves with unguents and perfumes, provided they fight to the death when called upon; in the commissariat department he is unrivalled; and it must be a severe fit of indigestion which will commit him to inferior ground, or deprive him of the full results of victory. And yet, with all these qualities, few look upon him as a great general. He is a manufactured politician; his bills are not the genuine productions of his own thoughts, and thence arises a manifest want of clear purpose in his Parliamentary career. He is sadly deficient in the power which makes the great statesman, of making whatever he touches his own; handle it as

long as he will, he cannot expunge the first owner's name; fill his Conservative flagon as often as he can, he cannot rid it of its original Whig flavour. But, by a strange fatality, this man, that cannot make us overlook the plagiarism in the poet, has the art of stamping his own impress on the surface of his subordinates. Stanley he has printed as an equivocator, Graham as a shuffler, Gladstone as an indescribable, that, to adopt his own confession, "votes for a measure because it is opposed not only to the great majority of the English and Scotch people, but to his own dearest predilections;" a statement which, although received with wonderful and composed gravity by his ex-associates as the exponent of their own logic and morality, would have elicited a round of scornful laughter at any gentleman's table where honesty and common sense sit down, and Jesuitism and double-dealing are inadmissible. And as for the larger proportion of the so-called Conservatives, I fear it is undeniable that, if a general election occurred to-morrow, no clergyman, farmer, yeoman, or respectable Protestant, whatever they might say or protest on the hustings, would believe one word of their professions. Such being the present character of the men who have introduced and supported the Maynooth measure, it is, I repeat, very difficult to get at their real and sincere intentions; but as far as the measure itself, with its concomitant circumstances, enable us to extract evidence, the rationale of their future proceedings is pretty well shadowed forth, and the reasons for it laid down, in the hypothetical address above, of Sir Robert Peel to a Member of the Church of England. It is not to the Maynooth Endowment Bill, nor to the measure which it precurses, the endowment of the Roman Church in Ireland, that I object. I concur, to the fullest extent, ~~to~~ the wisdom and generosity of both these measures; but I should wish the true position of each party—England that gives, and Ireland that receives—to stand out in distinct relief before the world, and let the conduct of the present Ministry be judged by the contrast.

Sir Robert Peel was elected by the nation,—and chiefly by the landed interest, the Church, the farmer, and the labourer,—to represent certain principles, the carrying out of which they confided into his hands. How has he fulfilled his commission? The landlords *must* (there is no *should* in the case) reduce their rents by about one-half, or lose, and justly lose, the affection of their tenants, and the good opinion of the public; they must either act kindly and considerately at the cost of reduction in their establishments to their tenants and dependents, or make up their minds to be no longer supported by them on the hustings; they must either live more independently of their tradesmen, for the sake of their own independency and the welfare of their farmers, or be content to resign the instruments and scaffoldings of their legislative position.

Sir Robert has introduced measures most prejudicial to the ways and means of this ancient squirearchy; and, unhappily, they have used no exertions, except eating and drinking at agricultural festivities, to free themselves from his influence, or endear themselves more to their constituents. A great alteration has taken place during the last fifteen years in the feelings of the lower rural orders towards the landed proprietors, and unless the latter bear themselves in a different spirit, the estrangement will increase, and no political remedies will ever cure the evil. The Conservatives have seriously impoverished the resources of this class: and as for the farmer, whose friends they loudly insisted on proclaiming themselves, his condition is easily disposed of; he has one foot in a lawyer's office, and the other in gaol. What has Sir Robert done for him? Ruined him. And the labourer, for whom my heart bleeds—poor true-hearted Englishman; he neither agitates nor whines for “Justice to Dorsetshire,” nor uncovers his sores, nor marches in military burlesque, nor swears that he will join the French, nor shoots his landlord, nor listens to sedition by day and skulks to a murderous gang by night, nor threatens extermination to the

swarms of Irish vagrants that eat up his hopes of harvest work and harvest pay—he bears every thing, submits to every thing, endures every thing, except the degradation of not being permitted to earn his bread by the sweat of his manly frame, except the disgrace of idleness: he is hard to be excited, for his politics are Scripture politics; and he believes from his heart that the Protestant religion is God's religion, and that Popery is the Pope's religion; and that no good can come of leaving his Saviour, and his Bible, and his Catechism, for either Romans or Ranters. For these invaluable men, from whose natural and developed qualities every nation has receded, who constitute our armies and navies, our sword abroad and shield at home, to whom plain chivalry and true patriotism need not be taught—for where is the land to which they have not impelled them as conquerors, where is the field where they have not hallowed them by their blood, where is the people against whom they have not made them good, where is the sea on which they have not immortalised their devotion to England—what is the prospect at their feet? A very short and very bleak one—for it lies through pallor and starvation at six shillings a week, and ends in a red prison, where the very names of husband and wife, or of any of the 'charities of life,' cease to be recognised. For these classes the Conservatives do nothing, although for the Conservatives these classes did every thing.

Be it remembered, that amongst these classes, and amongst the suffering manufacturers and operatives of England, not a word has been used in reference to Ireland and the Irish, which did not express fellow-feeling and commiseration for their undoubted deprivations; kindness and sympathy for their fellow-subjects in Ireland has been invariably the rule, in the midst of their own almost unexampled distress, although, in hundreds of instances, it was the inundation of Irish competitors for labour that influenced the market, and produced the depression in wages and work. The

language of the Irish has been diametrically the reverse. I do not hesitate to affirm, to use their own jargon, that England has been more insulted by Ireland, since the passing of the Emancipation Bill, than she has ever been before since she was a nation; nor have any people borne such an accumulation of taunts, vituperation, abuse, coarse language, virulency, and lies, for fifteen years, with such forbearance and magnanimity. No enemies of England have ever given vent to such bitter ebullitions of hatred and rancour against our name and people, or exulted so ungenerously and immeasurably at the chance of a blot upon our fame, or a disaster to our interests, as the Roman Irish, since we raised them to an equality in civil rights, and admitted them into the Imperial Parliament. There is not a conceivable slander which they have not propagated, not a fury of history which they have not invoked, not a menace which they have held out, not an atrocious hope or statement which they have not cheered, against the majesty and prosperity of England. They have pointed to every country as one they are willing and burning to ally themselves to, provided only it be against England and the Saxon. The speeches that inspired the deepest enmity to us were always saluted with the loudest and longest applause; the spots that recalled extinct and forgotten hostilities were selected to add 'a local habitation' to the reanimated hatreds of the fourteenth century; the barbarian name of an obscure savage is exhumed from some monkish chronicle, for the sole purpose of spreading, in the spirit of frantic opposition to the Imperial Government, the absurd falsehood that Ireland had at one time a king, and to conceal the universally stale fact, that, from the earliest era, without the intermission of a year, she has never been more than a collection of odd and separate tribes, that were perpetually quarreling and cutting each others' throats. But for the last fifteen years, no calumny has been too gross, no invention too palpable, no language sufficiently significant, to shew forth the

gratitude of these Roman Irish, to the nation that has thrown open to them the unfettered enjoyment of a Constitution, which has cost England centuries of painful sacrifices to achieve. I have seen the cheeks of many an Englishman flush with indignation at the epithets lavished by Repeal and Roman orators on his country; and every resident in the island must have remarked the capital distinction drawn at every table, between the feelings for British Ireland and Repeal Ireland. I wish to lay down this contrast in the conduct of the two countries, plainly and broadly. The Emancipation Bill was given to the Roman Irish, in confidence to their own assertions, that it was the sole thing needful to establish perfect harmony between England and Ireland. Their promises and most solemn asseverations have been designedly and systematically violated; if the truth had been arbitrator, instead of trusting Roman representations a second time, the first concession would long since have been annulled and repealed.

Now the very Sir Robert Peel that swung round against Protestantism in 1829, has swung round a second time in 1845, against the same Protestantism, and for the very same Roman Irish promises. He has endowed Maynooth, and will to a certainty endow the Roman priesthood. I stated that I am an advocate for both these measures, but it will be easily judged that I am no advocate for their advocacy by Sir Robert Peel; and I put their concession on a very different ground indeed, from what the Roman Irish, and their supporters in Parliament and out, would wish it to be viewed. I say then that, so far from the Roman Church being entitled to any consideration at the hands of the Empire, she has more than forfeited whatever claims she might have urged for deliberation; and I say, that England, in order to be generous to Ireland, is unjust to herself. Let us, by way of novelty, see what her claims amount to, after her own fashion of calculation. Have her religionists been ever distinguished by attachment to England;

or loyalty to the Brunswick Crown? At no time: witness all history, from our own Revolution to the French. Who attempted to enthral England and Scotland in "hereditary slavery" to a monarch that both had expelled, and that could not have retained authority an hour, except as the tributary of France and the Papacy?—The Roman Irish. Who attempted to force upon us an absolute King and an irresponsible Church?—The Roman Irish. Who did their best and worst to prevent the establishment of that very constitution, into which they have since agitated so perseveringly for admission?—The Roman Irish. On whom did the enemies of England depend for treason and betrayal from 1688 to 1782?—The Roman Irish. Who are they that have always raised the standard of rebellion?—The Roman Irish. Who for years fought under the *Fleur-de-lis* of France against the Lion of England?—The Roman Irish. Who, in every government, down to the unprincipled democracy of America, are characterized as the disorderly, the improvident, the riotous, the malcontent?—The Roman Irish. Who are they that, at this instant, proclaim for their watchword, for the tessera of their party, "that England's calamity shall be Ireland's opportunity;" or in plain meaning, that the very next time Great Britain shall have the world to fight in front, Ireland shall bravely stab her in the back?—The Roman Irish. Who are they that, in one of the finest countries in the globe, are year after year appealing to the other portions of the kingdom, to save them from starvation?—The Roman Irish. Who are they that belie the landlords that are absent, and assassinate those that are present?—The Roman Irish. Who are they that snatch the half of the last potatoe from their children's hunger, to fee the gall and wormwood of O'Connell?—The Roman Irish. Who are they that, from London to Calcutta, are cited as the reproach of the Empire, and the shame of civilization?—The Roman Irish.

Now, when I see these religionists baptize them-

selves in the waters of black hostility to England, and studiously courting public opportunities to dirty her fame, and avowing their wish to possess the power of injuring her in some vital organ,—when I reflect that their character and disposition have exhibited themselves unrelievedly and monotonously ill-affected,—when I remember their vows, oaths, and protestations before the Emancipation Bill, and compare them with their incessant turbulence, riot, and agitations since,—when I observe that, although the whole illimitable expanse of British trade, commerce, and manufactures are as open to them, as to every merchant in Glasgow and Liverpool, they do nothing for themselves—nothing in the way of labour, self-energy, and self-respect—that their sole occupation is tirading against England for not effecting for them some unearthly state of happiness and grandeur, towards the accomplishment of which they will not toil a day in the right direction themselves,—when I mark them, soured by vanity and seceding from that very Imperial Parliament, a seat in which they for thirty years declared to be the apex of their ambition, and exclusion from which they protested to be the sole cause of their dissatisfaction;—can I, in the teeth of these irrefragable facts, permit myself to believe that these men are aiming at nothing more than identification with British interests and British prosperity? I confess thorough incredulity. The brass of O'Connell and the tinsel of Sheil are passable with their poor dupes: honest men nail them to the counter. The leaders of the Roman faction care not a sigh or a laugh for any principle beyond their own headship of party, nor have they any positive system for Ireland in view, but they have a most positive system against England. They are everlasting beggars, soaking upon hard-worked, hard-taxed, hard-struggling neighbours. The relief extended, not once or twice, but twenty times, has done them no good, but has confirmed them in beggary, with the common addition of making them more

importunate for more money, more thankless if it is given, and more abusive if it is refused. In O'Connell and his clique agitation has long since become a drunken habit, an incurable vice; no quantity of drink given or stolen will cure it. He may call for a bottle—give him a tun—as certainly as he lives he will come again at the end of six months for another tun; and we may as well hope to sober a gin-drinker by giving him drams whenever he calls for them, as to moderate these inveterate and diseased agitators by giving them measures whenever they demand them. From the lips of such men no statement worthy of credit can proceed. Their powers of judgment are in a state of distortion from their moral twist; and even the curious assertion that England is indebted to Ireland for part of her greatness excites no surprise. We do not deem it worth while to meet it with the counter statement, that Great Britain has attained her present magnificence with a traitor in her camp; that she owes more to France for forcing her resources, than to Ireland for dividing her energies; that she has achieved her own position, and owes no land on the face of the earth a thank or a lift, and least of all to the subjects of the Pope in Ireland. That which the Roman Irish have done for her, side by side with her own soldiers, is fearfully downweighed by what they have done against her at home.

The indebtedness of England, however, in this respect, is not so frequently or decidedly dwelt upon as another strange discovery, that all the miseries of the Roman Irish are attributable to the English Government in Dublin and the English Parliament in London. Now, that excesses occurred in Ireland between the Celt and the Teuto-Briton,—that war in old times was there carried on pretty much the same as in other countries of the same age,—that its scenes were not more pleasing than similar ones between the Norman and Saxon, Edward and Wallace, Henry and Glendower,—that the Irish enjoyed no peculiar exemp-

tion from the consequences of the process of subjugation, but shared the common lot of every conquered country in rude eras—merely states vague truisms, not more applicable to Ireland than England, Scotland, France, Wales, and indeed every land that has passed from barbarism to civilization through the rough handling of the Middle Ages. The Roman Irish had better not appeal to the periods of Roman Catholic massacres in France and Ireland; the record is not flattering for Protestants, but it is damnatory of Romanists, such as both parties then were. It is of modern times we speak; and our belief is, that, if Ireland had not been connected with England, her state would be infinitely worse than it now is; and to suppose that her evils are not principally chargeable upon her own people, argues gross ignorance of the real sources of national misery and happiness. Is it by the Government that kind and considerate, or even the harshest and most oppressive, landlords are shot from behind hedges and plantations? No; by the Roman Irish peasantry. Is it by Government that Ribbonmen, Peep-o'-day-boys, Rockites, Molly Maguire's-men, and other midnight conspiracies for breaking into houses, posting death-notices, gratifying individual hatreds, killing, braining, and mangling in sleep, and in the arms of weeping sisters, wives, daughters, are organized, put into action, and supported? No; by the Roman Irish peasantry. Is it Government that renders the residence in Ireland of such excellent landlords as the Marquis of Waterford and O'Grady an inexcusable exposure of life? No; the Roman Irish peasantry. Is it Government that pays O'Connell and his priests for terrifying capital, enterprise, and employment from the country? No; the Roman Irish peasantry. And if the Government ceased its functions to-morrow, the certain result would be, that all Roman Catholic Ireland would fester into one incurable ulcer. O'Connell, O'Brien, Neale, and the whole set, that now, under the protection of the

British law, vomit their malignancy against it, would be swept off the stage and sunk under the flood of uncontrolled license and passion that would immediately burst into overwhelming power. It is a very different thing to assemble twenty or thirty thousand peasants, under the connivance of a Government that holds the impulses of contending parties in check and guards the general interest in every quarter, and assembling them in an excited state, when a dozen hostile parties are panting for collision.

If the Union were repealed, all experience of the past, all knowledge of the present, all circumstances connected with or infringing upon Ireland, lift up their voice and exclaim that, in a very brief period, a civil war of the most deadly kind would rage within its bowels; that that side would irresistibly be the conqueror which was supported by England; that the vanquished side must from sheer necessity to the safety of the conquerors be reduced to powerless Helotism; in other words, that the whole lamentable tragedy enacted for the last three hundred years between Roman and Protestant must be begun anew; that the 'State necessity' which rendered Protestant ascendancy indispensable to Protestant security must be again incurred; and that every penal law against the Roman religionists must be re-established, never to be again abrogated. O'Connell and his faction are now standing upon the edge of the rock of Sisypheus, and if they advance a few steps further the stone of Romanism, which they have pushed upward with such crying and roaring, will shoot in one bound downward to its former base. They are much nearer, through the sword and flame of an Irish campaign between their own parties, to the repeal of every concession, than to the repeal of the Union. And so clear is the horizon over such a futurity, that the statesman must be infatuated that does not at a glance perceive that the repeal of the Union would in ten years prostrate Ireland in the most pitiable state at the foot of England. If England wished the ruin of Ireland, as

O'Connell and his hirelings assert, she could not devise a measure more cruelly and certainly effective of it than the repeal of the Union. She has only to excite the domestic animosities that smoulder unextinguishably in every province, she has only to withdraw and permit them to throw up the first flash, and the dream of Irish independence wakes in seas of blood. Supposing the unsupposable possibility that O'Connell is sincere, nothing is more unquestionable to minds that know how invariably pre-revolutionary theories are the straws and playthings of post-revolutionary necessities, than that he is struggling at this moment to accomplish the utter destruction of his country. England has placed Ireland not only on a perfect civil equality with herself, but she has exempted her from some of her most serious burdens; as has been previously stated, she has, in order to be generous to Ireland, been unjust to herself. Whilst the heads of the Roman Catholic section have done nothing but give tongue, England has exerted her wisest energies, and devoted the best part of every session to ameliorate her condition and remedy her evils; whilst O'Connell is receiving the priest-wrung penny from his poverty-struck countrymen, her senators, Tory and Whig without distinction, vote 30,000*l.* per annum for the education of these very priests whom these very countrymen profess themselves unable to maintain or educate. Whatever the Imperial Parliament consider will prove beneficial to the interests of Ireland receives at all times a precedence of attention. If Ireland on the happiest hypothesis legislated under the most favourable circumstances for herself in College Green, she could not bring the same good will, earnestness, and attention as are now practised towards her in St. Stephen's.

But her legislation would, even under the most favourable circumstances, be a farce: for I hold it a destiny imposed upon her by size, contiguity, contrariety of races, and other inherencies of her birth, that she has only two states at option; she must either be as she is,

an integral, indivisible member of the British body, or a slave at the mercy of England. It is to this last degradation that O'Connell is certain to reduce her, if he had his own will indulged; and he would be, if his policy succeeded, the cause of plunging her into a succession of intestine calamities, that Europe would insist upon the interference of England to put a stop to them. In reality, if England were actuated by hatred to Ireland, and wished to see her torn into fragments, she has only to take O'Connell into pay to induce him to persist in his present course. But, certain as I regard the ruin of Ireland, and the ultimate civil disqualification of every Romanist, as the rapid and unavoidable consequences of Repeal, I cannot overlook the fact that it is advocated by the Roman Irish, because they believe that, whatever its effects on Ireland may be, it cannot but be attended with detriment to England; indeed they agitate for it not so much for any other reason as because they have a notion that it will enable them to act with greater effect to the prejudice of Great Britain as the Holy Land of Protestantism. I grant that repeal would for a time divert the resources of the empire; the question would have to be decided, whether Protestant Great Britain and Protestant Ulster were to be commanded by Connaught Irishmen in subjection to the Pope, or the Roman Irish population to be treated as a conquered sect, whom no kindness had succeeded in conciliating. There would be no mean; and it would be nothing new to Great Britain to keep Roman Ireland down with one hand, and combat a Continental confederacy with the other. The sum, then, of all these foregoing observations is, that since the Revolution of 1688, in which the Roman Catholics of Ireland identified themselves voluntarily with France, despotism and Papacy against Great Britain, constitutional sovereignty, and Protestantism, their own actions made it imperative upon the British Government to prefer Irish Protestant to Irish Roman Catholic ascendancy; that it was the Roman Catholics themselves who made this state of things a

sine qua non to the safety of Protestant life and property at home, and the vindication of British liberty abroad. That immediately the maintenance of this policy appeared to be no longer indispensable, immediately there seemed to be a rational hope that the disabilities of Romanism might be removed without endangering the fundamental principles of this Protestant kingdom, restriction after restriction was taken off, though with most serious misgivings as to the result; that none of these concessions have changed the animus of the Roman Irish towards either Protestant England or Ireland; that England has used her highest wisdom, her heartiest efforts and her warmest affections to alleviate, modify, and, if possible, obliterate the consequences of bygone distractions; that Ireland devotes her worst passions to perpetuating their memory, and keeping the wounds rankling which she brought in much greater measure than England upon herself; that, for the last fifteen years especially, the conduct of England towards Ireland has been generous, considerate, and munificent, whilst the conduct of Roman Ireland towards England has in an increasing ratio become self-conceited, bigotedly exacting, and ferociously abusive; that this hostile attitude is more and more assumed as England acts more and more graciously; that so far from reciprocal confidence, or even a kindly disposition, towards England being generated by her noble disinterestedness, her motives are upon system blackened, her measures misinterpreted, gratitude towards her is styled 'servility,' the Maynooth grant of a capital equal to 1,000,000*l.* sterling 'a paltry civility,' the endowment of a permanent college 'a paltry favour,' the English Members of Parliament 'infuriate followers,' and thanks publicly tendered to the enemies or inimical contingencies of the empire, "Texas, we thank you: Oregon, we are obliged to you. Conciliation Hall, Maynooth ought to pray for you." And that, finally, with the legal endowment of the Roman Church crossing the sea from the British Parliament before his eyes, the great organ and creature

of the Roman faction declares amidst loud cheers, "that he will be candid with those planners of the destruction of repeal, and would at once tell them that nothing less than repeal would do." I conclude, therefore, that, as certainly as all past measures in favour of Romanism have ended in their demanding complete and irresponsible dominion in Ireland, so certainly will all future measures in their favour, unless a counteracting principle of superior strength be introduced into them, end, through the subversion of Protestantism, with the disinheritor and exile of every Protestant landlord in Roman Ireland: for there is scarcely a peasant who is not persuaded that he is as much entitled to some property or other, now held by the present proprietors, as the Roman Priests are to the funds and land now possessed by the present Established Church. What the Repealers and Romanists call 'restitution' in the latter case at this present moment, will in a few years be 'restitution' also in the former case between every Protestant of property and the Roman Irish pauperized democracy. Then, as the winding up of the catastrophe would come, as above mentioned, the horrors of civil war, the interposition of England, the overwhelming necessity of the re-establishment of Protestant ascendancy, and the total nullification of all the laborious anxieties for the last fifty years to make the Roman Catholics equal associates with Protestants in the maintenance and dignities of the great Protestant empire of the world.

For the real stamina of Great Britain, the Anglican Church population who placed him in power, Sir Robert Peel and his Conservative Government have, to adopt the mildest phraseology, done not *one* good piece of service; for these Irish Romans he has introduced an Endowment Bill for Maynooth of 30,000*l.* per annum, with a prospective and tacit understanding that the national endowment of the Roman Church will follow as the corollary. The Roman Church has in all ages proved itself potent for evil, and impotent for good;

it has in every country prevented more good than it has effected; it has rarely corrected, it has in countless instances misdirected, the passions and intellects of its votaries. Wherever Popery rules unmodified, it is synonymous with poverty of spirit, mind, and industry; it is a slow and withering system, admitting ignorance, and rejecting intellect; making blind subserviency to the priest, a full satisfaction and substitution for responsibility to God. And where it is modified and compelled to shew the velvet paw without its claw, its ineradicable tendencies will still break through the conventionals temporarily imposed upon it. Where are the proofs of that devotion to their Christian duties by the Roman priesthood of Ireland, so trumpeted by their Repeal partisans? Do they consist in making their flocks Repeal-tax collectors, Repeal wardens, Repeal flag-bearers?—in attending Repeal banquets, and uttering Repeal speeches?—in turning their chapels into agitation theatres, delivering fanatic diatribes against the Saxon, and working up their audience to riot; or, what is infinitely worse, because more dangerous, instilling into them disaffection against “all those that are in authority?”—or are you to educe their extensive efficiency as teachers of righteousness, from the social conspiracies that abound against life and property in every district of Roman Catholic Ireland?—or from the revolting catalogue of crimes that monthly reddens the calendar of counties altogether Roman Catholic? Take, for example, the common atrocity of the murder-system in the South and West of Ireland. England abhors it, Government denounces it, O’Connell brands it, but the Roman Irish peasantry neither abhor, nor denounce, nor brand the crime or the criminals; they commit the former, and contrive to shelter the latter from the most just visitation of the law. Murders are perpetrated elsewhere; but in what country, except Roman Catholic Ireland, are there whole villages, neighbourhoods, districts, murderous by connivance and complicity?—where else is it not an individual act, but a social con-

spiracy?—where else are the sympathies of a population professing Christianity, with the murderer, and against his victim? And yet these are the race whom O'Connell toadies, and calls "the most moral, most noble, most irreproachable peasantry on the face of the earth." These are the men, I say, who are, for certain purposes, perseveringly asserted to be under the complete guidance and absolute control of the Roman-Catholic priesthood; and one grand argument put forward for endowing the Roman priesthood, is this absolute control over their flocks. If it exists, why has it not been exerted these two hundred years to change such a horrible state of things? If it does not, we must go deeper than a Roman Catholic Endowment Act to touch the canker of Ireland. I am far from stating that there are not many good, earnestly-minded, and well-disposed Roman priests in Ireland—there must be; and I am equally as far from stating that they do not, as much as they dare or can, inveigh against or anathematize the perpetrators of such atrocities. But I do assert, that the priests of the Italian Church in Ireland, taking the generality, have given us strong reasons to regard them as political incendiaries, and not "as ministers and stewards of the manifold grace of God;" and that the statistics of crime in the provinces more essentially Roman Catholic, demonstrate not so much inefficiency in the priest as some radical deficiency in the Roman Church itself, that incapacitates it from dealing successfully with the causes of evil in Ireland. And few, I think, observed the bearing of the Roman priesthood last year, without coming to the conclusion, that it would be extreme impolicy to place our dependence for the pacification of Ireland upon them, under any circumstances. The indignation of all classes of her Majesty's subjects was expressed against them, for becoming the throats of a movement execrated universally in Great Britain, from the Queen to the ploughman. But neither the Government, nor the law, nor public opinion, nor the glaring shamelessness of their

own position, produced the slightest effect upon them; they stuck to the promotion of Repeal. A rescript comes—not from London, nor from the Sovereign, nor from the Court of Chancery—but from the Pope, from Rome, from an Italian bishop of a foreign State,—and without more ado, every little Popish curate puts the firmaun to his forehead, and keeps himself quiet at home. That they obeyed its injunctions, and have since refrained from public harangues, is admitted by all parties. I praise their abstinence; but the reason of it I denounce as fraught with danger to the national interests. If the agitation campaigns of Ireland are contingent upon the fiat of the Pope of Rome, the interests of Protestantism never can be reconciled with those of Romanism; and it is therefore, I say, that the weakness of trusting to them, in serious exigencies, would be great indeed in any statesman. I lay it down as an axiom, that the Roman religion is organized to be a despotism in itself, and that it never can work in unison with such a Constitution as the British. It may continue going on, without, perhaps, interrupting or being interrupted in its own machinery, but it cannot, without falsifying its distinctive doctrines, ever identify itself with a Protestant State.

Thus much, then, for what I started with, the intention of pointing out as clearly as I could to the public, namely, the true position of each party, England that gives, and Ireland that receives, these vast concessions. Sir Robert Peel and the Conservatives, it cannot be too often repeated, have, if we may judge by measures, decided not only on raising the Roman, but on depressing the Anglican Church. In Ireland, the Bible education, under the auspices of the Church, is by all possible means short of persecution, starved, disowned, and turned out of the State by these Protestant ministers, at the moment that they are endowing a Roman College, and making it their boast that they do not intend in any way to interfere with its books, tuition, or doctrines. It is impossible to shut our eyes on the gross partiality

here practised in favour of Romanism ; and Sir Robert Peel forces the most liberally disposed Englishman to regard the question in the solemn light of religious eternities. It is a piece of childish silliness to tell the Anglican Christian that the Roman religion may be as true as his ; he has judged, decided, and declared, that it is not so : why did his ancestors, and why do he and his family persevere in 'protesting,' as "witnesses to the truth," against the corruptions of that Church, if there is any "may be" to him, on such a vital subject ? Such a supposition is not to be put to those that long since have testified with the Church of England, what the Gospel is, and what it is not. To them there is no doubt as to which is true,—which false ; they are immoveably established in the deep belief, that, before Elizabeth reigned, or Luther reformed, or Wickliffe enlightened, or Augustine converted, the great doctrines of their Anglo-Catholic Church were inscribed by the Spirit of God in a book, where the superstitions of the Church of Rome are not, never have been, and never will be found—the Bible. Nor will any conclave of politicians persuade me that the Almighty has so, beyond all precedence, magnified and blessed our nation, beginning at our Reformation, and now committing the training of infant empires, and the destinies of civilization to our responsibility and tutelage, for any other reason than that, in despite of many sins and enormous errors, we have more purely than mightier realms kept the faith in Jesus Christ our Lord. He has exalted us with an outstretched arm upon an inaccessible throne, and gone before our armies in all lands ; not for ourselves, but for our faith ; not that we should gratify our ambition, but that we should christianize the world. None, I believe, ever compared the inadequacy of our means with our unparalleled aggrandizement, without their feeling convinced that a Superior Power was walking before us. The palmiest meridian of the empires of Greece or Rome, never contained a sun so instinct with life, and warmth, and power, and so glori-

ous in brilliancy, as God has created, to give light to the world, in the British heavens. This Protestant Island has, in defiance of most formidable enemies, and under the constant necessity of guarding herself against her Roman-Irish subjects, taken possession of the most commanding height yet attained by human elevation, solely by depending upon the Word of God and herself. And now that I am writing these words, now that my pen makes visible my thoughts, and that I state—"It is politically expedient to recognise nationally the Church of Rome, and to endow it;" the voice of prophecy seems to sound in my ear—"If England forsakes the Protestant religion, God will forsake her." Nor can I conceal from myself, that to conciliate a person is a question of human feelings; but to attempt to conciliate repugnant principles, which God has made in their nature irreconcilable, is as wicked as it is hopeless and insane. And I think there is a necessary repulsion between the truth of the Anglican Church and the fictions of Rome, that no expediency will succeed to any great degree in mitigating. With every conscientious Roman, the mandate of Rome is supreme; with every English Churchman, the mandate of Rome is nothing. What then is to be the State arbitration between moving principles so opposed in every respect?

Sir Robert Peel has intimated the Maynooth endowment and the endowment of the Roman Church to be expedient for the satisfaction of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. This, it is clear, only meets a very inferior danger. The lower and less presumption of sedition in Ireland is alone considered; the infinitely higher peril to which it exposes the Protestant empire, by adding station in every village, and funds on every quarter-day, to a body of clerical partizans, hitherto the hottest speakers for Repeal and the most passive slaves of the Bishop of Rome, has not been anticipated or provided against. On this side you endow a political priesthood, who are and ever have been opposed to Protestant supremacy, and to get rid of it have

manœuvred their combined phalanx against the integrity of this Protestant empire; on the other, you have omitted to introduce any measures to render the dismemberment of this integrity a legal impossibility. For the satisfaction of the Romanists, Sir Robert Peel has virtually endowed their church; for the safety and unity of the empire let him make agitation for Repeal, either by that or any other church, capital treason against the State. To do one without the other is to Learize the power of the kingdom.

If they are to be endowed, simply and abstractedly as Roman Catholics, let the Pope, let France, let Italy, or any other Roman Catholic country, endow them; but if we endow them, not simply because they are Roman Catholics, but because they are our fellow-subjects, happening to profess the Roman Catholic religion, then it is evident that their being subjects of the United Kingdom is and should always be considered as the prime and paramount qualification. And, in my opinion, the minister who endows the Roman Repeal church; simply as the laws now stand, without introducing a bill to make agitation or conspiracy for Repeal high-treason, may with equal justice endow the Roman priesthood of France with funds from the English Exchequer. He is bound before all things to see that British endowment should be for ever confined to British subjects, and to prevent, as far as human authority can reach, any individual who has once received it from becoming anything else than a British subject. If Sir Robert Peel does this, the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland may be endowed consistently with the integrity of a great Protestant empire, and his religious policy will assume a distinctive and imposing outline. I say 'may be,' because the issue of the trial depends not upon its worldly policy, but upon the question, whether in endowing Rome we are not apostatizing and doing that which is evil in the sight of God?

It is certain to my mind that England owes her

present superiority to her difference in religion from other nations. We are now on the point of constituting corrupted Rome a partner with the Church of England in the national religion. This is not compassionating and saving the sinner, but sanctioning and sharing the sin that has ruined him, and is very likely, by the same deadly influence, to ruin us. God, I doubt not, will in his own time shew whether this great change has been produced by true charity or temporizing apostacy. As far as regards Sir Robert Peel and the Conservatives, it is proposed as a measure of expediency, which signifies, in modern acceptation, "extrication from difficulty irrespective of the means"—one of the practical conveniences attached to the precious system of utilitarianism. In private life this abominable plea may be, and most frequently is, put forward in palliation, and sometimes in defence, of every crime, from murder to lying; and beyond doubt it is quite as expedient for the thief to steal rather than starve, as for the American States to repudiate rather than pay, or for a Conservative ministry to break faith rather than confess that faith given, binds the giver. And this violation of the great rule by which one government is accepted and another rejected by the nation—a rule as important in politics as in Christianity—is not the least evil of which the Conservative party is guilty. Experience in men is of the past; reason cannot assure or realize beyond the present; futurity must of necessity be the province of faith; and in preparing for whatever is future, we are equally of necessity confined to dependence upon faith. Our trust must needs repose upon that sole foundation.

In a general election, which is, of course, prospective of the future, the nation, in making its choice, has no other foundation to proceed upon, the party soliciting its confidence has no other guarantee to offer, than what is included in the hitherto sacred understanding of "faith in men." If the men so chosen break the faith so understood, the nation, it is true, have no instant

remedy; they must abide their time, and suffer the persons that deceived them to retain their seats, at the heavy expense of dissipating the most generous and essential pre-requisite in the representative system. That Sir Robert Peel and his Cabinet have broken faith with that great party that placed them in power, and have adopted their measures with the double intention of weakening the Church and landed interests, and strengthening the Roman Irish, cannot be well contradicted. Putting aside the intrusive nature of the measures themselves, as irrelevant to this consideration of the effects of deceptive Government, common sagacity will tell us, that it is of infinitely more importance to the empire, that its statesmen, whoever they are, should be unimpeachable in honour and integrity of purpose, than that an isolated measure, however good, should be lost or carried, or not introduced at all. Supposing the success of the Maynooth Endowment Bill to surpass the fondest anticipations of its introducers, the pacification of Ireland, inestimable as such an effect might appear to be, will not compensate for the violent shock inflicted by them on the countless honest minds that implicitly believed in, and constantly acted upon, the rule of "faith in public men." Whom, in fact, can they now trust? When this faith in the men that govern dies, the living spring of sound government sinks into the same grave. The Church and established property of the realm are opposed to the Whigs. If agreement with the Whig party be the betrayal of the Church and State party, then Sir Robert has left them. After receiving support and protection amongst the branches of the Protestant oak, he has, at the solicitations of his pursuers, descended from his elevation, and borrowing their Irish axe, and putting into it an English handle, he has with his own hand cut the tap-root of the noble tree that saved him. Either Sir Robert Peel is not to be envied, or his position is not to be coveted. Let us, however, proceed to the examination of his treatment of the Catholic Church in another part of the kingdom.

Sir Robert Peel, so sensitive to agitation, is callous to petitions: the use of a Constitutional privilege is disregarded, and its abuse conservatively registered. Ireland agitates, and obtains Maynooth. Wales petitions, and loses St. Asaph. The Roman Catholics, almost to a man, lackey O'Connell, desert their spiritual cures, cheer anti-British sentiments, hurrah for Repeal, deliver inflammatory harangues, and for every concession return more bloated exhibitions of hatred and sedition; they are stopped, for a time, with 30,000*l.* per annum. The Welsh clergy confine themselves to their own parishes, attend to their prescribed duties, send petition after petition for three consecutive years, approach the Houses through their Parliamentary representatives, are loyal and British to such a degree, that the possibility of being rebellious never enters their imagination, and with one consentient supplication they implore the Conservative Ministry to leave their ancient church unamputated; they are met by a stern refusal, couched under figment and subterfuge, and they lose St. Asaph and 7000*l.* per annum. The Premier's scheme to encourage insubordination, and discountenance good order, is profoundly Machiavelian, and far too refined for the comprehension of dull and Bœotian intellects. He possibly conceives that the Protestant Reformed Church of England has long been extinct in Wales, or that the Bishops appointed for the last one hundred years having paralyzed more than aroused the energies of the Principality, the abolition of one out of two will be just as great a benefit, as one evil is to be preferred to two. It is beneath a gentleman, much more beneath him who represents a thousand others, and, most of all, beneath the head of the Conservative phalanx of England, either to avow what he does not mean, or not to avow what he does mean. If his party in the House is omnipotent, and himself confident in the consciousness of integrity, he will declare the *de ôtri*, as well as the *ôtri* of his Parliamentary revolutions. But in the question of the Bishopric of St. Asaph, the same diffi-

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culty that occurs in the investigation of the Irish concessions, of assigning leading principles to the present Cabinet, baffles us at every step. No one, in either House, has yet given tolerable reasons; but a Welsh priest in the diocese of St. Asaph may supply them with an argument for the abolition, such as neither party has had the courage to advance, the only real reason that I think is entitled to attention, being strong, true, plausible, and grounded on the bitter experience of more than a century, and yet far from being justificatory of the measure that dismembers Episcopacy in Wales. The plea for the abolition of St. Asaph generally urged is, that North Wales can do without it, and that one Bishop (Bangor) will be sufficient for the work required. My answer is, that the depression of the Anglo-Catholic Church in the Principality is mainly referrible to the Cabinet Ministers and the Prelates instituted by them since 1710; that the Church has lost the Principality through the inefficiency of her Bishops; and that the best, if not only prospect of her restoration remains in the hope—not certainly of having none—but of having Prelates appointed suited to the exigencies of the country. If St. Asaph be abolished, not the mere superstructure, but half the foundation of the Church, with all our determinations and schemes of re-erecting the venerable pile in better days, will be pulverized beyond the chance of being ever hereafter re-cemented. The Episcopal chair has been filled by a succession of Prelates inefficient for Wales. As the consequence attending such inefficiency, the Church has slowly and surely decayed, beginning at the head, downward to the very feet. Let another class of Bishops be appointed; good—not positively only in themselves, for such many of their predecessors have been—but in relation to Wales, and the Church will slowly and surely revive. But to abolish the Bishopric because unsuitable Prelates have nullified its high functions, is not to restore vitality, but to insure the rapid progress of the mortification already set in, by the very neglect which such a

measure would complete; and to state that we can manage with Bangor only, when we never yet have succeeded with Bangor and St. Asaph, is a kind of State logic which none but the wise men of the Emerald Parliament could till lately be felicitated on chopping. In arguing the justice of the bill for the union with parties undisguisedly averse to the interests of the Establishment, we recognise immediately our line of battle, as distinct from theirs: but with Conservatives, Churchmen are exposed to a perplexing hesitation in every movement. Every shot fired from the Radical cannon into their ranks ricochets with double effect from the Conservative wall thrown up by themselves, and garrisoned by their own picked men. If they follow their officers, they find themselves all of a sudden in the midst of the enemy's camp, helpless, betrayed, amazed, for they see their false leaders chatting and laughing, in a perfect understanding with their captors; but if they foresee their danger, and refuse to be led to their own destruction, they are left in the predicament of the Ten Thousand—a strong army, without generals. It is much easier to combat antagonists that oppose you *strictâ acie*, front to front, than to know how to act against such men as, smiling and professing amity, draw you into an ambushade in which you are cut down before you detect the danger of your position.

Such is the case generally between the Cabinet and the great Protestant party in England, and markedly so between it and that portion interested in the Established Church. And the question of the St. Asaph Bishopric yields no exception. It was stated above, that the inefficiency, or rather the incompatibility, of the successive bishops in North Wales has been the primary cause of the present low ebb in the living waters of the Church. This one fact cannot, in my opinion, be too strongly urged, nor too deeply remembered. The Protestant Reformed Church of England has in plain words ceased to exist in Wales, so far as the great essential of discipline is involved since the accession of the Hano-

verian dynasty. From the time of Elizabeth to 1716, about 160 years, there were fifty-four Bishops of Welsh origin; from 1716 to 1845, which includes 129 years, not one of the North Wales Bishops has been a native of the Principality, or competent to converse in the language of his people. They have all been Englishmen: the mere accident of their being Englishmen would in nothing be objectionable; but, unfortunately, these English Prelates have been infants in the feelings, habits, national characteristics, and sympathies, as well as in the language of the men over whom they nominally presided. Every right-thinking person must admit that, to call a Bishop who, in his own diocese, cannot exchange a syllable with his spiritual children, cannot baptize infants, cannot catechize youth, cannot confirm catechumens, cannot administer to communicants, cannot solemnize matrimony, cannot teach and preach to his people, cannot visit, comfort, and pray with the sick, cannot inter the dead, cannot converse with his own priests, cannot examine his own candidates for orders, cannot, in fine, discharge one single duty, except the disposing of his patronage, and even that without personal discrimination—to call, I say, such a Bishop, a bishop of that Anglo-Catholic Church which lays it down as a fundamental law, “that it is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have public prayer in the church, or to administer the sacraments, in a tongue not understood of the people, is not alone false in itself, but calumnious to the Anglo-Catholic faith.” Such a one may be a titular bishop, but certainly not of the Anglo-Catholic Church. North Wales has since 1716 been reigned over by a series of these prelates, appointed by State Cabinets; in another sense, the Episcopacy has been that of the Church of Rome, and not of the Church of England. I do not speak of the personal or doctrinal character: many have been pious and erudite Christians; but had they united the scholarship of Bentley with the genius of Taylor, all their excel-

lences would have been swamped by their ignorance of Welsh, and their unsuitability to the country. *Hinc a principius error.* The Holy vine was blasted at top, and the deadness spread descendingly through all her branches till it had well nigh corroded her deepest and strongest roots. An owl might have seen the issue gathering on the mountains. The Church soon became an establishment, and ceased to be a religion. English relatives, connexions, friends, were unjustly, but not unnaturally, obtruded by the Bishop, after the example of his own collation, upon Welsh parishes. Presently he died, or was translated: then came another English Bishop, with new retinues of expectants, all as well versed in Cymraeg as in Persepolitan hieroglyphics; the livings, as they fell vacant, were divided among the new Bishop's new incumbents, and thus the iteration proceeded to the next Bishop. Meanwhile, the English rectors, vicars, deans, finding their condition amongst a people to whom they were dumb barbarians in the word, the reverse of agreeable, became disgusted with churches which they themselves had emptied, and procuring ordination for some Welsh lad of the lower classes, paid him 20*l.* or 30*l.* per annum for officiating, and terminated their brief residence by permanent absenteeism. Then there were a large number of Welsh benefices not desirable enough to be thus usurped, but also at the command of the same interests; and these curates, after a due prolongation of servitude, were recommended for preferment, and thus a second class of livings, instead of being, as in times preceding, committed to the superior care of educated Welshmen of good families, lapsed into the hands of oftentimes the most ignorant and obsequious of the clerical order, with cunning enough to imitate their late rectors in performing the least duty and exacting the most money. But there were also other Welsh livings too considerable for such aspirants, however lengthened might be the term of their substitucency. These were surely distributed with some regard to merit?—Rarely. How was the

Bishop himself to ascertain the difference between one Welsh priest and another; in such matters he deferred to the better judgment of his Welsh secretary, Welsh chaplain, Welsh neighbours, and these had each friends of their own to be settled in comfortable parsonages. During this disruption of all discipline, the people, not understanding a sentence of what was addressed to them from the reading-desk or pulpit, or seeing them occupied by men not superior to themselves in either learning or godliness, became literally "scattered on the hills as sheep that had no shepherd." Then succeeded a period of coldness, bitter indifference, vice, and general profanity, well remembered by younger than octogenarian reminiscents. The churches were left unserved, or the thin congregations dispersed because the minister had not recovered the effects of his Saturday night intoxication at the pothouse; or, if he attended, half the prayers, and probably all the communion service, were omitted, and the delivery of the sermon was repeatedly interrupted by the shouts and oaths of a game-at-fives upon the outside wall of the sacred edifice. If the churchwardens wished to rectify such wrongs, what could they effect? They could not write English, the Bishop could not read Welsh, and an appeal to any authority short of the Bishop recoiled on the promoters, whilst even, if it passed through the intervening sonifers, it served only to annoy and perplex his Lordship; for if he exercised authority over one, he must have extended it to the grosser offences at least of his sons, nephews, and protégés. To denominate such a supervision the bishopric of souls is, I much fear, the devil's flattery, or an infidel's irony. The results did not stop here. Zealous and resolute men rose occasionally, all amongst the native Welsh, in the body of the Church, such as Griffith Jones, Howel Harris, Daniel Rowlands, Charles of Bala, and other familiar names. Devotedness is in the eyes of indifference a reproaching and criminal result. The door of the Establishment was slammed in their faces. If zeal finds no vent or direc-

tion in the Church, it will ferment in the field; and thus these men became guilty of the sin of schism, and founded or organized dissent in regular and separate communions.

The summary is easily told. The Welsh bishops found Wales immersed in Roman idolatry and heresy; they left it a nation of Church of England Christians. The English bishops had Wales delivered to their superintendence—an united fold of the Anglo-Catholic faith; they have made it a chaos of fanaticism and schism. The Welsh bishops led their people from the Pope to Christ, from the Papacy to Protestantism; the English bishops have permitted, or have not been able to prevent them from being won over by Welsh preachers to every Samaria of secession. The Welsh bishops, with their own hands, translated the Holy Scriptures into the language of their flocks; the English bishops cannot point to one Welsh work carried on under their patronage. The Welsh bishops made Wales the most faithful and loyal portion of the kingdom, through the trying scenes and devastating warfare of the Great Rebellion; the English bishops have seen it become the theatre for Chartist seditions, Socialist riots, and Rebecca outrages. Needs the statement repetition, that, since the demise of the Stewart family, North Wales has not enjoyed the inestimable Christian right of true Episcopacy; and this dreadful defect in her ecclesiastical fortifications has been the breach through which attacking forces have poured in and taken possession of the ground and battlements, and nearly of the very citadel of our Zion. And nothing speaks more plainly to our consciences than this record, that dissent from the Anglican Church, in her ritual and discipline, begun with, and for many years was confined to, her own ministers, commencing with the bishops themselves. These were the original dissenters from her Articles, long before the common people got up an opposition to what was still called the Church of England, though, in maladministration and misgovernment, it approximated the most corrupted era of the

Romish Hierarchy. For what dissent could be more thorough, than the usages introduced and persisted in, in direct infringement of the explicit orders of the Church, by scores of clergyman; such as the common habit of docking half her services; baptizing healthy infants over ale and mutton in private houses; turning the reading-desk into a communion-table, and the clerk into the congregation, because he was the only individual, perhaps, capable of responding in English; superseding catechism by the exciting but unedifying and uninstructional sermon; digging, sowing, ploughing, hedging, bargaining, breeding pigs and calves, for week-day occupations, even the Sabbath not escaping the desecrating calls of the farm and cattle; add to these, and other irregularities, the notorious looseness of conduct indulged in by very many pastors, and crown the addition 'with the very head and front of the offending,' the paralysis of Episcopal control; and the truth comes out, formal and tangible, that the most pernicious dissenters against the Church were, at first, her own servants, that lived upon her means, but evinced neither love nor reverence for her commands; that her worst enemies, in fact, as they have been of many a noble establishment, were 'the faithless stewards of her own household.' True it is, that society was more lax and coarse during the last century than at present; but a priest's regulations for life are not the shifting fashions of this or that country, this or that age, or this or that grade in the world, but the immutable directions of Scripture. Immorality and low habits never become national, as long as the clergy keep themselves unspotted; but immediately they cease to be the class acting independently of human example, religious indifference assumes its baneful predominance. And it is much to be regretted that the worldly spirit, exhibited by the superior authorities in the Church in the disposal of lucrative appointments, should have disfigured with its infection the faces of their officiating substitutes in the parish churches.

The Welsh curate dragged on life on thirty pounds per annum, in the centre of a large and not over rich parish; as for relief to the aged and ill, for any power of promoting instruction or exemplifying charity, in any shape but that of words, he was totally disabled. The tithes of the parish were spent in England, and so not only the means, but the very habit and, ultimately, the very feeling of beneficence were pilfered from his hand and heart; and so far from preferment changing him for the better, the chances often were that he hardened, the victim of a degrading system, into unequivocal mammon-worship and hoarding penuriousness. And in this manner the fibres which the Church strikes into the groundwork of society in every parish, became so many ramifications of an irritating and exhausting cancer. But why incriminate the curate, and not the rector? why the rector, and not the dean? why the dean, and not the bishop and the Cabinet? Are the subordinates to be so much blamed as the authorities who constitute, and the prelate who accepts, a power that abrogates real episcopacy, and brings in the evils and abuses which the Apostolical supervision was ordained to keep out of the Holy Church. The current of indignation, not unmeritedly directed against such pluralists as the Luxmoores, and others, should have made itself felt in higher quarters. Freely admitting that no true soldier of the Great Captain of our Salvation could reconcile the wholesale plunder of the treasury-chest of the Church Militant with his vows of allegiance, or the general efficiency, it must, I think, be conceded, that the system, sanctioned as it were by the general episcopate in their own practices, is more to be condemned than the individual. This sponging upon the revenues of the faith has inflicted more disabling wounds upon the organization of the Church, than the Dissenters of all sects put together. These latter withdraw themselves from her presence and tutelage; but the former, after bleeding her *usque ad deliquium*, abandon her fainting

and attenuated frame to be supported and revived by the over-worked servants that have never shared her wealth, or participated in her prosperity. In the diocese of Bangor, at this moment, the annual capital extracted by the bishopric, absentees, relatives of the late prelate, English Bishops of Lichfield and Chester, colleges and cathedral, equals in amount the subsistence divided amongst the whole of the resident parochial clergy.

The diocese of St. Asaph, being somewhat more English, has been more abused. The sums appropriated to the relatives, connexions, and sinecurists of former bishops, absolutely approach hard upon, if they do not exceed, the aggregate paid to all the parochial clergy besides. It is irrelevant to say that many of these absentees are estimable men; their parishes, and not their friends only, should be able to testify to their being good and excellent clergymen, as well as good and excellent men. The recurrence of some of these frightful abuses is effectually prevented by the present ecclesiastical laws, and others have in a great measure, though not wholly, ceased since the induction of the present bishops, Drs. Carey and Bethell. It is not in all these instances against relationship to a bishop that the objection lies; a bishop's friends and connexions, if properly qualified, are as efficient as the friends and connexions of any other person, but preferment bestowed upon either a bishop's or a farmer's son, when there exist, in the judgment of God and the Church, insurmountable obstacles in the local, lingual, personal, and ecclesiastical disqualifications of the applicant, cannot, in my humble sense, be otherwise viewed than as a throwing up by the Apostolic Vicars of Christ, the discipline of the Anglo-Catholic faith.

Yielding then to the advocates of the abolition of the Bishopric, that the manner in which it has been filled, its duties neglected, and its patronage misapplied, for a very long time past, have eventuated in the subversion of the supremacy of the Church over the affections of

the Cambrian people, we come to the proposed Conservative remedy, which, in brief, is to cure the body by cutting off the head. To expose the innate absurdity of this Conservative method of reviving a Church by killing a Bishop, is not necessary; we have only to be sure that no other cause but the inadequacy of the Episcopal supervision over, and communication with, all the clergy, is the mother of these evils, however many the children may be, and we confirm our first position, that the hope of the Church rests upon competent Episcopacy, vested in the two present Bishoprics. A glance at the other reasons assigned for the Church decadence will suffice to establish their incompleteness.

Some have ascribed it to the substitution of the English language for the Welsh. Such a cause, I grant, is amply sufficient to turn away the steps of the mountaineer from the voice of a strange shepherd; but that this unwise inroad on purely Welsh, or five-sixths Welsh, parishes, has only partially operated to the detriment of the Establishment, is, I conceive, demonstrated, as well by the limited extent of the border-lines along which it chiefly prevails, as by the circumstance that the churches are as indifferently, if not indeed worse, attended under the ministration of Welsh clergymen, with the service and sermon exclusively in the native language. The appointment of a minister ignorant of Welsh to a Welsh cure, is certain alienation of the inhabitants: no sagacity is here requisite to detect the immediate cause; but the contrary appointment of a native, born, bred and educated in his own Cymraeg, is of itself quite insufficient, under the present system, to re-attach the seceded, or rebuild the dilapidated.

In the same category of incomplete induction, I place the theory that Welsh intellect has long been proscribed in the Establishment. The Bishop, certainly, is so far incapacitated from exercising his discrimination between learning and ignorance, dulness and talent, industry and indolence, that the Welsh clergy, in many instances, appear to think the distinction immaterial, as far as the

chances of preferment from the Palace are concerned. Cambrian intelligence and Cambrian unworthiness have no doubt been treated with little, if any, difference; but I cannot agree that intellect has been proscribed. I should rather say, that the system has rendered its development unnecessary and useless: wherever it has shone forth, it has been as much encouraged as stupidity, and this is as much as can be reasonably expected under the present circumstances. With yet less appearance of truth can it be asserted that Welshmen are upon rule excluded from valuable benefices: three-fourths of them are held by Welshmen, the Church being as depressed under their ministration, as under the English incumbents on the border. The filling up of the highest dignities and most lucrative appointments by Englishmen, has been so ruinous in the issue—not because they were Englishmen, but because they were in every sense disqualified for service;—and the filling up of the less valuable, but very comfortable, benefices with Welshmen, merely because they were Welshmen, without reference to their personal habits and acquirements, has been attended with prejudicial effects scarcely less deplorable. Both these extremes run up, from a common centre, a suppositious episcopate.

I never heard a single person assign the diminution in our congregations to indifference to religion in the mass of the people. This is a sin which may reside in some towns, but it has not, for a long lapse of years, walked on the hills of Wales.

And only occasionally, with the exception of one sect, are the doctrines of the Church cited as the primary obstacle. Least of all can I impute the numerical predominance of Dissenters to the lack of earnest, pious, and enlightened priests in the Church; such are found in every rural deanery throughout North Wales; and no one can fail to remark the effusion of a spirit amongst them, particularly the younger orders, that promises fair for the recalescence of the faith. But

the neglect of past generations is visited on their diligence; and another generation must live and die, before the seed they are planting "strikes root downward, and bears fruit upward." Of all the Clergy of the Established Church, these stand most in need of a spiritual superior, to organize their efforts, and to support them with his aid, encouragement, and experience.

Nor, lastly, will the adoption, in many localities, of the University for the natural style of preaching account, except to a very limited degree, for the great secession from our pews. It is pretty generally granted, that the cold, vague, unpicturesque, and timidly unoriginal character of English preaching, falls dead upon the fervid and imaginative faculties of the Cambrian race; and wherever it is in vogue, there, I think, the native Welsh form but a small minority in the audience. But certainly the Church labours under no inferiority in either style. The best preachers amongst Dissenters were reared in her bosom; and dissent has not been able, since their demise, to find their similars in its own ranks, and the palm and pre-eminence in Divine oratory, in the Cambrian tongue, continues to be held by the clergy occupying the pulpits of the Establishment. The impressive eloquence and vivid imagery of their addresses collect, generally, full, and very often immense, audiences, who come to hear, but not to be incorporated in the Church; and it is to be feared that this valuable talent, taken out of its proper place, has proved injurious to the settled devotion and even tenor of piety inculcated by our faith. At any rate, it has completely failed to bring them, by its own solitary strength, back to the seats of their ancestors. The whole body of the Establishment labours under a syncope produced by determination of blood to the head; and till the pressure on the brain be removed, the efforts of the limbs must be confined to convulsive motions. Sir Robert Peel, who is fond of applying to himself the title of State Physician, would end its life by decapitation; the patient infinitely prefers the retention of his head

in a clear and un-extravasated state. Admitting, therefore, the necessity of some great change, and rejecting, as inadequate and unsatisfactory, the several causes of such necessity enumerated, we cannot, I think, avoid the conviction, that the prostration of the Welsh Church is assignable to the appointment of unqualified Bishops, between whom and the vast majority of their clergy, union, combination, and sympathy, never have and never can exist. The inferior clergy, as an inevitable concomitant, have always been fettered and torpified by the slavery of an Established system, without deriving a single benefit from the working of its admirable machinery. The Pope might as well be their Bishop. If Prelates of the old stamp are to be imposed upon the Principality, it is utterly indifferent to the welfare of the Church, whether she is to have four or none; the revenues of her four Bishoprics may as well be at once divided in augmentation of the poorer livings, and the expiration of spiritual authority over rectors, vicars, and curates, be legally announced. The difference in her fate will be that which distinguishes a rapid from a slow consumption.

Never has any Church suffered such cruel, uncalled for, and protracted exhaustion, from a Government pretending to be its guardian, as the Anglo-Catholic Church in Wales has from the English Government. What Welshman since the days of Anne has ever used the term "our Bishop?" To what one Welshman, acquainted only with the language of Caractacus and Arthur Lee, has an English bishop ever deigned to address himself? What one Welshman have the whole series ever taught, instructed, solaced, or strengthened in Christian doctrine and godliness? Whom have they plucked from the icy waters of infidelity or the moving quagmires of schism? Where have been the meat and the word in due season from their hands and lips? Where that test of a true shepherd, "I know my sheep and am known of mine?" I cannot suppress the indignation that rises upon review of the unbroken cata-

logue of "unknown tongues" thrust upon our ancient Bishopric, terminating at last in the demolition of the Cambrian Episcopal throne itself. Nor does it require any depth of patriotism to resent the miserable insinuation, that Wales cannot produce qualities and men to adorn the mitre, when history with one arm points to Wales redeemed, Wales instructed, Wales evangelised, Wales "in one Faith, one Lord, one Church," under her native Prelates, and with the other droops over Wales as it is, and inscribes upon the monumental dust of St. Asaph, "*Quam ~~instruit~~ Cambria, dirigit Ecclesiam-Anglia.*" Omitting to discuss the probabilities for and against the prosperity of the faith under the assumed continuance of *Welsh* bishops, could any prelates, Welsh or Kamschatkan, have done worse than the *English*? The Conservative ministry, in removing the candlestick, used this argumentative simile, "that we could not be more in the dark than at present," and forthwith deprive us of our only chance of having more light! Unquestionably Wales has, on the score of her church, more reason to call for "justice from England," than the nation is aware of. Prescriptive abuses, which no Member in either House would defend, have worn that Church to a skeleton. We have persevered for three years in earnest representations to the present Cabinet, to prevent the consummation of an iniquitous measure, which by its blackness shades preceding wrongs. And I partly believe that this is the only—favour, shall we say?—ever petitioned for by the long and much injured Anglo-Catholics in Wales at the bar of the Imperial Parliament. It is as ungraciously refused as it has been pressingly and beseechingly implored. In defiance of the unanimous declaration of the North Wales Clergy, "that the loss of the Episcopal office will be disastrous to the Church," Sir Robert Peel persists in the fiat, and St. Asaph is henceforth deleted from the list of Christian bishoprics. *St Asaph*

We have dilated so diffusely on the necessity of its preservation, that we shall only cursorily touch upon the consequences of its dissolution.

If the funds are divided amongst the poorer livings (as no change is unimputable to Conservative consciences), the gain to the Church will be nothing compared to her loss. Good livings are desirable, but good clergymen are the *sine qua non* of the faith. A competence in the possession of a good pastor is a parochial blessing; but the Divine ordinance for securing good pastors, 'adequate episcopal superintendence,' is of infinitely more importance and worth than any secular measure for securing good livings. To provide a competency for good clergymen, and simultaneously to abolish the spiritual discipline by which they are made good, is an odd curiosity in legislation. I think every priest would disdain an augmentation purchased by such infatuation. To take my own feelings as illustrative of the general sentiment on such a proposal: I am obliged to serve two parishes, seven miles apart, in different dioceses, the incomes from both amounting to a sum short of 140*l.* per annum,—the duties severe, and neither containing a roof or a field appropriated to the clergyman; and I would rather sacrifice out of my labour and poverty to support a spiritual bishopric, than receive double the income from its abolition. And I believe this feeling to be widely extended amongst all grades of the clergy. Excluding, however, the idea of such an application of the surplus fund, and regarding the union as completed, five-sixths of the clergy subject to the one prelate will be Welsh, resident in unmixed Welsh parishes. How deeply these would reciprocate the personal confidence, and estimate the personal visit of their Diocesan, requires no calculation from any person conversant with the Welsh character. All perhaps can speak, but not a third of them feel or think, English. Are these to remain on the old footing of Oriental distance from the Bishop, and is the Bishop, holding authority over them, to be as heretofore ignorant of their language? But he is, we will presumptuously say, a Welshman, and goes about the discharge of his high functions amongst his countrymen as one

“not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ;” he visits from parish to parish. But North Wales is not the easiest region for aged men to traverse: the six counties are more or less scenes of “the mountain wild and flood;” the parsonages on high roads are “few and far between;” and the by-roads tolerate nothing weaker than carts and Welsh ponies. Carriages might advance never to return. Railroads will never penetrate the hills. The climate is wet, windy, and variable; and, lastly, there is a medium for a Bishop to observe, between Asiatic seclusion, and galloping a country with commercial activity. With youth, health, vigour, a nameless number of horses, and at the rate of four parishes a week, he may accomplish the circuit of his little diocese in about a year and a half, allowing him not a day for all his other avocations. I am quite aware that Bishops never visit in this mode; that they content themselves with being visited on their tour, and that the internal state of the churches, vicarages, schools, with the real condition of each cure of souls, are not considered within their province. This is the easier plan; but as to its efficiency, let the clergy themselves be judges. If the Bishop be infirm, or very advanced in life, even this easy method will be too fatiguing.

If he becomes indisposed, or chronically debilitated, or disabled by decrepitude, to which of the Bishops can he refer the superintendence of his extensive diocese? One alone, St. David, can speak Welsh; and being thus the only Prelate that for a century has ennobled his popularity, and established a just claim on the acknowledgments of the Principality, he would probably be appealed to for assistance, and the heavy burden of ten counties would be accumulated on his shoulders. Or could Chester or Hereford assume a double charge for any considerable period? This objection I regard as fatal of itself to the wisdom of the union. As the last consequence that I shall advert to, I must mention the incredible disposal of patronage

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placed by the union in the hands of one subject. The livings in his gift will amount to the enormous number of two hundred, and amongst these must be included many of the most enviable in the kingdom. By comparison, I find that the patronage of Bangor will exceed Canterbury's by fifty benefices, York by thrice, London by twice, Durham by four times their respective amounts; that it will exceed by five times the sum the average patronage of Bishoprics, and be more than the whole united patronage vested in the nine Bishoprics of Bath and Wells, Carlisle, Chichester, Gloucester and Bristol, Lichfield, Llandaff, Oxford, Worcester, and Peterborough!

In the face of this concentration of Ecclesiastical power, unprecedented since the fortunes of Cardinal Wolsey, and the certainty that it will be given to the highest political influence, irrespective of the Church, the Principality, and all necessary qualifications, the Conservative Ministry request us to believe that the measure is for the good of Wales, and the promotion of spiritual religion.

We close the painful view of a Protestant Bishopric destroyed, and a Roman-Catholic University endowed. The sight forces us to beg Conservatism to call itself by some other name: it cannot smell less sweet; and it compels observation to the fact, that Sir Robert Peel and his party are not what they were. Their position is hollow beneath, and insecure around. The Dissenters' interests are hostile; the Roman-Catholic priesthood irreconcilable; Repeal rising in insolence and extortion; the Tories cold; the Church alienated; the constituencies indignant; the Whig party justly embittered by having themselves turned out, and their measures and principles taken in; and above all, concession to agitation in Ireland has created a Maëlstrom of religious agitation in England, that, in its extending vortex, will lay bare the foundation of the Protestant throne. If Sir Robert Peel will accept the Repeal interpretation of "Justice to Ireland," let him not forget

that he is legislating for an empire that will never permit the Protestant bond between the Sovereign and the people to be torn up and burnt in the fire of Roman agitation. The Imperial Parliament is pledged to civil war, in preference to any approach to the dismemberment of the kingdom. It has acted hitherto with singular moderation. Let it assume the attitude best becoming the majesty and unrivalled resources of a great dominion, and pass a bill making the agitation and receivers of home and foreign funds, for the destruction of the empire, capital treason. This will be mercy to Ireland, and bare justice to England. If some such measure be not introduced, a collision between Romanism and Protestantism is sooner or later inevitable, and the measures passed already will be but the commencements of revolutions. Maynooth and St. Asaph may yet be the watchwords of new parties.

THE END.

LONDON:

Printed by Manning and Mason, Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row.

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A

CIRCULAR LETTER

FROM THE

BISHOP OF MONTREAL,
i.e. J. J. Mountain. B. D.

TO THE

CLERGY OF HIS DIOCESE,

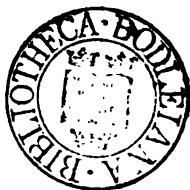
ON

CHURCH VESTMENTS.

LONDON:

**FRANCIS & JOHN RIVINGTON,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD, AND WATERLOO PLACE ;
AND THOMPSON, BEDFORD.**

1845.



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LONDON :
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Lord Bishop of Montreal having sent a Copy of the following Letter to a friend in England, with permission to make use of it as he might think fit, it is deemed right to give it to the public.

A
CIRCULAR LETTER,
&c.

TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF QUEBEC.

Quebec, March 27, 1845.

REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN,

I HAVE been only waiting for the close of those additional duties which occur in the seasons of Lent, Passion-week, and the festival days of Easter, to give my attention to the subject of our meeting this year in triennial Visitation at the See, and to notify you of the arrangements to be made in that behalf. I have been anxious that you should have early intimation of my purpose, not only because I found, three years ago, that in the case of the Clergy who are stationed in the district of Gaspé, the space of time remaining after their reception of my Circulars, was insufficient to enable them to undertake the voyage from that quarter, but also because I wish

you to come prepared to the Visitation ; first, with a full statement of what you may have been enabled to effect, in your respective Cures, in the cause of the CHURCH SOCIETY, with which, I believe, that you are all united, and which is vitally interwoven with the present and future interests of the Church within the Diocese ; and, secondly, with detailed information arranged under the proper heads in a tabular form, respecting the state of your Parishes or Missions ; the condition of your Churches or Chapels and their appurtenances, within and without ; the number of your services during the year ; the number of places at which you officiate, and the distance of each place from your residence ; the number of square miles over which your charge is considered to extend ; the number of persons who compose your Congregations ; the number of baptisms, marriages, and burials in those Congregations in 1844 ; the number of your communicants ; the number of persons whom you presented for confirmation at my last visit ; the number and description of schools which the children belonging to your Cures attend, together with an account of the Sunday Schools which are under your authority. In all the *Missions* of the Diocese, this information must be prepared in such a manner as to be fitted for transmission to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

As the Anniversary Meeting of the Church Society will, with the Divine permission, be held this year at Quebec, on Wednesday, the 2nd of July, I have fixed

upon the forenoon of the same day for the delivery of my charge;—for which purpose Divine Service will be held in the Cathedral Church, at ten o'clock, A.M. You will appear, on both these occasions, robed in your proper habits. It may, perhaps, be necessary, both for myself and for some others of our number to leave Quebec in the afternoon of the following day, in order to attend the periodical meeting of the Central Board of the Church Society, on Friday, the 4th, at Montreal. You will take care, therefore, if you please, to furnish me with the information mentioned above, at the very latest, on the morning of Thursday, the 3rd.

And here, but for a particular occurrence, I might close this communication, reserving, (which had been my intention,) for the solemn occasion of our meeting, such recommendations upon certain points agitated at this moment in the Church, as I may venture, after all the special examination bestowed upon them of which my scanty leisure and moderate resources render me capable, to press upon your attention: such also as I have led you (in my Circular of the 26th April, 1844,) to expect from me. The occurrence to which I advert, is the agitation of these very questions, which have been under my deliberation for your benefit, coupled with very free animadversions upon my Circular just mentioned, by a writer professing to be a Presbyterian of the Diocese, and assuming very summarily to dispose of points, in which certainly his Bishop has had much more

difficulty in coming to a conclusion. It cannot be supposed that I shall enter into a newspaper discussion with that writer, and as he appears in disguise, I can address no expostulation personally to *him*. But his proceeding being in itself of a nature tending most needlessly to disturb the peace of the Diocese, and his representations such as may, in some instances, infuse unpleasant doubts, and, possibly, create distressing difficulties in the minds of his brethren, I shall here address myself to the task, so far as it may be permitted to me, of obviating these effects,—thus anticipating, to a certain extent, the portion of my charge in which it will be my endeavour to assist your judgments in matters of the nature here in question. And in order the more fully and freely to discuss them, I shall not rigorously observe the constraints of a formal and official style.

I must begin by pointing out, because it carries a caution to the Clergy of some importance, in all similar cases, the great impropriety and imprudence of the course taken by this writer (although I attribute to him no improper intentions), presuming him to be, what he declares himself, a Presbyter of the Diocese.

I must premise that my present observations will be confined to the single point of *the surplice question*; and if I succeed in affording you any satisfaction upon this point, I will entreat you to suspend your opinion upon others which are brought into question till we meet.

In the first place, then, it is at a time when the Bishop, within whose immediate jurisdiction he exercises his functions, has intimated to his Clergy that he has these very points under his deliberation, with the purpose of communicating to them the result of his researches, and before it could possibly be known whether the decisions to be rendered might not be actually in accordance with the views of the Presbyter himself¹, that, not content to wait for the issue, and passing by the obvious expedient of at least laying his doubts and objections in the first instance privately before his Bishop, and submitting to the consideration of the Bishop the reasons which render it painful to him to comply with the recommendations which had been issued, he must drag the Bishop and the Church in this hitherto discreet and quiet Diocese, into the arena of public and popular disputation, before the eyes of the "mixed multitude" who surround us, and bring the cause to the bar of the Press—acquiescing, apparently, in that principle which is described, with a very different estimate of its propriety, in a recent publication, by the Bishop of Vermont:—

"Meanwhile, the irresponsible autocracy of the Press takes hold of the opportunity. Error and novelty gain ground. The clergy and the people choose their editorial leaders; and when,

¹ This result, with reference, in particular, to the practice of preaching in the surplice, was, as I have been assured, anticipated by some of the Clergy in Montreal, from the manner in which they regarded the expressions of my circular.

at last, the sentiments of the Bishops are declared, they are merely used as the complements of parties already formed, and are praised or blamed, just as the prejudice of the party may dictate. The Bishops, *in theory*, are, indeed, the governors of the Church. *In practical effect*, however, on the minds of the majority, the editorial chair stands far above them; and as the inconsistency, however gross, belongs to the *spirit of the age*, I doubt much whether it admits of any effectual remedy¹."

In the second place, the opportunity seized upon by the Presbyterian for thus putting himself forward, is precisely when the extraordinary disturbance of public feeling created by the injunction laid by a highly distinguished prelate at home upon his Clergy, to preach in the surplice, had induced him to withdraw his order—a manifest proof that, even in the eyes of those who most decidedly maintain the propriety of the practice, it is not a practice binding upon the *consciences* of the Clergy, as constituting part of the obligations contracted at their ordination,—for, if it were so, could the order to adopt it be recalled?

In the third place, this inopportune sally is made at the very moment when we have been reached by an earnest and affectionate address from our own Metropolitan, the Venerable Archbishop of Canterbury², in which he charges it upon us all to forbear

¹ The Novelties which disturb our Peace. See also, p. 48, et seqq. of the fourth letter in the same work.

² It is *possible* that it might not have reached the Presbyterian; but it was abroad in this Diocese before he appeared in print, and is dated exactly two months earlier.

from insisting vehemently on either side, upon the points of this nature which divide the Church, and to await a proper adjustment of them collectively, by authority—pointing out at the same time, in a general way, that there are justificatory reasons to which *both* parties (when not running into extravagant deviations either way) may appeal in support of their respective practice. My brethren of the Clergy in this Diocese will not only feel the deep respect with which, upon every possible ground, we ought to receive this exhortation, but must be all aware that it is an exhortation addressed *directly to themselves*—the See of Quebec being comprehended in the province of Canterbury, and its Bishop (according to the language of the Letters Patent of Erection) being made subject and subordinate to the Archiepiscopal see and the Primate who may be in occupation of it, *in the same manner* as any Bishop of any see within the province of Canterbury, in the kingdom of England.

Such is the *conjuncture* chosen by the Presbyter for attacking the authority set over him, and thus it is that he has risked the ignition of a raging controversy upon points in which his own Metropolitan and his own Bishop had moved in a manner which might have been expected to stay his hand. Under *any* circumstances, I venture to point out to you that the course which he took would have been clearly wrong. There is no plea more sacred than the plea of *conscience* : but there is none in the use

of which, and especially in the case of repugnancy to the directions of the living authority set over them, men should more severely examine their own proceeding. None will either more readily offer or more insinuatingly suggest itself to cover a lurking spirit of opposition, an adherence to party, a precipitate adoption of any reigning novelties, or a fond maintenance of favourite prepossessions of the mind. Let me beg you (and I include the Presbyterian himself) to examine the plea of conscience in the case before us. Here is a question relating to an article of dress, upon which much zeal has been expended which might have been reserved for higher things—but, let that pass,—it is a question which agitates a portion of the Church, and which is not decided:—(if the Presbyterian considered that he was dealing with a settled point, he should have remembered that every man, and particularly in the attitude of resistance to authoritative recommendations, should have perfectly mastered his part, before adventuring himself as a Coryphæus upon the stage—for *adhuc sub judice lis est.*) Now what is the course which in such circumstances a clergyman is to take?—He has not far to go for his answer. Look at the prefatory matter of the Prayer-book, and there you find it distinctly rendered:—

“And, forasmuch as nothing can be so plainly set forth, but doubts may arise in the use and practice of the same: to appease all such diversity (if any arise), and for resolution of all doubts, concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the

things contained in this book, the parties that so doubt, or diversely take any thing, shall *always resort to the Bishop of the Diocese*, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same; so that the same order be not contrary to any thing contained in this book. And if the Bishop of the Diocese be in doubt, then he may send for the resolution to the Archbishop."

What then, when rightly informed, does *conscience* prompt in the case before us?—Conscience, you observe, as guided (for that is insisted upon) by the language of the Prayer-book and the vows of Ordination,—to which we must add the obligations contracted upon receiving Licence or Institution to a Cure.

The matter is taken diversely, and the intention of the Rubric is subject of doubt.

The Prayer-book directs the Clergyman, *in such a case*, to abide by the directions of the Bishop.

The decision of the Bishop has been given by anticipation: for he has already recommended it to the Clergy to forbear, at present, from introducing any marked change in this doubtful point.

The inference does not require to be pointed out.

Again, the Clergyman, in his ordination vows, promises that he will *reverently obey his Ordinary*.

And in his admission to any Cure of Souls, he swears an oath that he will *pay true and canonical obedience to his Bishop, in all things lawful and honest*.

Compliance with the formal and official signification of the episcopal wishes, with reference to the practice here considered,—the question being pre-

viously an open one, cannot be regarded otherwise than as a thing lawful and honest.

What is the result?—It may be put into the form of a syllogism.

The Clergyman has vowed and sworn to obey his Bishop in all things lawful and honest.

Continuing to preach, at least *ad interim*, in the gown, (there being no ascertained law of the Church against it, no violation of decency and decorum involved in it, and received custom being all in its favour,) is a thing lawful and honest.

Therefore, the Clergyman is bound by his ordination vows and his oath to continue preaching, *ad interim*, in the gown, if he has received the formal and official signification of the episcopal wishes to this effect.

Nothing can possibly be here further from my intention (and I am anxious to be distinctly understood upon this point), than to charge those with a deliberate violation of vows and oaths who, notwithstanding my sufficiently pointed recommendation, may have since adopted the practice of preaching in the surplice⁴. But as your consciences have been

⁴ I cannot, however, avoid mentioning with commendation, the proceeding of a Clergyman who, after the reception of my circular, would not continue to preach in the surplice (although his own leanings were probably in favour of the practice), even at one of his stations where he was at a loss for any convenient means of taking his gown, till he had first procured my express sanction for doing so.

appealed to, from another quarter, I wish *now* to assist you in judging how they should be guided to a right conclusion. If there are any among you who, with the whole case set before you as it is here done, wish to take benefit of the distinction between a very decided recommendation, with reasons for it assigned⁵, and a positive order, and so to say that obedience is due to an order, but obedience is *not* due to such a recommendation, this is an escape which is certainly open. For my own part, without declining, as you perceive, to afford help by my opinion to any who are perplexed, I shall now leave the matter *without any sort of authoritative direction* to your consciences and your judgments: for my own conscience, according to my ideas of conscientious obligation, obliges me to do so. I have professed upon oath, in the solemnity of my consecration, *all due reverence and obedience to my Metropolitan*. And *he* has issued the recommendation to which I have already had occasion to advert.

I now proceed to the examination of the question itself. And I must premise, that so far from affecting to pronounce in a dogmatical and peremptory manner upon a question in which a view differing from my own has been taken by persons of much

⁵ The Presbyter is mistaken in saying, with reference to *any* point of my recommendations, that there was no adequate *or* other reason assigned for them. Whether they were *adequate* or not, there were very plain reasons assigned, applying to the whole.

higher qualifications than I possess, and much more extended opportunities than those which I enjoy, I speak *entirely under correction*; and entering upon the subject as one confessedly encumbered with *doubt*, shall be quite prepared to surrender my judgment upon the case whenever my interpretation of the precedents and authorities which I produce may be shown to be wrong, or other authorities, to which I have no access, may be brought forward to silence them. If there should be a final decision in the Church in favour of preaching in the surplice, in that decision I shall most cheerfully acquiesce. The recommendation which I made to you some time ago was prompted, not by any *passion* for the practice of *preaching in a gown*, (although I do prefer it,) but by a desire that in *doubtful* matters we should not be disturbed by any sudden changes or deviations from long-established custom, breaking out here and there, unconcerted among the Clergy, and unauthorized by the governing authority of the Diocese.

In reasoning upon the subject *à priori*, and according to the general analogy of usages indifferent in themselves, which have been passed on to our own and (although more sparingly) to other Protestant communities from times preceding the Reformation, I should be led to infer that the act of preaching was not originally intended to be performed in our Church in the surplice. In cases of the nature here under review, the *absence of special and explicit direction* would seem to carry the *tacit*

authorization of continuing the practice which before subsisted. This would be understood and assumed as a matter of course. Now I believe it will be found that it is the practice of the Romish Clergy (and I presume that they have received this practice down from some former ages) *to divest themselves of the distinguishing robes in which they officiate at the altar, when they pass to the act of preaching*; and although they generally⁶, I think, do preach in the surplice, yet the *principle* which appears in their *change of attire* is *directly adverse* to the arguments which are mainly urged in favour of the surplice in our pulpits.

In fact, the duty of preaching, where performed at all, was at one period so very generally in other hands than those of the officiating clergyman, that this circumstance itself would tend to associate the act with a feeling of something separate and distinct in its nature; and I am under the impression (although I do not speak confidently) that friars and others who went about preaching, preached in their ordinary monkish habit. The sermons also at Paul's Cross and in other places in the open air, as for example in the stone pulpit (if I remember right) at Magdalen College, in Oxford, were evidently some-

⁶ Not *invariably*, for I have reason to believe, that at least upon some occasions, and in some parts of the world, they preach in a *black dress*. See, *inter alia*, a letter which has appeared lately in me of the papers from a clergyman in Plymouth, to the churchwarden of a neighbouring parish.

thing in a manner disunited from the usual liturgical services of the sanctuary.

It is a practice, I believe, to be seen in cathedrals at home, that although the cathedral Clergy themselves preach in the surplice, a stranger who preaches for any of them, performs that duty in a gown⁷. And this would seem to imply that the use of the surplice in preaching was understood to be a *peculiar distinction* reserved to the members of cathedral establishments or those of collegiate churches. It appears, however, to involve a departure, in whatever way and at whatever time commenced, from the Advertisements of 1564 (hereinafter quoted). In the university church at Cambridge, in my own day, and in the different college chapels, when sermons upon particular occasions were preached within them, the preacher (unless my memory, looking back between thirty and forty years, has in this point quite misled me) discharged his duty in a gown⁸.

It is well known that till very lately the use of the gown for preaching, in parish churches and chapels of an ordinary kind, had been, at least for a vast

⁷ I do not remember to have witnessed this ; but I have seen it stated, I think, in the Church newspaper of the diocese of Toronto, about three years ago.

⁸ Since I wrote this letter, I have partially examined the Article in vol. 72, of the Quarterly Review, on the Rubrics and Ritual of the Church of England, and I find it there stated that in the *college chapels*, the preachers (as even the under-graduates who are on the foundation) wear the surplice on what are called *surplice-days*, but on other occasions, simply the gown.

length of time, universal, and that *so* the practice passed to the Colonies, and was received in the Episcopal Church of the United States. And it would have been happy, I can have no hesitation in saying, if it had been left undisturbed; for even assuming the preaching in the surplice to be *preferable*, the difference is not worth the noise and ferment and party feeling which has been engendered by the question; nor would I have bestowed the pains upon it which I have done, were I not called upon to show that the authority upon whose guidance you must wish to rely, has not been so erroneously and unadvisedly exercised as you have been told. And I cannot pass without notice the unfair mistake often made of imputing to puritanical leanings a preference for the use of the gown in preaching, and confounding the abstinence from using the surplice *in the pulpit* with an absurd and fanatical objection to *the surplice itself*. How many thousands of Clergymen and Laymen who prefer the gown in the pulpit, are as perfectly free as their opponents in this point, from any scruple against the surplice or any dislike to it; and would, on the contrary, be most decidedly offended by any attack upon it, or desire to dispense with it. And the Clergy would seem to be *farther* removed from those *precisians*, as they were wont to be called, who accuse our worship of form and parade, where they appear in a different garb for different portions of the service, than where they restrict themselves to one.

Let us now examine some authorities.

The writers on Ecclesiastical Law, whom I have had the means of consulting, such as Gibson, Burns, and Grey, although they all treat, of course, of clerical habits, and Burns sometimes descends to details, speaking, for example, of *bands*, as an irregularity in his judgment, to be referred for its origin to the times of puritanical sway⁹,—afford no light, that I can find, upon the present question. Their mention of the surplice does not touch the point of preaching or not preaching in it.

The historians, annalists, and biographers who treat of the affairs of the Church of England, such as Fuller, Collier, and Strype, all of whom furnish a mass of information and many minute particulars respecting the puritanical objections to the prescribed habits, and the proceedings of authority in relation to the difficulties thence created, supply nothing, so far as I believe from having searched those portions of their works which seemed most to my purpose, which can help to determine the question, unless it be found in the *Advertisements* drawn up by Archbishop Parker, given by the last of these three writers, and issued in 1564, from which an extract is here subjoined :—

“ Item.—In the mynystacion of the Communion in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, the Executor, with Pistoler and Gospeller, mynyster the same in coopes ; and at all other praiers to

⁹ This was pointed out to me by a friend.

be said at the communion-table, to have no coopes, but surplices.

“ Item.—That the Dean and Prebendaries weare a *surples with a silke hooде in the quier*, and *when they preache* in the Cathedral Church, to weare *theire hooде*.

“ Item.—That everie Mynyster, *saying any publique prayers, or mynistrynge the sacramentes, or other rites of the Church, shall weare a comelye surples* with sleeves, to be provided at the chargis of the parishe. And that theye provide a decent table, standinge on a fraime, for the communion-table¹. ”

I think it is the plain and natural inference from the direction that the cathedral dignitaries are to wear a *surples with a hood*, in the *quier*, and *when they preache* to wear their *hood*; that the *hood* in this *latter* case, is understood to be worn *without* the surplice. And I farther think that when a direction immediately follows that every minister *saying any public prayers, or ministering the sacraments, or other rites of the Church, shall wear a surplice*, this *ministering of rites* cannot be understood to include *preaching*;

¹ These Advertisements are given as below, in modern spelling, in Neale's History of the Puritans :—

In the ministration of the Communion in cathedrals and collegiate churches, the principal ministers shall wear a cope, with Gospeller and Epistoler agreeably; but at all other prayers to be said at the communion-table, they shall wear no copes, but surplices only: deans and prebendaries shall wear a surplice with a silk hood *in the choir*; and *when they preach a hood*. Every minister saying the public prayers, or administering the sacraments, &c., shall wear a surplice with sleeves; and the parish shall provide a decent table standing on a frame for the communion-table.

which act, if it had been in contemplation here, would have been mentioned *nominatim*, as in the article immediately preceding. Preaching, as is well known, was far from being any standing concomitant in those days of the public services, nor was it an act which the Clergy at large were qualified to perform. The Advertisements and the 58th Canon seem to me to throw light upon each other.

I am much confirmed in these impressions by a document in a detached form which is in my own possession², to which I am unable to affix a precise date, but which appears evidently to belong to the time of the Stuarts, and which I regard as curious and valuable, because, while it will be seen to contain a POSITIVE INJUNCTION from the Royal authority, to be carried into effect through the Bishops, to PREACH IN THE GOWN, it affords most convincing evidence, at the same time, how little (as I have above pointed out) the maintenance of this practice ought to be confounded with puritanical leanings,—the whole of the *Instructions* (for so they are called), to which I here refer, which are of a stringent character, being *manifestly levelled against those very tendencies*; and whereas we now hear the gown in the pulpit stigmatized by the prefix of *Geneva*, it is here the *gown* for preaching, *not* the surplice, which is set in *opposition* to the *Geneva cloak*. I have been unable, thus far, to find these instructions in any book.

² I have given away the original; but I have a fac-simile.

They are in black letter, and contain what here follows:—

“ 2. That every Bishop ordaine in his Diocesse, that every Lecturer doe read Divine Service according to the Liturgie, printed by Authority, in his Surplis and Hood before the Lectures.

“ 3. That where a Lecture is set up in a Market Towne, it may be read by a company of grave and orthodox Divines neere adjoining, and in the same Diocesse, and that they *preach in Gownes, and not in Clokes, as too many doe use.*”

Among the authors who have explained and defended the whole system, ceremonies, and usages of the Church of England, the great Hooker treats in his fifth book of *Attire belonging to the Service of God*, and Nichols has a chapter *on the surplice and other ecclesiastical habits*; but I can trace nothing which indicates the garb used in preaching.

The same remark may be made upon the works on the English Ritual which I have consulted, namely, those of Sparrow, Wheatley, Comber³, Mant, Shepherd, Palmer, and Jebb, with the exception of the last. This writer, by whose beautiful work on the Choral Service of the Church of England, published in 1843, I hope that this Diocese, as well as others, may derive profit, and whose recommendations I have already in some instances

³ The work of Dean Comber is hardly of a nature to afford information upon a point like this.

of a slighter kind adopted in my own practice,—stands opposed to the use of the gown in preaching. I am little desirous of breaking a lance with so accomplished a champion, but after exhibiting his sentiments upon the question, I shall show also some reasons in addition to those which have been already adduced, for inclining strongly to the opinion that he is mistaken.

Respecting the vestment and cope⁴ which the officiating minister is directed to put on when he

⁴ Wheatley treats the vestment and cope as the same thing under different names. The difference between them, however, is shown in Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*. The Canons of 1603 mention only the cope, and, differing in this from the regulations prescribed by 2 Edw. VI., (which also give the option between them,) limit the use of the cope to cathedral and collegiate churches. I should, for my own part, feel no sort of objection to see them again generally in use, if ever the subsidence of prejudices should make it expedient.

The mistake of the Presbyter in supposing that the practice in cathedrals must be a pattern for parish churches, will appear from a comparison of the 24th and 25th Canons, with the 58th. It is important to this whole argument to observe the *distinction* made between the two cases. The cathedral practice would naturally enough obtain in the Chapel Royal at Edinburgh, where it is stated by Mr. Jebb that the Dean was ordered by Charles I. to preach in the surplice. I would hazard a conjecture, that the practice of preaching in the surplice in cathedrals, which does not appear to agree with the Advertisements of 1564, may possibly be traced to the 25th of these Canons of 1603, although the direction there given by no means necessarily includes the preacher himself.

passes to the administration of the Communion, he speaks thus:—

“ I must honestly confess that I can find no argument to justify the disuse of these ancient vestments, so expressly enjoined by authorities to which all Clergymen profess obedience, except that rule of charity which, as Bishop Beveridge expressed it, is above rubrics; that loving regard for the edification of the people, to which every rite and ceremony should tend.”

The use of the gown in the pulpit, he notices thus:—

“ A few words must be added, upon the use of the gown, which most improperly has come to be considered as an official vesture of Divine service, instead of what it really is, nothing more than the private dress of the Clergy, which they used formerly, and at no very distant time, to wear on all common occasions, just as the resident members do at the universities, but the use of which has been gradually more and more curtailed. At least, it is now only the full dress of the Clergy. It is, however, now commonly regarded as the preaching robe: and thus, *while the change of dress, prescribed by the Church, when passing from the Matins or Liturgy to the Communion, is altogether neglected*, this absurd practice is considered as regular and legitimate. It has been alleged, indeed, that while preaching, the minister is teaching in his private capacity, and therefore, that he ought to wear a less official dress. But it ought to be remembered, that though permitted a discretion in the sermon not allowed in the prayers, of using his own words, this is a public official act, just as much prescribed as any part of the office, and that (except in colleges, where there is a special exemption by the Act of Uniformity) it is as great an irregularity to omit the Sermon on the mornings of Sundays and Holidays, as any part of the Liturgy. Now, in cathedrals and colleges the surplice is always worn when preaching. Why. should it be different in parish churches?

* * * * *

Archdeacon Sharpe, in one of his well-known Charges, vindicates the custom of preaching in the surplice, then common within his jurisdiction, on the ground that it is the privilege of the Clergy ; the surplice being, of course, a garment of superior dignity to the gown. * * * * *

The use of the gown, however, it is most likely, had its origin in a puritanical dislike to the surplice."

Now the first observation which it here occurs to make in the application of these extracts to the remarks of the *Presbyter*, is that if the Clergy are bound in *conscience* to wear the surplice in preaching upon the principle of obedience to *rubrical authority*, the same principle will *more distinctly* bind them to the adoption of the *alb* and *cope* in administering the Holy Communion, the intention of the *rubric* being much less questionable in this instance than in the other ⁵. And if the salvo of Bishop Beveridge can supply an exemption from the use of those obsolete vestments, the recent occurrences in England, in relation to the use of the surplice in the pulpit, show that it would be equally available in this case as a dispensation, even if the arguments were much stronger than I consider them to be in favour of the rubrical authority for the practice.

I would also observe, that whereas a change of dress made during the service is much insisted upon in certain quarters, as an objection to preaching in the gown,—it will be seen here that upon the very

⁵ It is, however, questioned, I think rather feebly, by Grey on Ecclesiastical Law, and by Sharpe on the Rubric.

principle of following, at all hazards, the letter of the rubric, *another change of dress* is found to be imposed ⁶, and the omission of it is mentioned in the foregoing extracts as a neglect. Now if the change be proper in passing from one portion of what may more properly be called the sacerdotal acts of the Clergy to another (although one indeed of a higher order), it would seem, *à fortiori*, to be admissible in the transition to a performance which is *the minister's own, interposed between* different parts of the *prescribed forms*. I conceive, in opposition to the view taken by the Presbyter, that preaching in itself is very obviously distinguishable from a *rite*, properly so called ⁷. A rite is described, indeed, in one of the definitions of Johnson, of which the correctness, as far as it goes, cannot be disputed, as a solemn act of Religion. But although every rite is a solemn act of Religion, every solemn act of Religion is not a rite. The Latin *ritus* and the French *rit*, from whence the word *rite* comes to us, would not, I think, be accurately used in an application simply to the act of preaching, although they might be applied to its prescribed circumstantialia.

In the consecration of Bishops, both according to

⁶ I. e. Since the services have been blended in one, which were originally distinct.

⁷ The Presbyter appears to doubt whether it be not *a PART of the SACRAMENT of the Holy Communion*. If it can be proved to be *that*, I shall certainly concede that it is a *rite*.

the rubric and received practice, a change of dress is made during the services.

I have only two works at my command written *exclusively* upon the *Rubric*. One of these is the collection of Charges by Archdeacon Sharpe^{*}, to which the reference is made by the Rev. Prebendary Jebb: the other is a work published in 1841, under the title of *An Appeal to the Rubric*, by the Rev. S. Rowe, vicar of Crediton, and is designed practically to enforce a greater rubrical exactness.

Mr. Jebb, I apprehend, must have spoken only from recollection, and that slight and imperfect, when he represented Archdeacon Sharpe as vindicating the custom of preaching in the surplice. The Archdeacon, it will be seen, so far vindicates it, as to use his endeavours for *reconciling* the Clergy to the practice, *within his particular jurisdiction*, where it had, at that time, prevailed from having been formerly introduced by a higher authority; but his own judgment is very decidedly and strongly on the other side. He speaks as follows:—

“I cannot dismiss this article, without giving you another remarkable instance of the *prevalence of custom* in these sort of usages, *under the approbation of the Ordinary*; and the rather, because it is an instance that falls within the subject of the present Canon [the 58th], and is also of peculiar consideration to us of this diocese; *in which alone it is to be met with*—it is the

^{*} This work comprehends notice also of the Canons as they affect the Parochial Clergy.

constant use of the surplice by all preachers in their pulpits; and it is said to have taken rise from an opinion of Bishop Cosins, that as surplices were to be worn at all times of the ministration, and preaching was properly the ministration of the word of God, therefore surplices were to be worn in the pulpit as well as in the desk, or on other occasions of the ministry.

“ One cannot speak otherwise than with reverence and due respect to the authority of so great a ritualist as Bishop Cosins was—yet it is *manifest* there is nothing in our Rubrics that doth directly authorize this usage, or in the Canons that doth countenance it; *nay, there is something in both which would discourage, if not forbid, such a practice.* The Canons limit the use of the surplice to the public prayers, and ministering the sacraments, and other rites of the Church; so doth our Rubric concerning habits, if it be strictly interpreted of King Edward’s order in the second year of his reign; for there the surplice is only used *at mattens, evensong, in baptizing and burying in parish churches.* And then there immediately follows this permission, that *in all other places* every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no; and also a recommendation to such as are Graduates, that, when they preach, they should use such hoods as pertained to their several degrees. Here then is sufficient warrant for using a hood without a surplice, as is done to this day at the universities, but *no appearance of authority for the use of surplices in the pulpit.* If it be said that a custom has prevailed over the kingdom for Bishops to wear their habits of ministration whensoever they preach, whether they officiate in other respects or not, and that the inferior Clergy cannot follow a better example; it may be answered, that what the Bishops do in this respect is founded on ancient Constitutions. By the Canon law they were obliged to wear rochets, as their distinguishing habit, whenever they appeared in public; though since the Reformation they have not used to wear them any where in public but in the Church and in the House of Lords. And it is more proper they should continue the use of their public habit, whensoever they preach, for the better distinction of their characters on that occasion

from those of the inferior pastors : seeing there is no sufficient distinction preserved in their ordinary habits.

“ All, then, that I would observe upon this custom of preaching in surplices, is, that none of us are obliged to it ; though at the same time I intend no censure of the practice—for it is certainly decent, and with us without exception, *though it be no where authorized, otherwise than by a prescription within this diocese.*”

In the work of Mr. Rowe, the following remark appears, in the form of a note :—

“ There appears great propriety in the custom followed by some Clergymen *of wearing the surplice on the three great festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, in the pulpit as well as in the reading-pew and at the Communion.*”

I am by no means prepared to subscribe to the opinion here expressed ; but that is not the question : what I wish you to observe is, that this writer *on the Rubric* manifestly regards the occasions to which he refers as *exceptions*, and therefore *approves upon all other occasions* of the use of the *gown* in the *pulpit*.

And here I close my authorities, which have been pressed forward more hurriedly, and therefore with less advantage than I could have desired : but they may be sufficient to satisfy you, that in recommending to you a year ago, that you should not hastily, and upon your individual responsibility, introduce in the matter here under consideration, what was a marked novelty in this diocese, I was not recommending what was calculated to do violence to your consciences, or painfully to place you between conflicting claims upon your obedience. I was not

acting in a manner to warrant the venting up and down through the province for discussion in taverns and steam-boats, the statement of a Clergyman, that *if he and his brethren take the authorized directions of the Church for their guide, they will be acting contrary to the recommendation* (farther on called the *unhappy recommendation*) *of the Bishop, although he too is bound by the same directions, and therefore they must obey the orders of the Church, however much it may pain them to neglect a recommendation from so high a quarter: and, again, that it is most unfortunate that our venerated Diocesan should have committed himself so fully in opposition to the plainest directions that could be penned, &c.: and once more, that deeply, and even with tears must it be lamented, that our beloved Chief Shepherd should have issued any recommendation like this, &c.*

It is very obvious that all these strictures, whether just or otherwise, will apply to the Letter of our Metropolitan, as well as to my own Circular. To him, however, I doubt not that the Presbyterian would apply, with all the heightened meaning which is due, the terms of affection and respect serving to qualify the censure which he has undertaken to pass upon his Bishop. For these I am obliged to him. But coupled as they are with that censure, conveyed in such expressions as are quoted above, I hope that I shall not be making an ungracious return, if I say that he may find some cause for weeping nearer home than in the proceedings of the authority set

over him; some reason, but not *hinc*, that *illæ lacrymæ* should flow. I speak this in no unfriendly spirit towards my unknown assailant. His best friends, I believe, would wish such a conviction to be wrought within his mind.

If the lot of the Presbyter had been cast in a diocese where the fences of order and unity had been thrown open, observances depreciated, or solemnity of effect in the ministrations of Religion disregarded by its governing authority,—there might have been more colourable plea for his proceeding. But I may appeal, I think, with some confidence to my brethren, to show that no such plea as this can be advanced. No example has ever been set by the Bishops of this diocese, of laxity in Church principle, or accommodation in religious proceedings to latitudinarian and pseudo-liberal views. And long before any movement was made in the Church to carry us along with it in the correction of neglect and irregularity in the points just above stated, your present Bishop, being then your Archdeacon, addressed you thus:

“Lastly—I now come to a subject which falls within my particular province—we must be faithful in the correct and reverent performance of the ordinary and prescribed duties of our office. An obligation which is indeed closely connected with the tenor of the last preceding observations: for the beautiful forms and offices of the Church, purged as they are from the gorgeous pageantry of superstition, yet clothed with a reverential solemnity of exterior, and strictly edifying and evangelical in their matter, will often be found to recommend themselves and

procure respect, even in quarters where there is a predisposition to condemn them, if her ministers in their manner of officiating, and the regard which they have to accessory circumstances, preserve the wise spirit in which they were framed. I do not speak only of our performance of public worship. I maintain that in admitting infants by baptism into the covenant of Christ,—uniting man and woman as one flesh in the Lord with the form of prayer and benediction—consigning the dead back again to the dust from which they sprang—or administering, in cases where it is right to do so, the comfort of the Lord's Supper to the sick and dying—our feelings of seriousness and devotion, instead of prompting us to treat externals with contempt, should teach us to prevent all offensive contrast between the sacredness of the occasion, and the circumstantialia of the performance. Let us avoid, therefore, every appearance of haste, of irreverence, of slovenliness,—every tendency towards the disuse of grave and decent formalities and distinctions in dress or otherwise, which were prescribed by the Master-builders of our Zion; and not be too ready to construe any incommodious circumstances of a local character as furnishing a dispensation to depart from rule; nor suffer precedents to creep in which may produce undesirable alteration in the received usages of the Church.

“I will take one example only, to come more closely to the point and distinctly to illustrate what I mean: I will suppose a baptism to be performed—one of the infants whom our Redeemer would have folded in his arms,—to be presented to his minister that it may be marked for his own:—some trifling inconvenience is alleged, (I would yield the point if it were severe,) as an objection to bringing it to the Church: this sacrament is therefore administered perhaps in a tavern—some vessel is produced which is in daily use for household purposes—the Clergyman is in a hurry, and he appears without any distinction to mark his office:—I ask whether the associations which attach to the ordinance are likely to be as serious, as if the rite were administered within the consecrated walls of the House of God, the water received in a decent font, the Clergyman marked to the eye of the

beholder, as one who is appointed to minister in holy things?"—
Visitation Sermon preached before the late Bishop, 1832.

Again, quite independently of any action of a party, or echo of a strain raised in other quarters, but simply and purely as the result of reflections of very long standing in my own mind, and of my own sense of duty, I spoke thus to you in my primary Episcopal Charge:—

“In seeking to recommend the Church, according to our bounden duty, in the eyes of our own people or of others, and to give the fullest effect to the beautiful offices of her Liturgy, there is a principle to be observed of which I have taken notice upon former occasions in addressing my brethren in a different capacity, but which I am prompted briefly to touch upon, because it is in danger from local circumstances of partially falling into disregard—I mean the principle of rendering the services of the Church more impressive by the manner of performing them, and by the exterior reverence and decorum with which they are clothed. The preface to the Common Prayer-book, the Canons and the Rubrics, more particularly in the Communion-office, afford sufficient evidence of the care which was wisely taken by our holy Reformers, while they purged away from our worship the cumbersome pageantry of superstition, to preserve the utmost gravity, solemnity, and order in the public ministrations of the Church; and to shed over them a venerable air fitted to remind men of the awe with which they should approach the things of God. The forms and ceremonies of the Church, the prescribed postures of worship, the habits of those who officiate, the vessels of the sanctuary, the several appendages and distinctions of our National Churches, are all designed to aid in this effect; and, as servants of the Church, we ought to act in the spirit, and, whenever we can, according to the letter of her regulations. The disuse upon the ordinary occasions of life of a distinguishing ecclesiastical dress, is a departure from wise and venerable rules, from which

our Clergy ought never to take license to depart farther than, according to the now received usage, they are obliged to do. They should *never* betray a disposition to *secularize* the character and office which they hold. And in the actual performance of any ecclesiastical function, no deviation can be justified for which the plea of necessity cannot be advanced. No needless irregularity should be suffered to creep into our performance of official duty, which may settle by degrees into a precedent."—*Charge*, 1838.

I might refer to passages in an Ordination-sermon preached last year, and published by desire, in the Church Newspaper of the 13th of September (vol. viii. No. 10). But I have already brought forward more than enough, perhaps, to appease any uneasy suspicions of episcopal remissness in this diocese, in matters of exterior or distinctive principles and usages of the Church. And the Presbyterian, if he is one who held a charge in the diocese in 1843, can hardly have forgotten the Questions, in a numbered series, proposed to the Clergy individually in my last Visitation, part of which related to their conformity to rule in certain forms and observances belonging to their ministrations.

Whether, however, it is either possible, or, if possible, matter of expediency or of duty, *at all hazards*, and *in all cases* to adhere to the *letter* of the Rubrics; or, whether in an ill-considered and imperfectly examined endeavour to do so, we may not be liable to be betrayed into some signal mistakes respecting the spirit of the Liturgy itself as a whole, and the plain intentions of its compilers,—are questions upon

which I shall not here enter. And willingly, indeed, do I leave the chief subject of this letter, and gladly, after the letter of his Grace of Canterbury, would I have passed it untouched, but for the reasons which have been already stated, and of which I think the force must be apparent to you, and must be regarded as sufficient to justify my taking, perhaps, rather an unusual course in bestowing all this notice upon an anonymous publication in a religious newspaper. I have felt that we are here upon so small a scale, compared with the proceedings at home, that every man is reached by every thing said or done by his neighbour, and that a corrective must be administered from which, for many reasons, I would much rather have forborne. I am ashamed that we should make the exhibition before the world, of a Church distracted by questions about the ministering habits of her Clergy, and wanting (for so it would seem) a governing authority sufficient to procure the acquiescence of her ministers in its direction upon disputed points of such a nature. I would to God that all who *hear of our affairs* could know nothing but that we *stand fast in one spirit, with one mind* STRIVING TOGETHER FOR THE FAITH OF THE GOSPEL, and against each other, striving in nothing,—much less about matters which, although they may have their own importance, are indeed immeasurably inferior to this.

I am thankful, however, that to a very great extent, this may, I trust, be said of us; and as upon

the point which I have specially considered in this letter, or the other points noticed in my Circular of April 26, 1844, I have never had one complaint or remonstrance addressed to me from any of the more than seventy Clergymen who now officiate in the diocese, I may conclude that *uniformity* of practice upon *those* points does very generally prevail, and therefore that this confessedly desirable object of *uniformity*⁹ will manifestly be *destroyed* instead of *promoted* by endeavours (so far as they may take effect) to impugn my recommendations. In fact, I do not believe that there is a diocese, either at home or in the colonies, where, upon the whole, a greater approach to unanimity has been seen, than in this humble diocese of Quebec. I have been permitted to be the instrument of raising the number of our Clergy to its present level from something above thirty names, since I assumed the charge of the diocese in the end of 1836; and with the blessing of God and the help of my brethren, points of some importance have been gained among us for the Church since that time, and things put in train, which I trust will hereafter bring forth no meagre

⁹ It will be remembered that one of the reasons pointed out for the *ad interim* recommendations contained in my Circular was, that the opposite proceeding would have the effect of *breaking the uniformity of observance in the Church, and bewildering the minds of the people respecting her rules*. It is precisely by a *departure from those recommendations* that the Presbyterian aims to gain the object of *uniformity*.

fruit. In all my anxieties and difficulties, with *the care of the Churches* lying upon me, and many peculiar circumstances of discouragement attaching to the Colonial branch of the Establishment,—next to the help of Him whose *strength is made perfect in our weakness*, my hands have been strengthened, and my spirit has been solaced by the kindness and cordial co-operation of my Clergy, who, I trust, have never had, and never will have occasion to suspect me of putting forth any exorbitant claims of authority, or arrogating any thing to my *office* from *personal* motives. I rely still upon the same comforting aids, not excepting any of my brethren merely because they may have been led to embrace what I think a wrong view, in some subordinate points, of my duty and of their own—and, in the deepest sense of personal insufficiency, I look still to their prayers for me to God through his Son Jesus Christ, to whose blessing, and the guidance of whose Holy Spirit, I commend them now and always, in mine.

I am, Rev. and dear brethren,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

G. J. MONTREAL.

P. S.—I wish it to be particularly kept in view, that although I have felt it necessary to justify my own proceeding to you, which has been called in question professedly by one of your body; and to satisfy you, generally, that things are not loosely,

hastily, and unwarily done in this diocese, I abide strictly by the recommendations of the Archbishop; and one of them is *this*:—

“In Churches where alterations have been introduced with general acquiescence, let things remain as they are.”

THE END.



